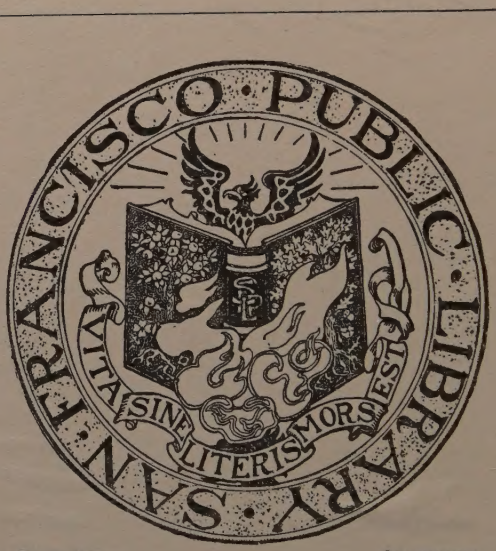

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THE INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY BETWEEN LAKE SUPERIOR AND THE LAKE OF THE WOODS.*

BY ULYSSES SHERMAN GRANT, PH. D.

At various times during the last nine years the speaker, while in the employ of the Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, has visited the northern boundary of our state; at these times he has traveled along every foot of this boundary line from lake Superior to and beyond the beginning of Rainy river at the west end of the lake of the same name, excepting only that part of the boundary between Pigeon falls and the north end of Grand portage, a distance of some ten miles, along which there is no canoe route. Much of the boundary he has been over many times. During these trips a considerable mass of data, relating mostly to the geology of the region, has been collected; but there are other features, aside from the geology, which it was thought would prove of sufficient general interest to be mentioned here to-night.

It will not be necessary to enter into a detailed account of the history of the establishment of the northern boundary of our state from lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, but a brief sketch of how the present boundary line came to be settled upon is necessary for our object.**

*Read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Jan. 21, 1895.

**It is understood that Mr. Alfred J. Hill, who has so carefully described "How the Mississippi river and the Lake of the Woods became instrumental in the establishment of the northwestern boundary of the United States" in the Minnesota Historical Collections, Volume VII., pp. 305-352, 1893, is intending to prepare an article on the history of the northern boundary of Minnesota east of Lake of the Woods.

In the "Definite Treaty of Peace" with Great Britain in 1783 we find the first treaty mention of this boundary line; it reads as follows: "Thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isles Royale and Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods". The Long lake here mentioned is understood to be some part of Pigeon river. This boundary line is again mentioned in the treaty of Ghent, 1814, when a commission was appointed to survey and definitely establish it. The commission was "authorized upon their oaths impartially to fix and determine, according to the true intent of the said treaty of peace of 1783, that part of the boundary between the dominions of the two Powers which extends from the water communication between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, to the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods." This commission surveyed and mapped the boundary line and filed their report about 1826. As far as can be learned, this report and the maps have never been published by the United States government. But tracings of these maps are now to be seen in the surveyor general's office in this city.

The determinations of this commission were used in the preparation of the Webster-Ashburton treaty in 1842; this treaty fixed finally and definitely the exact boundary line by naming the principal lakes and streams through which it should pass. Now the commissioners were instructed to fix the boundary according to the true intent of the treaty of 1783. Let us examine what the true intent of this treaty was and how nearly the commissioners carried out the spirit and the letter of that treaty, and in this way we can discover to what degree the established boundary corresponds with that first intended.

The maps which were used by the framers of the treaty of 1783 showed the Lake of the Woods as the head of a chain of lakes whose waters flowed eastward through the Pigeon river into lake Superior. The intent of the treaty then was that the boundary should follow this water-course. This, however, as became known later, was impossible, for the waters of the Lake of the Woods flow into Hudson bay. The boundary then should follow along the supposed connection between this lake and lake Superior as nearly as could be, cross-

ing, if possible, only one height of land or water divide. Such a divide exists on the established boundary line between North and South lakes, the waters of the former flowing westward to Lake of the Woods and those of the latter eastward to lake Superior. It is generally supposed that this height of land is the only one crossed by the established boundary, but the facts of the case are that six of these water divides exist along the present boundary line. A brief description of these will be given.

The first, beginning at the east, is that between Rove and Mud (or Rose) lakes in Cook county.* The boundary here runs along the portage trail, which is a mile and a half long and goes up over a considerable hill. This trail rises 1,715 feet above the sea level, or nearly 200 feet higher than Mud lake. The more eastern of these lakes, Rove lake, flows eastward through Pigeon river, while the waters of Mud lake find their way into Canadian territory through the Arrow lake and the river of the same name, which joins Pigeon river about eight miles above its mouth. The amount of land which lies south of Arrow lake and river and north of Pigeon river (or the boundary line) is roughly estimated to be 100 square miles.

The next divide is that of the height of land or continental divide between the drainage system of the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the one hand and that of Hudson bay on the other. This is between North and South lakes on the northern edge of Cook county. The waters of South lake flow eastward and those of North lake westward. The distance between these two lakes along the boundary portage trail is one-third of a mile. The highest point reached is 1,585 feet above the sea, as determined by leveling by the Geological Survey of Minnesota. The two lakes lie nearly at the same level, about 1,550 feet above the sea.*

Some years ago it was quite generally thought that Hunter's island was really an island. Later people came to regard it as not an island, the waters of the international boundary being supposed to flow around its southern side from Saganaga lake. This idea has been gained from most of the maps,

*The locations of the various water divides here mentioned can be seen on the accompanying map of northern Minnesota, Pl. I.

*By actual leveling from lake Superior in August, 1893, South lake was found to be 1,558 feet above the sea, and North lake, 1,550.

which, if they do not show a water connection along both sides of this so-called island, show a continuous course along its southern or boundary side. The fact is that the boundary stream, which is here a stream of some size, flows westward from Saganaga lake to Lac la Croix along the north side of this island, and on the boundary line there is a distance of about a fourth of a mile which alone prevents Hunter's island from being an island. The boundary line here follows the portage between Oak lake, a small lake just west of Saganaga lake and Ottertrack lake, which was known in the Ashburton treaty as Cypress lake. The waters of Ottertrack lake flow westward along the established boundary, through Knife, Basswood, Crooked and Iron lakes, and join what should be the boundary stream in Lac la Croix, fifty miles west of Saganaga lake or the east end of Hunter's island. The total area of Hunter's island, which island lies entirely to the south of the stream which heads in North lake, is estimated at about 800 square miles.

But between Iron lake and Lac la Croix there is still another divide, in fact two of them. The main stream, instead of going from Iron lake directly along the boundary, runs northward into Canada through McAree lake and then into Lac la Croix. On the boundary at the west end of Iron lake is a narrow strip of land, only a few yards wide, across which there is no water connection except when the lakes stand at very high levels, as they often do in the early summer.*

Beyond this (to the west) is a small lake which flows into Lac la Croix, but the boundary, instead of following the outlet of this lake, runs across a neck of land, by what is known as Bottle portage, to Lac la Croix. The land lost to Minnesota at this place is not more than ten square miles.

The outlet of Lac la Croix, known as the Namekan river, carries all the water from both sides of Hunter's island. It runs north and west from Lac la Croix to Namekan lake, through which the boundary passes. But instead of following this main water-course, Namekan river, the boundary takes a sudden bend to the south and runs through Loon, Little Vermilion and Sand Point lakes before coming to Namekan lake.

*On account of the narrow outlets of these lakes, they sometimes stand four or five, or even ten feet above the normal.

At the southwest corner of Lac la Croix is another water divide on the boundary portage which runs from this lake to Loon lake. It is possible that at very high water some little may flow across this divide. The land which lies between Namekan river and the established boundary is some 125 square miles.

From what has been said it is evident that the report of the commissioners, according to which report the boundary line was definitely established, differed very materially from the true intent of the treaty of 1783. Instead of following the main water-course, or rather courses, between lake Superior and Lake of the Woods, they left this main course at four different times, and in each case ran the boundary line to the south of its proper location, thus diminishing in each instance the amount of territory that should have belonged to the United States, and increasing by the same amount the Canadian territory. The established boundary between lake Superior and Rainy lake runs for less than one-half this distance along what should have been the boundary, according to the treaties with Great Britain previous to 1842, and according to the true intent of this treaty.

Just why the commission located the boundary where it now is, we do not know. It is possible that they were led along the route they surveyed by the French-Canadian and half-breed guides who must have accompanied the expedition, and on whom anyone not acquainted with the country must necessarily rely for guidance.

The amount of land thus lost to the United States, for it is impossible now to regain it, as the present boundary was definitely established by the Webster-Ashburton treaty, is somewhat over 1,000 square miles. When this boundary was agreed upon, over fifty years ago, 1,000 square miles, more or less, of this district was of no particular value, but at present such an area is becoming of economic worth for its timber. Moreover, on the southeast side of Hunter's island is the direct continuation of the rocks of the Vermilion iron range, and the probability of the existence of iron ore deposits here has led already to considerable exploitation.

That part of the boundary from Gunflint lake eastward to lake Superior has some features different from that farther

west, features which are distinctively its own, being dependent on the underlying geological strata. The surface is broken by parallel ridges trending east and west. In the valleys between these ridges lie deep lakes elongated in a direction parallel with the hills. On the south sides of these bodies of water the land often rises quite precipitously 300 to 400 feet. These mural escarpments are composed of black slates, dipping gently toward the south, and overlain by masses of dark heavy trap rock; these layers of hard trap rock often reach a thickness of 100 feet, and it is to their presence and the gently southward dip of the strata that the peculiar topography of the region is due. On the northern shores of the lakes the land slopes very gently toward the north and does not rise as high as on the southern shores, so that the land and the lakes toward the south are more elevated. The most elevated point on the exact boundary line is on the divide already mentioned, between Rove and Mud lakes, which is about 1,715 feet above the sea level; but just to the south of the boundary lakes the land rises in some places to 2,000 feet. And several miles to the south is a chain of hills, known as the Misquah hills, which form the highest land in Minnesota. Misquah is the Chippewa word for red, the hills receiving this designation from the fact that they are composed of brick-red granitic rocks. The highest summit has been determined carefully by parties of the Geological Survey to be 2,230 feet above sea level. This 2,230 feet is the most elevated point in the state, as far as known.

The following table shows the altitudes, in feet, above the sea level, of the lakes along the northern boundary of Minnesota; those marked by an asterisk were determined by leveling done for the Geological Survey, chiefly by Messrs. C. P. Berkey, L. A. Ogaard and A. N. Winchell.

ALTITUDES OF LAKES ALONG THE INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY.

Lake Superior, low and high water, 600-603; mean 1870 to 1888	601.56
South Fowl Lake	1,436
North Fowl Lake	1,440
Moose Lake	1,492
Mountain Lake	1,652
Rove Lake	1,667
Mud (Rose) Lake	*1,528
South Lake	*1,558

North Lake	*1,550
Gunflint Lake	*1,547
Pine Lake	1,465
Granite (Banks' Pine) Lake	1,448
Saganaga Lake	1,434
Oak (Swamp) Lake	1,435
Ottertrack (Cypress) Lake	1,387
Knife Lake	*1,382
Carp Lake	*1,355
Sucker Lake	*1,330
Basswood Lake	*1,300
Crooked Lake	1,240
Iron Lake	1,210
Lac la Croix	1,186
Loon Lake	1,166
Little Vermilion Lake	1,127
Sand Point Lake	1,126
Namekan Lake	1,125
Rainy Lake, low and high water, 1115-1120; mean	1,117
Lake of the Woods, low and high water, 1057-1063; mean	1,060

The boundary region between lake Superior and Rainy lake has many features which are characteristic of large parts of northeastern Minnesota. It is a country of lakes, swamps and timbered rocky knolls. The lakes lie in completely rock-bound basins and are clear and deep. From one of these rocky basins a short, rapid stream carries the water down to the next lower basin. There are thus practically no true rivers, the water-courses being simply series of lakes connected by short streams. The only river, properly speaking, is to be seen in the lower part of the Pigeon river. These lakes are one of the peculiar and the redeeming feature of the country, for if it were not for them the region would seldom be visited. Some of these bodies of water, especially those lying in areas of granitic rock, extend, in very irregular and branching arms, over large tracts of country. Lakes, particularly of this class, are Saganaga, Basswood, Crooked and Rainy lakes, and also Lac la Croix. Rainy lake, which contains, inclusive of islands, 344 square miles, penetrates with its spider-like arms a district of 1,500 square miles in extent.

There is very little soil along the boundary and in general in northeastern Minnesota, the rocks coming to the surface in numerous places. But it is astonishing to see what a luxuriant growth of pines, spruces, balsam firs and birch the very thin coating of soil will support. When fires pass through this region they consume the forests and frequently all the soil,

thus leaving continuous exposures of bare rock which give to the country a most desolate appearance. As just below the surface is so much solid rock, comparatively little water soaks into the ground and thus most of the rainfall flows away. This is particularly well illustrated by the Pigeon river, which compares favorably in size with the Minnesota, but which has a drainage basin approximately only one-fifth as large as that of the Minnesota, and a rainfall differing only slightly from that of the central part of the state.

In speaking of the northern boundary of our state, it would be hardly just to pass without mention a district which for more than a year past has been a centre of lively interest. The Rainy Lake gold region has been the Mecca of many an explorer and investor, and several growing towns have sprung up along the shores of the lake. Many newspaper accounts of this region have been published, but it is impossible to sift from these numerous sketches that which is really reliable and accurate. During the last fall Mr. H. V. Winchell and the speaker, acting under instructions from the state geologist, visited this region with the purpose of ascertaining just what grounds there were for the gold excitement, and also for the purpose of preparing a report on this district which would furnish some reliable and authentic account of this region to the people of the state. This report* will be issued in a week or two as a part of the twenty-third annual report of the Geological and Natural History Survey of the State of Minnesota. The conclusion of this report reads as follows:

Concisely stated, the facts described in the foregoing pages lead to the following conclusions: There is gold in quartz veins in the vicinity of Rainy lake. As yet, the development is insufficient to warrant the positive assertion that profitable gold mining operations can be conducted there; but in certain localities the prospects are full of encouragement and promise to the conservative operator.

The best portion of the district for gold, so far as at present developed, and as indicated by the appearance and nature of the veins and the geological conditions surrounding them, is not within the limits of our state. Some gold is found south of the boundary line, and its discovery was the starting point for the explorations so vigorously prosecuted during the past year. But, as in all other mining districts, the majority of the veins are not worth working, and, indeed, many of them chiefly belonging to the class of segregated veins, contain no gold whatever. There are excellent opportunities for the investment of capital in the gold mining industry of Rainy

*H. V. Winchell and U. S. Grant: Preliminary report on the Rainy Lake gold region. Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, 23d (1894) Annual Report, pp. 36-105, with a geological map; January, 1895.

lake; but unless selected and developed with discrimination and scientific judgment the chances are that the property chosen may not develop into a permanent and productive mine. It is our confident belief, however, that the proper forces have been in operation at several points around Rainy lake to produce auriferous quartz lodes of a richness that will compare favorably with those of many other prosperous mining districts.

If the development of operations now in progress shall demonstrate the existence of extensive deposits, as we believe will be the case, the future of the district for gold mining is assured. It is even now accessible at moderate cost; fuel, water and water power are abundant, and labor cheap. Modern methods have made the cost of exploitation, even of refractory ores, much less than it was only a few years ago. With the large bodies of low grade ore which are destined to furnish the greater part of the world's output of precious metals in the future, the cost of mines and mills as advantageously situated with reference to wood and water as those of Rainy lake, have been estimated at two dollars a ton for mining and three dollars a ton for barrel chlorination or for treatment by the cyanide process of ores adapted to it, and from which ninety per cent of the metal can be saved. Where practically all the gold can be extracted by amalgamation, as at present at Rainy lake, there should be a good profit on five dollar ore in permanent veins which have an average width of five feet or more.

The surprising adaptability of the soil and climate of the Rainy River valley for agriculture, together with its stores of timber for lumber and paper manufacture and its large water power, instil in us the conviction that northern Minnesota is an empire by itself, destined in the near future to become the home of a large and prosperous community engaged in the occupations of farming and manufacturing.*

From Rainy lake westward to Lake of the Woods, a distance of eighty miles, the boundary is formed by the Rainy river. The characters of this river valley stand in strong contrast with those of the rocky lake country to the east. At the western end of Rainy lake, where is its outlet, the beginning of the Rainy river, the surface of rocky knolls suddenly gives way to a plain of clays, through which the underlying rock seldom emerges. The change in the flora is as striking as that in the land surface; to the east the land is covered by evergreen forests, boreal in aspect, while to the west hardwood timber predominates and the whole flora is more temperate in its character. This plain of clays, heavily timbered, stretches westward to and beyond the Red river, the flat monotony of its surface being broken only by the steep-sided shallow trenches cut into it by the Rainy river and its tributaries. For agricultural purposes the soil of this river valley is unsurpassed by any in the state. The experiences of settlers on the Canadian side of the river for several years have demonstrated conclusively the excellency of this land for farming purposes. Already settlers are coming in on the Minnesota side,

*Op. cit., pp. 104, 105.

but there are still thousands of acres of this land which are as yet unoccupied. Through this district runs a natural highway, the Rainy river, a stream 600 to 1,200 feet in width and navigable for steamers of considerable size. Two and a half miles west of Rainy lake the river plunges over a rocky ledge of twenty-one to twenty-four and a half feet, the height of the fall depending on the stage of water. It is estimated that at this place the available water power equals 30,000 horse power on the average, while the minimum is about 20,000 horse power. It is thus seen to much exceed the next largest water power in the state, that at the Falls of St. Anthony. The mineral wealth, the fertile soil, the timber and the large water power destine this region to develop into one of the most prosperous sections of the state.

In closing this rambling sketch of only a few of the features of the northern boundary of Minnesota, the speaker desires to recommend this region to the notice of those who are contemplating an outing for pleasure or for health. Along the whole boundary there is a good canoe route, and traveling is easy and enjoyable. A trip of two or three weeks' time is amply sufficient to travel the whole length of the boundary from lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, and the expenses of such a trip are comparatively slight. The larger game, such as bear, caribou and moose, have not been entirely driven out, and smaller game is abundant, while the lakes teem with whitefish, pickerel, wall-eyed pike, bass and the lake or salmon trout. The numbers of crystal lakes, with their rocky shores and evergreen covered islands and hills, render this district, in scenic beauty and picturesqueness, the superior of any other part of the state, and the peer of any of the lake districts of America.

THE SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE RED RIVER VALLEY.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, IN THE HIGH SCHOOL ASSEMBLY ROOM, ST. PAUL, MINN., MONDAY EVENING, JAN. 21, 1895.

BY WARREN UPHAM.

TOPOGRAPHIC FEATURES.

The Red River of the North, so named to distinguish it from the Red river of Louisiana, flows through an exceedingly flat plain, which descends imperceptibly northward, as also from each side to its central line. Along the axial depression the river has cut a channel twenty to sixty feet deep. It is bordered by only few and narrow areas of bottomland, instead of which its banks usually rise steeply on one side, and by moderate slopes on the other, to the broad valley plain which thence reaches nearly level ten to twenty-five miles from the river. Its tributaries cross the plain in similar channels, which, as also the Red river, have occasional gullies connected with them, dry through most of the year, varying from a few hundred feet to a mile or more in length. Between the drainage lines areas often five to fifteen miles wide remain unmarked by any watercourses. The highest portions of these tracts are commonly from two to five feet above the lowest.

This vast plain, twenty-five to fifty miles wide and 300 miles long, lying half in Minnesota and half in North Dakota, thence continuing into Manitoba and so stretching from Lake Traverse and Breckenridge north to Lake Winnipeg, is the widely famed Red River Valley. The material of the lower part of the valley plain, shown in the banks of the Red river and reaching usually five to fifteen miles from it, is fine clayey silt, horizontally stratified; but at its south end, in Traverse county and the

south half of Wilkin county, Minnesota, and upon large areas of each side of this plain, it is mainly unstratified boulder clay, which differs from the rolling or undulating till of the adjoining region only in having its surface nearly flat. Both these formations are almost impervious to water, which, therefore, in the rainy season fills their shallow depressions, but none of these are so deep as to form permanent lakes. Even sloughs which continue marshy through the summer are infrequent, but where they do occur, as on some of the streams tributary to the Red river, they cover large areas, sometimes several miles in extent.

In crossing this almost perfectly level valley on clear days, the higher land at its sides, and the groves along its rivers, are first seen in the distance as if their upper edges were raised a little above the horizon, with a very narrow strip of sky below. The first appearance of the treetops thus somewhat resembles that of dense flocks of birds flying very low several miles away. By rising a few feet, as from the ground to a wagon, or by nearer approach, the outlines become clearly defined as a grove, with a mere line of sky beneath it.

Besides this mirage, the traveler is also reminded, in the same manner as at sea, that the earth is round. The surface of the plain is seen only for a distance of three or four miles; houses and grain stacks have their tops visible first, after which, in approaching, they gradually come into full view; and the highlands, ten or fifteen miles away, forming the side of the valley, apparently lie beyond a wide depression, like a distant high coast.

On all the area drained by the Red river in Minnesota the glacial drift is so thick that no exposures of the underlying rocks have been found. The depth of the drift here is nearly the same as its average throughout the western half of this state, or from 100 to 250 feet. The prominent topographic features of all this region are doubtless due to the form of the underlying rock surface, upon which the drift is spread in a sheet of somewhat uniform thickness. Subaerial denudation and stream erosion, during the Tertiary era and the early part of Quaternary time, preceding the Ice age, had sculptured this broad and flat valley trough and the inclosing uplands which on each side gradually rise 200 to 500 feet above the valley.

LAKE AGASSIZ.

As soon as the departing ice-sheet, which had enveloped the northern United States and British America during the Glacial period, in its melting off the land from south to north, receded beyond the water-shed dividing the basin of the Minnesota river from that of the Red river, a lake, fed by the glacial melting, stood at the foot of the ice fields, and extended northward as they withdrew along the valley of the Red river to Lake Winnipeg, filling this valley and its branches to the height of the lowest point over which an outlet could be found. Until the ice barrier was melted upon the area now crossed by the Nelson river, thereby draining this glacial lake, its outlet was along the present course of the Minnesota river. At first its overflow was upon the nearly level undulating surface of the drift, 1,100 to 1,125 feet above the sea, at the west side of Traverse and Big Stone counties; but in process of time this cut a channel here, called Brown's valley, 100 to 150 feet deep and about a mile wide, the highest point of which, on the present water divide between the Mississippi and Nelson river basins is 975 feet above the sea level. From this outlet the Red river valley plain extends 315 miles north to Lake Winnipeg, which is 710 feet above the sea. Along this entire distance there is a very uniform continuous descent of a little less than one foot per mile.

The farmers and other residents of this fertile plain are well aware that they live on the area once occupied by a great lake; for its beaches, having the form of smoothly rounded ridges of gravel and sand, a few feet high, with a width of several rods, are observable extending horizontally long distances upon each of the slopes which rise east and west of the valley plain. Hundreds of farmers have located their buildings on these beach ridges as the most dry and sightly spots on their land, affording opportunity for perfectly drained cellars even in the most wet spring seasons, and also yielding to wells, dug through this sand and gravel, better water than is usually obtainable in wells on the adjacent clay areas. While each of these farmers, in fact everyone living in the Red River Valley, recognizes that it is an old lake bed, few probably know that it has become for this reason a district of special interest to geologists, who have traced and mapped its upper shore along a distance of about 800 miles.

Numerous explorers of this region, from Long and Keating in 1823, to Gen. G. K. Warren in 1868 and Prof. N. H. Winchell in 1872, recognized the lacustrine features of the valley; and the last named geologist first gave what is now generally accepted as the true explanation of the lake's existence, namely, that it was produced in the closing stage of the Glacial period by the dam of the continental ice-sheet at the time of its final melting away. As the border of the ice-sheet retreated northward along the Red River valley, drainage from that area could not flow as now freely to the north through Lake Winnipeg and into the ocean at Hudson bay, but was turned by the ice barrier to the south across the lowest place on the water-shed dividing this basin from that of the Mississippi. This lowest point is found, as before noted, at Brown's valley on the western boundary of Minnesota, where an ancient water-course, about 125 feet deep and one mile to one and a half miles wide, extends from Lake Traverse, at the head of the Bois de Sioux, a tributary of the Red river, to Big Stone lake, through which the head stream of the Minnesota river passes in its course to the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico.

Detailed exploration of the shore lines and area of this lake was begun by the present writer for the Minnesota Geological Survey in the years 1879 to 1881, under the direction of Professor Winchell, the state geologist. In subsequent years I was employed also in tracing the lake shores through North Dakota for the United States Geological Survey, and through southern Manitoba to the distance of 100 miles north from the international boundary to Riding mountain, for the Geological Survey of Canada. For the last-named survey, also, Mr. J. B. Tyrrell has extended the exploration of the shore lines more or less completely for 200 miles farther north, along the Riding and Duck mountains and the Porcupine and Pasquia hills, west of Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis, to the Saskatchewan river.

This glacial lake was named in the eighth annual report of the Minnesota Geological Survey, for the year 1879, in honor of Louis Agassiz, the first prominent advocate of the theory of the formation of the drift by land ice; and the outflowing river, whose channel is now occupied by Lakes Traverse and Big Stone and Brown's valley, was named, in a paper read before

the American Association for the Advancement of Science at its Minneapolis meeting in 1883, the river Warren, in commemoration of General Warren's admirable work in the United States Engineering Corps, in publishing maps and reports of the Minnesota and Mississippi river surveys. Descriptions of Lake Agassiz and the river Warren have been somewhat fully given in the eighth and eleventh annual reports of the Minnesota Geological Survey, and in the first and second volumes of its final report. Two other special reports of my explorations of Lake Agassiz have been also published, the first in 1887, by the Geological Survey of the United States, and the second in 1890, by that of Canada; and a more extensive monograph of this subject has been prepared for publication by the United States Geological Survey.

Several successive levels of Lake Agassiz are recorded by distinct and approximately parallel beaches, due to the gradual lowering of the outlet by the erosion of the channel at Brown's valley, and these are named principally from stations on the Breckenridge and Wahpeton line of the Great Northern railway, in their descending order, the Herman, Norcross, Tintah, Campbell, and McCauleyville beaches, because they pass through or near these stations and towns. The highest, or Herman, beach is traced in Minnesota from the northern end of Lake Traverse eastward to Herman, and thence northward, passing a few miles east of Barnesville, through Muskoda, on the Northern Pacific railroad, and around the west and north sides of Maple lake, which lies about twenty miles east-southeast of Crookston, beyond which it goes eastward to the south side of Red and Rainy lakes. In North Dakota the Herman shore lies about four miles west of Wheatland, on the Northern Pacific railroad, and the same distance west of Larimore, on the Pacific line of the Great Northern railway. On the international boundary, in passing from North Dakota into Manitoba, this shore coincides with the escarpment or front of the Pembina mountain plateau; and beyond passes northwest to Brandon on the Assiniboine, and thence northeast to the Riding mountain.

Leveling along this highest beach shows that Lake Agassiz, in its earliest and highest stage, was nearly 200 feet deep above Moorhead and Fargo; a little more than 300 feet deep above

Grand Forks and Crookston; about 450 feet above Pembina, St. Vincent, and Emerson; and about 500 and 600 feet, respectively, above Lakes Manitoba and Winnipeg. The length of Lake Agassiz is estimated to have been nearly 700 miles, and its area not less than 110,000 square miles, exceeding the combined areas of the five great lakes tributary to the St. Lawrence.

When the ice border was so far melted back as to give outlets northeastward lower than the river Warren, other beaches marking these lower levels of the glacial lake were formed; and finally, by the full departure of the ice, Lake Agassiz was drained away to its present representative, Lake Winnipeg. The entire duration of Lake Agassiz, estimated from the amount of its wave action in erosion and in the accumulation of beach gravel and sand, appears to have been only about 1,000 years, and the time of its existence is thought to have been somewhere from 6,000 to 10,000 years ago.

ABORIGINAL PEOPLES.

Coming onward from the foregoing description of the Red River valley, and from this review of the latest chapter in its geological history, to the consideration of its present settlement by white immigrants and the great development of its agricultural resources, especially in the cultivation of wheat, we may first bestow a moment's thought upon the red men who have been displaced. Fifty years ago almost countless herds of buffaloes roamed over this region of far-stretching prairie, and no one could have foretold that so soon the buffalo would be practically exterminated and the Indian's hunting ground changed to fields of waving grain.

The aboriginal tribes of Ojibways and Dakotas, living in the drainage basin of the Red River of the North had made little progress toward a system of agriculture which would provide their principal food during the whole year. Like the other tribes of hunting Indians who inhabited all the area of the United States, excepting its southwestern borders, their dependence was chiefly on the chase and entrapping of game and on fishing. But even their rude and very limited efforts in agriculture yielded an important and valued portion of their sustenance. In pre-Columbian times and onward to the present day, the Indians have cultivated small patches of land,

carefully tending their crops and storing up the harvest for gradual use during the rigors of winter and until the next harvest, supplementing thereby their principal diet of game and fish. Such aboriginal agriculture, untaught by white men, yet far from being despicable, I saw in September several years ago at the Ojibway village a mile southeast of the narrows of Red lake. This largest village of the Ojibways in Minnesota was designated on Nicollet's map in 1842, at so early a date that no white settlement was shown in this state. It now consists of thirty or forty permanent bark lodges, scattered on an area which reaches a half-mile from northwest to southeast and is forty to sixty rods wide. Adjoining the village were fields of ripening maize or Indian corn, amounting to about fifty acres, besides about five acres of potatoes, and probably an acre or more of squashes. These crops showed a luxuriant growth and abundant yield.

At a somewhat earlier time, of which no distinct tradition was preserved by the hunting tribes of Indians inhabiting this region, other tribes, who built the mounds and probably lived more by agriculture and less by the chase, overspread all the prairie districts of the Red River valley, extending also east in the wooded country to Rainy lake. The enduring earthworks erected by this people testify of their formerly wide extension throughout the Mississippi and Red River basins, and show that the sites of their villages were chosen usually on the banks and bluffs which overlook the food-giving rivers and lakes, often commanding an extensive and beautiful prospect. Most of the mounds in Minnesota, South and North Dakota, and Manitoba, are round and have the form of a dome, their height ranging from three to ten feet, or rarely more, above the general surface, with a diameter of thirty to 100 feet or more at their base. Nearly all of them were made by the people for the burial of their dead, and the relics found with their bones prove that they surpassed the present Indians of this region in having skill to make rude pottery; but the superiority was very slight, and there are no evidences of the development of handicrafts to a degree at all comparable with the aboriginal arts of Mexico and Peru. There was some commercial interchange from great distances, but it was probably limited to a few articles which were highly valued for beauty or regarded as mysterious and sacred. Thus in the mounds on the bluffs

of the Souris river and Antler creeks in southwestern Manitoba, tributary through the Assiniboine to the Red river, Prof. George Bryce has found ornaments made of sea shells, others of copper from Lake Superior, and pipes from the sacred red pipestone quarry near the southwest corner of Minnesota, but no evidence of any intercourse with Europeans was found (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transaction 24, 1886).

SETTLEMENT BY WHITE IMMIGRANTS.

The first immigration by white men to colonize the fertile basin of the Red River of the North, bringing the civilized arts and agriculture of Europe, was in the years 1812 to 1816, when, under Lord Selkirk's far-sighted and patriotic supervision, the early pioneers of the Selkirk settlements, coming by the way of Hudson bay and York Factory, reached Manitoba and established their homes along the river from the vicinity of Winnipeg to Pembina. In its beginning this colony experienced many hardships, but in the words of one of these immigrants, whose narrative was written down in his old age, in 1881, "by and by our troubles ended—war and famine and flood and poverty, all passed away, and now we think there is no such place to be found as the valley of the Red river."*

Fifty to sixty years after the founding of the Selkirk colony, the margin of the advancing wave of immigration in the United States reached the Red River valley. In a few places on the Red river, the Wild Rice river of North Dakota, and the Sheyenne river, small bands of immigrant farmers had begun the settlement of this rich agricultural area a few years before the building of railroads across it; but the main tide of immigration came after the railroads had provided means of sending the staple product of the country, wheat, to the markets of St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth. The Northern Pacific railroad was built from Duluth to Moorhead and Fargo during the years 1870 to 1872, and the next year it was extended to Bismarck. Within the next three years a line of the Great Northern railway (then the St. Paul & Pacific) was built to Breckenridge, and another line to Crookston and St. Vincent. From 1875 to 1885 the settlement of the Red River valley and of a large contiguous area of North and South Dakota went forward very

*Manitoba: Its Infancy, Growth, and Present Condition, by Prof. George Bryce, London, 1882, p. 166.

rapidly, nearly all the land in this valley being taken up during these ten years by homestead and pre-emption claims from the government and by purchase from the railroad corporations which had received land grants.

The wise policy of the United States government was to parcel out its land in small farms to actual settlers, selling none to non-residents, and allowing to no one rights to secure more than three-quarters of a section, or a total of 480 acres. This large amount was possible to be obtained from the government only by use of three separate rights, each securing a quarter section, according to the respective laws for homesteads, pre-emption and tree culture. Most of the farms received from the government compromise only 160 acres; and these were deeded, upon payment of small fees at the land offices, to any citizen, including naturalized foreigners, those affirming their intention to become naturalized legal voters, and widows and unmarried women, all of whom were required to take the land to be their permanent homes. For these free gifts of the fertile prairie of the Red River valley, surpassed by no other area of the world in its natural value for agriculture, multitudes came, bringing house-keeping equipments in their emigrant wagons ("prairie schooners"), which passed in long processions through St. Cloud and Alexandria, Minn., on their way from the older portions of this state and from other states farther east and south. Many also came directly from the old world, especially from Sweden and Norway, being carried from the eastern seaports by railroads to the Red River and James River valleys and other parts of North and South Dakota, there being welcomed and soon established on their own freeholds in near neighborhood with others of their countrymen who had come to the United States many years earlier.

A considerable number of very large farms were acquired, however, by discerning capitalists, who saw the capabilities of this district for the convenient employment of large companies of laborers, marshaled with almost military order, in the various operations of farming, as in plowing, seeding and threshing, and who, at an early stage in the rapid progress of settlement, foresaw the profits of wheat raising on a grand scale. These "bonanza farms," as they were afterward called, were made up in great part by purchasing from the railroad corporations the odd-numbered alternate sections which had

been given as government subsidies to foster the early railroad enterprises that opened the region to settlement. But the railroad lands formed no compact tract, being in square miles touching each other only at the corners, like the spots of a single color on a checker-board. To remedy this difficulty and fill out continuous tracts, many of the intervening portions were obtained by purchase from settlers who had received the land from the government in good faith, with the full intention of continuing to live on it; but in some instances claims also were obtained from the government by fraudulent agents, who professed their intention to comply with this legal requirement in taking land by pre-emption.

Among the most famous and successful of these extensive farms are the Lockhart and Keystone farms in Minnesota; the Dwight, Fairview, Keystone, Cleveland, Downing and Antelope farms in Richland county, the most southeastern in North Dakota; the farm of the Messrs. Dalrymple, comprising some 30,000 acres, in the vicinity of the station of this name on the Northern Pacific railroad, eighteen miles west of Fargo; the lands of the Grandin Farming Company, about 40,000 acres, in eastern Traill county, North Dakota; and the Elk Valley farm near Larimore. In some fields of these great farms the teams plow three or four miles straight forward, only being interrupted by roads on the section lines, where the plow is thrown out of the ground for a few rods. The first breaking on both the Dalrymple and Grandin farms was in 1875, the same year in which the land was mostly purchased, and their first crop of wheat was harvested in 1876. During every year since that time the harvests on these lands and in general throughout the Red River valley have been good, with no failure on account of drought, which for several years (from 1885 to 1889 and again since 1892) has been very severe upon many portions of the Dakotas west and southwest of this valley.

DEVELOPMENT IN AGRICULTURE.

Comparatively few Indians were able to derive their subsistence by hunting and fishing upon the area of the Red River valley or in any other region. Probably their numbers living at any time upon the portion of this river basin within the United States did not exceed 5,000. But now that the land is occupied by white immigrants and is sown with wheat, the

present yearly product is about 285 bushels apiece for each man, woman, and child, of the 161,049 enumerated by the census of 1890 in the twelve counties which lie mainly within the Red River valley.

Six of these counties are in Minnesota and six in North Dakota. Tabulations of their population in 1880 and 1890, and of their production of wheat during the same years in Minnesota and during 1879 and 1891 in North Dakota, are here presented, for the purpose of exhibiting the rapid progress in the agricultural development of the district. The ratio of the wheat yield to the population in 1880 was sixty-nine bushels for each person, or less than one-fourth as much as in 1890 and 1891. The latter high ratio of 285 bushels for each person is probably near the maximum which this ratio can attain, from which it will decrease, relatively to the increasing population, the place of wheat cultivation being destined to be partially taken by other crops, by stock raising, and by other industries.

An equally prosperous development of the agricultural resources of Manitoba has been going forward during the same time, as is also exhibited by the similar statements of the population and wheat production of that province.

POPULATION OF COUNTIES IN MINNESOTA, LYING MAINLY WITHIN THE RED RIVER VALLEY.

Counties	1880.	1890.
Wilkin	1,906	4,346
Clay	5,887	11,517
Norman*	.....	10,618
Polk	11,433	30,192
Marshall	992	9,130
Kittson	905	5,387
Total	21,123	71,190

POPULATION OF COUNTIES IN NORTH DAKOTA, LYING MAINLY WITHIN THE RED RIVER VALLEY.

Counties.	1880.	1890.
Richland	3,597	10,751
Cass	8,998	19,613
Traill	4,123	10,217
Grand Forks	6,248	18,357
Walsh*	.....	16,587
Pembina	4,862	14,334
Total	27,828	89,859

*Organized in 1881 from part of Polk county.

*Organized in 1881 from parts of Grand Falls and Pembina counties.

The population of Manitoba, according to the census of 1881, was 65,954; and in 1891 it was estimated to be 150,000. About a third part of these, and a less fraction of the population noted in the Minnesota and North Dakota counties, are outside the limits of the Red River valley; but the total inhabitants within this valley are nearly 250,000 people. Approximately three-fourths of this population are engaged in farming, the other fourth being residents in the villages and large towns and engaged in commercial and manufacturing pursuits.

WHEAT PRODUCTION OF COUNTIES IN MINNESOTA, LYING MAINLY WITHIN THE RED RIVER VALLEY.

COUNTIES.	1880.			1890.		
	Acres.	Bushels.	Per Acre.	Acres.	Bushels.	Per Acre.
Wilkin	9,871	144,424	14.60	42,212	474,050	11.20
Clay	28,444	479,833	16.87	93,568	1,284,551	13.70
Norman	.....	.....	.....	84,188	1,293,429	15.30
Polk	63,135	1,035,428	16.40	222,223	3,002,754	13.50
Marshall	1,121	17,367	15.49	88,819	1,056,425	11.80
Kittson	792	15,131	19.10	Not	reported.	
Total	103,363	1,692,183	16.37	531,010	7,111,209	13.33
	.....	.....	.....	600,000*	8,000,000	.....

*Including estimated addition for Kittson county.

WHEAT PRODUCTION OF COUNTIES IN NORTH DAKOTA, LYING MAINLY WITHIN THE RED RIVER VALLEY.

COUNTIES.	1879.			1891.		
	Acres.	Bushels.	Per Acre.	Acres.	Bushels.	Per Acre.
Richland	9,086	184,753	20.33	156,631	3,195,680	20.40
Cass	51,727	1,012,565	19.57	527,070	9,939,034	18.86
Traill	13,707	333,409	24.32	269,426	6,441,546	23.88
Grand Forks	4,978	98,352	19.76	262,992	6,881,624	26.17
Walsh	.....	.....	.....	241,673	6,202,940	25.67
Pembina	2,398	63,676	26.55	218,066	5,202,332	23.86
Total	81,896	1,692,755	20.67	1,675,858	37,863,156	22.59

WHEAT PRODUCTION OF MANITOBA.

	1883.			1891.		
	Acres.	Bushels.	Per Acre.	Acres.	Bushels.	Per Acre.
Whole province	208,674	4,549,093	21.80	916,664	23,191,599	25.30

Summing these figures, and deducting the estimated portion belonging outside the boundaries of the Red River valley, we find the present annual wheat crop of this district to be approximately 50,000,000 bushels. This is about 200 bushels apiece for each inhabitant, when the populations in the United States and in Manitoba are considered together; and if the wheat were distributed among all the people of the United States, it would supply nearly a bushel for each individual. But probably no more than a quarter part of the arable prairie land of the Red River valley is now under cultivation in all crops, the proportion being somewhat greater in the United States than in Manitoba. When all this area shall be brought into agriculture the wheat product will probably be almost or quite 200,000,000 bushels yearly, but the ratio to the population will be smaller than now.

During the early years of rapid development of wheat raising, little labor or thought was given to stock and the dairy. Most of the farmers bought for their work imported horses, which had been raised in Iowa or adjoining states. Butter also was imported from the same states, and the majority were willing to live without fresh meat or milk. Nowhere, however, can more favorable climate and natural conditions be found for the successful raising of all the stock needed by the farmer is diversified agriculture and for the dairy than in the Red River valley. Recently, therefore, many enterprising farmers have secured the best blooded stock of horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs; and this portion of the farming interests of the district bids fair to assume its due importance. In the near future probably the sale of butter and cheese will form one of the principal sources of income in many townships.

INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL GROWTH.

But it is written, "Man shall not live by bread alone." This valley can provide bread and butter for its people and for exportation east and west and south, to feed many times more than its own inhabitants. Such is not the full measure of its duty and privilege. Some one said of New England that the Creator placed the profile of the "Old Man of the Mountains" above the Franconia Notch as a sign that those hilly and mountainous, rugged and rocky states should be noted for their noble, patriotic, and grandly gifted men and women. Many descend-

ants of the Pilgrims have come in the tide of immigration to the Red River valley, and other immigrants have come from the Old World with the conviction that education and the right and true development of the mind and heart are far more to be sought than any material possessions. As the early settlers of New England built their churches and school houses in every village and hamlet, and founded Harvard college only sixteen years after the landing at Plymouth, so perhaps not less may the citizens of the Red River valley point with just pride especially to their institutions of religion and learning, to the high and normal schools, colleges and universities of Breckenridge and Wahpeton, Moorhead and Fargo, Crookston, Grand Forks, and Winnipeg, rather than to their largest wheat fields, fine herds, and prosperous commercial interests.

THE DISCOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE IRON ORES OF MINNESOTA.

[Read at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Jan. 21, 1895.]

N. H. WINCHELL, STATE GEOLOGIST.

The close of the year 1894 was also the close of the first decade of the iron-ore industry in Minnesota. We owe it to the future to put on record the events of the beginning of this important industry, since it is destined to play an important role in the history of the state. As the virgin prairie and its agricultural promise and quick returns have dominated more than one-third of the state in the past, giving character to our legislation and to our institutions, so the most northeastern one-third of the state will be dominated by the iron-ore industry in the near future. The effect of the power of this northeastern one-third will be seen in the institutions that will be established, and the legislation which will be demanded and enacted, as well as in the revenue which will acrue to the State's treasury. The intervening one-third of the geographic area of the state will hold the balance of power. As the timbered region of the upper waters of the Mississippi valley is not likely soon to be known either as an agricultural region nor a mining region, but has a mixed possible revenue from both, as well as from its native timber, so its social and economic characteristics will not assume any strong individuality, and they will also be slow in development and self-assertion. Therefore, they will act as a balancing weight between the northeastern min-

ing interests, which will be active and aggressive, and the southwestern agricultural interests, which will be eager and watchful of their prerogatives and predominance.

Any domestic resource or political institution which promises to control one-third of the state in the near future is worthy of close scrutiny and deserves that its establishment and its progress shall be known and recorded. It is because of this forecast for the mining interest of the State that I have chosen to lay before the Historical Society some of the principal steps which have marked the first ten years of actual mining in Minnesota.

It is not necessary to refer in any detail to those earlier efforts at mining, whether of copper or of gold, some of which have found record in our publications,* since they were simply exploratory and disastrous in their results, and are not covered by our topic.

In examining the record of the iron developments in Minnesota, the first fact that appears prominent before us is the existence of two sets of events or courses of development, running in parallel lines but not always equally advanced. It will be necessary to make these plain, for they are closely interwoven and interdependent, and for that reason they are not always distinguished. These two lines of development may be designated:

1. The progress of theoretical or scientific knowledge of the iron ores.

2. The actual development of the ores by mining.

The average citizen is impressed by the power of money and the products of great inventions or by the achievements of war, and he applauds the agents who are directly instrumental in bringing about such important and honorable results. It is the province of a society such as this to go back of results and to seek for causes. Such a society as this must of course make record of the great changes in our social economy and of all the important phases of our history, but it also has the pleasant function of examining into the gentler influences which may have conspired to produce those historical changes and events. Sometimes the effect of an influence in society is quite dif-

*The Mineral Regions of Lake Superior, H. M. Rice, Historical Collections, Vol. II., pp. 175-182, 1867

ferent from that which may have been expected, and sometimes the events of history are difficult to trace to their true and efficient causes. In the case of the iron ore industry in Minnesota causes and results are still fresh in memory. They can be better studied now than at any later day. Many individuals have participated, and some of their acts have been both causes and results, and some of the actors have been influential in both of the lines of progress to which I have referred.

I. THE PROGRESS OF THEORETICAL OR SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE OF THE ORES.

The discovery and primary scientific knowledge of the iron ores of the state preceded their actual exploitation but a few years. Theoretically, several geologists had predicted the existence of iron ore northwest of lake Superior. This was based on the resemblance of the rocks of Minnesota in their stratigraphic and mineralogical characters to those of Michigan. After these predictions, which were made by Charles Whittlesey and J. H. Kloos,* the actual discovery was made in 1865 and reported by the state geologist, H. H. Eames, in 1866,** who described two parallel ridges near the mouth of a stream known as Two Rivers, which flows into Vermilion lake. This is the locality which has since become known as the Vermilion range. Nothing further was known of this locality till the State Geological Survey reported again on it after an examination in 1878 (published in the ninth annual report, 1880, pp. 103 and 104). At this time an idea was conceived of the relation of this ore to that of the Mesabi range which was wholly erroneous, but which seems to have been adopted by other geologists soon after, and, owing to their persistency in repeating it, has served to provoke no little discussion. At this point I wish to call your attention to the general geological map which is spread on the wall.* This represents in general two

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*Charles Whittlesey. Report of explorations in the mineral regions of Minnesota during the years 1848, 1859 and 1864. Cleveland, 1866, p. 10.

J. H. Kloos. Geological Notes on Minnesota. Tenth report of the Minnesota Survey, 1881, p. 192. (Translation from the German.)

**Report of the State Geologist. Henry H. Eames, on the metalliferous region bordering on Lake Superior, St. Paul, 1866, p. 11.

*The map here referred to was constructed to illustrate the papers of Prof. Winchell, Dr. Grant and Mr. Upham, and has been reduced and reproduced in Plate 1. (Ed.)

great formations in the northern part of the state, the Archean and the Taconic. When we began the survey of the region we had only a vague idea of the nature of the rocks we might find, and absolutely no idea of the stratigraphic relations which they had to each other, or to the rocks of Wisconsin and Michigan. Now we know that, however great the variety, and however complex they are in their field structures, they are separable into two grand divisions, which are totally discordant in stratigraphy and strikingly unlike in their aggregate composition. This discovery in its wider relations and significance was made early in the progress of the Minnesota survey. Therefore, the early speculation to which reference has been made, published in the ninth annual report, was wholly abandoned. It did not recognize this important division. Instead thereof, attention was called to the duplicate nature of the iron-bearing rocks of Minnesota (thirteenth report, p. 24, 1884), a distinction which has since been found to prevail throughout the Lake Superior region. The ore at Tower is in the older, or Archean rocks and that of the Mesabi range is in the Taconic rocks. The older rocks run beneath the Taconic toward the south from Tower, and do not rise to the surface again until in Wisconsin and Michigan on the south side of lake Superior. Overlying these rocks the Taconic strata dip toward lake Superior on each side of the lake. The map is intended to show, by certain distinguishing characters, where the iron itself is found in each of these formations. It must not be inferred that only two different rocks are to be distinguished, for each of these formations is composed of many varieties of rocks and of many stratigraphic parts, some of which have special names. There are two groups or classes of rocks and two series of strata, each of which has its own iron-ore beds. After the descriptions which have been published, any competent geologist can readily distinguished them.

Prior to the recognition of the duality of our iron-bearing rocks two important explorations were made in Minnesota by private parties, one in 1875, on the Mesabi iron range, and the other in 1880, on the Vermilion range. The report of these examinations, made by Prof. A. H. Chester of Hamilton college, New York, was published in 1882, in the eleventh report of the Minnesota Survey. These explorations were made at the ex-

pense of the Minnesota Iron Company, under the instigation of Mr. George C. Stone. In the report of professor Chester there is evidence that he, in a measure, recognized the differences between the Vermilion and the Mesabi ranges. He compares the Mesabi range with the Penokee-Gogebic range (p. 159) and the Vermilion he compares with the Marquette district (p. 167), yet the influence of the views of professor Irving, whose cooperation and whose notes he acknowledges he received, seems to have caused him to combine them in one sweeping statement that the Vermilion, the Marquette, the Penokee-Gogebic and the Mesabi rocks are all in the same formation, and very similar in lithology and stratigraphic relations. Those differences which he saw he ascribed to the supposed effect of greater folding and metamorphic action. This passage is so strikingly like the statements of professor Irving on this subject that it might have been quoted directly from his notes, viz.:*

"There can be no doubt that the regions described belong to the Huronian. The rocks are many of them typical Huronian rocks, and the whole Mesabi district presents such a strong likeness to the Penokee in all particulars as to make its identity indisputable. That the Vermilion deposits are simply a continuation of the same formation seems also to be a fact. The intricate foldings of the strata account for their vertical position, and the rocks are so nearly like those of Mesabi and bear such similar relations to the Laurentian granites and slates, as to convince one of their identity."

In the same volume (eleventh report) the writer attempted to express in chronological order the formations involved in the northern part of Minnesota (p. 170), based on a concensus of the opinions of other geologists already published. In this scheme he put all the ores in the Taconic, including those of the Vermilion range, retaining in the "Huronian" only the greenstones and their dependent schists.

The exploration and report of professor Chester, although unfavorable as regards the Mesabi range, resulted in the development of the iron ores of the Vermilion range; and with the commencement of mining began more systematic and more reliable study of the many scientific problems. Hence the work

*Eleventh Report of the Minnesota Survey, 1882 (1884), p. 167.

of professor Chester may always be considered the first step which bore fruit, toward the economic development of the Minnesota ores, if not the first toward the elucidation of their geology. In this statement, however, we should further acknowledge the well-considered prior efforts of Mr. Geo. C. Stone, whose persistent faith in the production of iron ore in Minnesota guided him in the formation of the Minnesota Iron Company, in which was enlisted the money and the good-will of Charlemagne Tower of Pennsylvania. Mr. Stone was sent to the state legislature from Duluth, and was instrumental in securing such favorable legislation as was needed for the organization of capital and the construction of the Duluth & Iron Range railroad.

It was soon after the successful establishment of the Minnesota Iron Company, and the completion of the Duluth & Iron Range railroad, that the writer again visited the mining region. This was mainly in the interest of the commissioners of the New Orleans Cotton Centennial Exposition, but it served also to point to an important generalization respecting the ores of the state. It is published in the thirteenth annual report of the Minnesota Survey, with an ideal illustration showing the geological structure from lake Superior to Vermilion lake (pp. 22, 24), as follows:

"There seem to be three horizons in the strata that, in northeastern Minnesota, have attracted attention for their iron-bearing quality.

"First—The titanic iron of the gabbro belt. This includes the iron ore of the Mayhew location north of Grand Marias, the so-called iron ore of Duluth and Herman and the iron ore that has been reported on Poplar river. This furnishes the iron sand of the Lake Superior beach. This horizon of iron ore seems to have no parallels, so far as reported, in Michigan and Wisconsin.

"Second—The iron ore of the Mesabi range. This is hard hematite and non-titaniferous magnetite. It is that examined in towns 59-14 and 60-14, and is presumably the cause of the iron-ore signs in that tract of country between Okwanim and the Giant's range. It is in the horizon of the Animkie slates equivalents in Michigan.

"Third—The hematite of the Vermilion mines at Vermilion lake. This is on the north side of the granite belt, and in rocks dipping north, the other two horizons being on the south side, and near the bottom of the same, and the probable parallel of the Commonwealth mines in Wisconsin, without any known in rocks dipping south. This iron horizon is lower, in the strata, than either of the others, and seems to be on the horizon of the Marquette and Menominee iron ores, as is also indicated by the associated quartzites, jaspers and conglomerates."

This separation of the iron ores of the state, and inferentially of the ores of the whole Lake Superior region, into two widely different formations, can be seen to be a very important generalization. Its bearing was not wholly, nor chiefly, scientific. It at once doubled the possible iron output. It pointed to new regions in which to look for iron developments. At the same time, in a geological sense, it was revolutionary—at least it was so considered by the geologists of the south side of the great basin who had settled down upon a convenient theory that the iron-bearing rocks of the Lake Superior region belong entirely to one formation and would be found essentially at the same stratigraphic horizon. The effect of the early hypothesis of the Minnesota Survey, as to the identity of the Vermilion lake ores with those at Gunflint lake was apparently very difficult to eradicate, and for many years it lingered in the literature of the United States Geological Survey. Even yet it appears in the latest expression of that survey on the geology of the iron-bearing rocks, in the form of a bungling hypothesis of a nonconformable junction of two formations at about the horizon of the Vermilion ores, all along that belt of country extending from Vermilion lake northeastward to and beyond Saganaga lake. The opinion had been expressed that the iron-bearing rocks of Minnesota presented the most complex geology of the whole region of lake Superior, and that the simple structural relations could only be seen in Michigan and Wisconsin. It was therefore assumed that the difficulties of the case made it almost impossible to solve the structural problems on the north side of the lake independently, but the solution announced for the geology of the south side must in some way be made to explain the geology of the north side. As a fact, the very reverse is true. The north side is simple

and evident, and the south side, especially in the Marquette region, is complex and difficult. In Minnesota the iron-bearing rocks, in their trend from the northeast, separate from each other so plainly that their distinctness is evident to the most indifferent observer. In Michigan they continue together; they furnish iron ore in valuable amounts at the same points. It is no wonder that they were at first confounded in one formation. The basal conglomerate which is found at the bottom of the upper formation, being itself often a valuable iron ore derived as fragments from the older formation, was put with the ores of the older formation, and its significance as a stratigraphic datum plane was not understood. In Minnesota, where this basal conglomerate was found, it was but slightly affected by the older iron-bearing rocks, but was seen to vary according to the nature of the underlying rock, being sometimes of granite pebbles or of greenstone or of other schist. This indicated that it had no necessary connection with the older iron-bearing rocks, but transgressed all the older formations indifferently. As this basal conglomerate lay below the upper iron horizon, it required but a moment's reflection to reach the conclusion that the upper horizon must in the same manner transgress all the older formations, and therefore must be a different iron horizon from that underlying the conglomerates.

It would exhaust the patience of this audience, and might not subserve any useful purpose, to enter into the details of this scientific problem, or to relate the curious devices by which some of the geologists who have been engaged on the geology of the rocks on the south side of lake Superior have sought to escape the acceptance of this early differentiation, and, when driven to admit its correctness, have attempted to show that there was really not much difference between the old interpretation and the new, and that the conflicting opinions did not involve anything more than "apparent differences." Suffice it to say, that a party from the Minnesota survey visited the Marquette and the Gogebic iron ranges, and discovered the same differences in stratigraphy as had been announced in Minnesota, and published the fact that certain mines at Marquette were in one formation and certain others in the other, and illustrated this general truth by diagrams, calling attention to the consequent agreement with the structure made out

in Minnesota. Since that date the wide extent of the duplicate nature of the iron-bearing rocks of the Lake Superior region has been unfolded more and more. Most geologists now accept it. The natural result has been, as in most cases when a great truth is admitted in its full scope, that it is carried too far. Numerous other widespread stratigraphic nonconformities have been announced, pertaining to the older rocks, some of which are perhaps well-founded, but others which are probably local and misunderstood because of a misconception of the forces and origin to which the rocks themselves are due.

One of the first fruits of a knowledge of the existence of two iron-bearing series in Minnesota was a systematic effort to develop the iron ores of the Mesabi range at points farther west than the Chester exploration. Mr. John Mallmann, with whom the writer was in correspondence on this subject, conducted the exploration. He was expressly seeking the ores which were presumed to be the northern representative of the Gogebic ores although he was not himself satisfied of their distinctness from the Vermilion ores. This working was done at Mesabi station, on the Duluth & Iron Range railroad. From this point explorations were extended by other parties still farther west, and although there was not good success for a year or two, every test-pit that was sunk to the bedrock confirmed the idea that the Mesabi range rocks were not only iron bearing, but that they were a different set of rocks from those containing the ore at Vermilion lake. In the latter part of 1890 and the first part of 1891 the great discoveries were made which have brought the Mesabi range into the front rank of the iron districts of the world. These discoveries, more than anything else, have emphasized the difference between the ranges, and have called attention to the wide divergence of the interpretation which the Minnesota geologists have put upon the geology of the region from that which had formerly prevailed.

Geological surveys are sometimes accused of not discovering anything. Their function is described to be, to estimate and map out and describe discoveries made by others. They cannot go into the field equipped with the necessary tools for digging and blasting. The practical explorer and the actual miner must do that. The explorer is a scout who usually precedes all strictly geological surveying, and the miner is the rank and

file of the regular army which opens up the mining industry and leads to the advance of other modern industries. The geological survey of a state may be considered, in general terms, a corps of "sappers and miners," or skilled engineers, ready to serve in any emergency, to guide in explorations, to construct or repair bridges or to conduct the whole campaign, as occasion arises. At least that has been the function of the Minnesota Survey in respect to the development of the iron ores. They were discovered, on both ranges, by the State Geological Survey under Mr. Eames, who made the first known description of them. They have been repeatedly published by the present survey, and the trend of the Mesabi range was actually mapped prior to the discovery of any of the great ore bodies that are now known at Biwabik and Virginia.* The Geological Survey has been in the heat of the campaign from the beginning to the present. It has seen every test-pit, and has noticed the result. It has advised every mining company, at least if its advice was asked. It has urged explorations in certain places and it has had the unpleasant duty to discourage it in others, sometimes after many thousands of dollars had been invested. It has been a constant attendant, and sometimes a leader, in every important phase of this march.

It should not be necessary for me, at this place, to disclaim any desire to boast of any personal agency in this progress. It is a public duty that must be discharged. The evident utility of an active geological survey at an important juncture in the material development of a state was never so conspicuously demonstrated, and I conceive it to be a duty incumbent upon those who are familiar with the facts to testify to the usefulness of such a survey and to the important guidance which geological science has rendered. Besides, personally, I have had very little to do with it. My young men have been the principal agents. They have been more cognizant of the details in the field than I have. They have appreciated the points at issue and have applied the theories, and to them, if any personality is to be mentioned, belongs the chief credit.

What has been said, thus far, pertains to the first branch of our topic, viz.: the progress of theoretical or scientific knowl-

*This map, however, was not published till June, 1891, shortly after the first important discovery, the Mountain Iron mine, was publicly known.

edge of the iron ores. There should be mentioned one other point, before considering their actual development by mining. What is the origin of these ores? To the geologist this question is so closely interwoven with that of their structural geology that they are almost inseparable. If this question can be answered, many practical questions that arise in mining and many geological problems are at once settled. Various theories have been put forward for the cause of the iron ores of the Lake Superior region by the geologists who have worked upon them. It cannot be said, probably, that any theory of their origin has, as yet, won general approval. Nor can it be said that there is a probability that the ores of the two series have the same origin. As long as it was advocated that the rocks containing the ores are all of the same age, it was necessary to assign to them all the same origin. As soon as it became known that they are in two different series of rocks the ages of which may differ by many thousands or millions of years, it was allowable, if not necessary, to attribute to them different origins. This has been done by the Minnesota Survey. The older ores are supposed to have been chemically precipitated in the bottom of the Archean ocean by disturbances in the equilibrium of the solutions contained in the oceanic waters. These disturbances are attributed to volcanic action which prevailed with great violence during that portion of the Archean age. The ores of the later rocks (the Taconic), are believed to have resulted from a change in the rocks after they were deposited. It has been discovered that these ores result from a change in glauconite, or greensand, through the unstable condition of the ferrous oxide which makes up a large part of such greensand. It has further been inferred that the greensand is derived from microscopic organic forms, such as the foraminifera, which must, in that case, have existed in the Taconic ocean in immense quantities. If this theory be correct, it opens up a wide future for the supply of the Taconic ores, for they are not likely to be confined to mere superficial pockets, but to accompany the strata to great depths. These theories are both of them new, as applied to the ores of the Lake Superior region, and they both require further substantiation before they can be said to be valid.

II. THE ACTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORES BY MINING.

The following figures show the actual production of iron ore from the mines of Minnesota since 1884, the first year of shipments:

Vermilion Range.	Tons.	Mesabi Range.	Tons.
Shipments in 1884	62,124	Shipments in 1884	.....
Shipments in 1885	225,484	Shipments in 1885	.....
Shipments in 1886	307,948	Shipments in 1886	.....
Shipments in 1887	394,910	Shipments in 1887	.....
Shipments in 1888	511,953	Shipments in 1888	.....
Shipments in 1889	844,638	Shipments in 1889	.....
Shipments in 1890	880,290	Shipments in 1890	.....
Shipments in 1891	896,515	Shipments in 1891	.....
Shipments in 1892	1,167,650	Shipments in 1892	4,245
Shipments in 1893	820,621	Shipments in 1893	613,620
Shipments in 1894	953,699	Shipments in 1894	1,788,447
Total	7,065,832	Total	2,406,312
Grand total from the state			9,472,144

There never was an instance, in the history of mining, of such rapid increase, and so large an output in so short a time, as that exhibited by the development of the Mesabi range.

In giving the preceding record of progress in the scientific investigation of the iron ores of the state, reference has been made to some of the early practical working of the ore. In this line precedence must be given, far above all others, to Mr. George C. Stone of Duluth. Through many discouragements, and in spite of many failures, his persistent and well-directed efforts at last were crowned with success. He was the first vice president and general manager of the Minnesota Iron company, whose principal stockholder was Charlemagne Tower. It was Mr. Stone who successively sent the parties under professor Chester to make expert report on the Mesabi range in 1875 and on the Vermilion range in 1880. Mr. Stone saw the first developments. After the total production of ore had reached over 2,250,000 tons he retired from the company with a comfortable fortune, on the transfer of the whole plant to the present owners at a stated total consideration of about $8,000,000. The same company has continued to extend the production from the Vermilion range, having now also the control of the Chandler mine at Ely. The mines at Ely were originally discovered and partially developed by a company under the direction of Mr. James Sheridan, but under the management

of Mr. Joseph Sellwood, the Chandler mine, which is the principal producer, was merged in with the Minnesota Iron Company.

On the Vermilion range, therefore, the discovery was reported in 1866 by the state geologist, although the actual finding of the Vermilion ridges has to be accredited to Mr. George R. Stuntz. The first actual drilling and blasting was done by John Mallmann in July, 1875, when he was in the party of professor Chester, then exploring the Mesabi range for Mr. George C. Stone. The actual mining was inaugurated by Capt. Elisha Morcom, for the Minnesota Iron Company, which in 1884 completed the Duluth & Iron Range railroad from Agate bay to Vermilion lake. In 1886 the management of this company passed from Mr. Stone to Mr. D. H. Bacon, by whose sagacity this company has maintained a commanding position among the iron companies of the Lake Superior region.

On the Mesabi the first record of the existence of iron ore was made by Dr. J. G. Norwood at Gunflint lake, in 1850, when on the survey of David Dale Owen. This is at the extreme eastern end of the range. At the extreme western end the first mention of iron ore was made, so far as known, in 1866, by Mr. H. H. Eames, the state geologist. He described it on Prairie river, and gives several analyses which indicate an ore of good quality. Midway between these extremes the existence of iron ore in the region north from Beaver bay was noted by the surveyors who subdivided the townships for the United States government. This becoming known, a company was organized to ascertain its extent and value. In this company were several Duluth citizens, and the gentlemen who located the town of Beaver Bay. Among these may be mentioned W. W. Spalding, ——— Wieland and Peter Mitchell. Mr. Mitchell was leader of the exploration in the field. The results were not encouraging, and as the company became internally disaffected the enterprise was suspended, although the company in a reconstructed form acquired the ownership of a large tract of land which it still holds.* Professor Chester's examination fol-

*This organization is the oldest existing iron-mining company in the state. It formerly embraced several citizens of Michigan (Capt. Harris and Judge Williams of Marquette), and it now owns about 9,000 acres of land in the central part of the Mesabi range. Its president is Hon. Alex. Ramsey of St. Paul, and its secretary, W. W. Spalding of Duluth.

lowed in 1875, resulting in an unfavorable report for the region examined.

In 1886 a similar effort was made by parties residing at Grand Marais to develop the ore about the western environs of Gunflint lake. This ore was discovered by Mr. Henry Mayhew and the exploration was conducted by Messrs. Paulson, Barker, Boyden and Millar. From this exploration resulted later the Gunflint Lake Iron Company and the construction of a railroad from Port Arthur, Ont. But no ore has been shipped. The enterprise is now abandoned. The next systematic shafting on the Mesabi was conducted in 1888, by John Mallmann, at the Mesabi station, as already mentioned, although it did not much antedate the exploration conducted by Eli Griffin for an association of capitalists near the western end of the range (town 56-24), which was also begun in 1888, and from which resulted later the Diamond and Itasca Mining companies. In the fall of 1890 the first important discovery of ore was made in that region, which has since developed into a remarkable group of mines, and which has attracted the attention probably of every iron-monger throughout the world. The Mountain Iron mine was found first. This is on land belonging to the State of Minnesota. Then followed in quick succession the discovery of the Biwabik, the Hale, the Cincinnati and the whole group of the mines near the town of Biwabik. The great deposits at Virginia were discovered about a year later. The Merritt brothers, of Duluth, have been foremost in making these discoveries and in the preliminary developments. Railroads were completed to these Mesabi mines in 1892, in sufficient time to enable the owners to ship out about 4,000 tons of the ore for trial in the furnace.

The shipments of ore from the mines of Minnesota have already been stated. It is apparent that the State has a great and rapidly increasing interest in this development. The amount of tax which the State treasury has received, at one cent per ton, if the tax has been fully collected according to law, amounts to $94,580. The amount of royalty paid on ore taken from land owned by the State, according to the leases by which they are operated, has been $161,242, on the supposition that it has been fully paid during the last two years; and the sum paid into the treasury for the capitalization of the various

corporations engaged in the iron regions in developing and mining the iron ores and for leases and contracts, amounts to $177,425. The total direct revenue which has come, therefore, into the treasury of the State from the development of the iron ores of the state reaches, at the close of 1894, the sum of $433,-247. This does not include the revenue derivable from increase of other taxable property, such as new railroads and their earnings, or the other manufactures and industries that follow in the wake of the mining industry; nor does it include the substantial increase in population and in political power which is the secondary result of this development.

In conclusion, it is only necessary to call attention to the varied opportunities which still remain for the capitalist to further develop the northeastern part of the state. The first of these opportunities is the manufacture of this ore into pig iron, and the use of the pig iron in the construction of the many articles into which iron enters. At present this ore is freighted east, and the articles which the country needs in great quantities, made perhaps from the very iron which our ore produced, are freighted back again. The citizen of Minnesota pays the freight in both directions, in the former in the reduced profits at which our ores are sold, and in the second in the increased cost at which the manufactured articles are purchased. Gradually, of course, this anomaly will disappear by the establishment of manufactories at home. The sooner it disappears the sooner shall we reap the full benefits which we ought to enjoy from the existence of this ore within our borders.

The northeasterly part of Minnesota is abundantly supplied with available water power, and is covered with a forest which, with pine, consists also of much hardwood and poplar. The hardwoods consist of birch of two sorts and several varieties of oak. This combination of wood and water power will result, by and by, in the establishment of such manufactures as are now common in New England and in New York state.

If we should attempt to forecast the future, guided by this review of the natural resources of the northeastern part of the state, we would be led to expect, within less than a half-century, such a concentration of industry and of population in the region north and west of lake Superior as would make it the leading manufacturing portion of the state. If the rest of

the state shall make equally rapid growth, in those elements of strength for which they are now pre-eminent, Minnesota will be one of the leading States of the central portion of the Union, and her influence will be felt powerfully in the councils of the Nation.

NORTHERN MINNESOTA.

Illustrating Papers by
N. H. WINCHELL,
U. S. GRANT, and
WARREN UPHAM.

LAKE OF THE WOODS
RAINY LAKE
RAINY RIVER
RED RIVER OF THE NORTH
RED LAKE
LAKE SUPERIOR
DIVIDE
HUNTER'S ISLAND
APPROXIMATE AREA OF BELTRAMI ISLAND
KITTSON
ROSEAU
MARSHALL
BELTRAMI
POLK
NORMAN
BECKER
CLAY
HUBBARD
CASS
ITASCA
KOOCHICHING
ST. LOUIS
LAKE
WILKIN
OTTER TAIL
WADENA
CROW WING
AITKIN
CARLTON
TODD
MORRISON
LEAF HILLS
PINE

EXPLANATION.

- Koweenawan and Taconic.
- Archean.
- Iron Ranges.
- Highest Shore of the Glacial Lake Agassiz.
- Alluvial clayey silt, deposited mainly after Lake Agassiz was drained away.

SCALE OF MILES.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

BY THE PRESIDENT, HON. ALEX. RAMSEY.

Among the officials of the new Territory of Minnesota, appointed by the President and selected from the older states, there came Charles K. Smith, from Hamilton in the State of Ohio, as its Secretary.

Having, I imagine, been connected with the Historical Society of his native state, he saw the importance of early collecting the past and current history of the new region, and imbued, with his ideas on the subject, a number of the public men who were about here at that time. The Legislature, when it met in September, readily assented to the passage of a bill organizing the Historical Society of Minnesota. This was in 1849, and ever since that early date it has zealously collected and preserved the traditions, records, and publications, of the Territory and State.

Its beginning was modest, as you may well imagine, but it was in the charge of men who realized that it was not alone Minnesota's material growth which was to be considered, but the development of the intellectual life of the community as well. In this spirit they carried on their work, and although their encouragement was but slight in those early days, their labors have been among the strongest of the agencies which have built up the character of the state, and have secured to us the sympathy and interest of a large body of men, not only in this country but in foreign lands, who cherish the same aims as those which led to the establishment of this Society.

* An address at the Annual Meeting of the Society, Jan. 13, 1896.

Its library now contains fifty-six thousand volumes and pamphlets, many of which, relating to Minnesota and Northwestern History, cannot probably be found in any other collection.

Its department of newspapers comprises complete series of nearly every paper ever issued in Minnesota, from the beginning of its existence as a territory. Every week about three hundred and fifty newspapers, of the daily and weekly issues, from all parts of the state, are received and stored until their volumes are ready for binding. There are now about three thousand bound volumes of these Minnesota newspapers in a fireproof vault of the Society, accessible, under Mr. Chaney's care, to all who desire to consult them; thus constituting a mine of priceless information, not only for purposes of consultation in legal and other ways at the present time, but more especially valuable to the thorough historian of the future. And we are proud to be among the pioneers of this method of conserving the current history of the day. The Council of the Society is glad to know that, in the new Capitol building soon to be constructed, space will be provided, ample and secure, for these valuable and rapidly increasing volumes.

There are one hundred and fifty-three names upon the roll of Life Members, twenty-three of whom have already passed away. Many of them have taken a large share in making the fair history of our Commonwealth, and have written, or otherwise aided in making up the published volumes of our Historical Collections. Their names I should be glad to recall, did time permit.

The list of our Corresponding Members, who especially aid the Society by contributions of manuscript and historical publications from other states and countries, being men distinguished for their public services and interest in historical research, numbers ninety-nine, of whom forty have died, leaving fifty-nine now living.

Among these I may mention such names as Robert Clarke, of Cincinnati; Gen. C. W. Darling, of Utica, N. Y.; Dr. Samuel A. Green, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, who has donated more books and other publications to our Society than any other person outside the State; the late Benson J. Lossing, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; John P. Nicholson,

of Philadelphia, Recorder of the Loyal Legion of the United States; and the late William F. Poole, of Chicago, most eminent of American librarians.

Our list of Honorary Members numbers fifty-seven. Thirty-eight of these have died during the term of nearly fifty years since our Society began. Many of these were elected during its early years, when our Minnesota historian, the Rev. Edward D. Neill, was our Secretary. Subsequent to his term of service, the Society was for twenty-six years under the efficient and devoted care of the late J. Fletcher Williams. Among our honorary members are the following names, mostly belonging to the past generation and all distinguished for their attainments in literature, science, or statesmanship: Louis Agassiz; George Bancroft; Lewis Cass; Thomas Ewing; Millard Fillmore; General Hancock; Kane, the Arctic explorer; Lapham, of Wisconsin; John Lothrop Motley; the poet and geologist, Percival; Stephen R. Riggs, the missionary and author of the Dakota Dictionary; William H. Seward; Henry R. Schoolcraft; Zachary Taylor; and Bishop Whipple.

The Society's publications are exchanged with other historical and scientific societies, universities, colleges, and great public libraries, in every state of the Union, in all the provinces of Canada, and in every country of Europe, besides also far away Japan and Australia.

Thus the labors, sacrifices, and successes, of the Minnesota pioneers go forth in our volumes to the ends of the earth and the islands of the sea. In return, flowing into our Library, are the similar historical, descriptive, biographical, and statistical records of all civilized lands.

Though in the beginning, as I well remember, we had abundance of space in an apartment not more than ten feet square, our numbers, our volumes, and our collections of historical data, have so greatly increased that they now crowd and overflow our present quarters. When the new and more commodious Capitol shall have been completed, we shall receive, we are informed, for our library, museum, and rooms for meetings, three times as much space as we at present occupy,—a day, to which, as you see, we have reason to look forward with impatience.

On many occasions this Society and its friends have entertained visitors of world-wide renown for their work in the development of learning, of good government, and the extension of civilization and Christianity. One such occasion that I remember with especial distinctness was in the summer of 1860, over thirty-five years ago, when two most interesting men, from distant parts of the continent, happened to be visiting at the same time in our young city, namely, William H. Seward, and the Rt. Rev. Dr. Anderson, Bishop of Rupert's Land. The aforementioned apartment was thrown open and a reception was held in their honor. They were much interested in our work and congratulated us upon what we had already accomplished, speaking words of cheer and encouragement, and urging us to still greater effort. Both of these men have since passed away, leaving a history behind them with which we are proud to be identified in even so slight a degree.

It would be difficult and might be tedious to enumerate the many instances in which the Society has done especially useful work, but it just occurs to me (having recently received a letter in regard to this subject) that among the achievements in which it may take satisfaction, is the publication, with the coöperation of the Smithsonian Institution, at an early day, of the Dakota Lexicon, prepared by S. R. Riggs and the Brothers Pond, thus preserving the language of the most noted and powerful of the tribes of North American Indians; also, the vindication of the claims of the discoverers of the sources of the Mississippi, so ably handled by our fellow member, General J. H. Baker; and, again, the successful advocacy, before the Legislature, of the project for the establishment of a State Park at Lake Itasca, in which we had the invaluable assistance of Hon. J. V. Brower.

This Society is here for the service of the State, as it has been in the past and shall be in the future. Its history is gathered in our Library from year to year, from week to week, and day by day. Its doors are open free to all, and its custodians welcome all who seek to drink at its fountains.

OPENING OF THE RED RIVER OF THE NORTH TO COMMERCE AND CIVILIZATION.*

BY CAPTAIN RUSSELL BLAKELEY.

On May 8th, 1857, the House of Commons ordered that a select committee be appointed to consider the state of those British Possessions in North America which are under the administration of the Hudson Bay Company, or over which they possess a license to trade. On May 12th it was ordered that the committee consist of nineteen members. The committee was appointed as follows:

Mr. Secretary Labouchere,	Sir John Pakington,
Lord John Russell,	Mr. Gladstone,
Lord Stanley,	Mr. Roebuck,
Mr. Edward Ellice,	Mr. Lowe,
Viscount Sandon,	Mr. Grogan,
Mr. Kinnaird,	Mr. Gregson,
Mr. Blackburn,	Mr. Chas. Fitzwilliam,
Mr. Alexander Matheson,	Mr. Gurney,
Mr. Percy Herbert,	Viscount Goderich.

It was ordered that they have the power to send for persons, papers and records; and that five be a quorum. On May 13th it was ordered that Mr. Christy be added to the committee. On July 31st it was ordered that the committee have power to report their observations, together with the minutes of evidence taken before them, to the House.

The minutes and evidence were reported to the House and ordered printed July 31st and August 11th, 1857. This report contains 547 pages, with three maps, and may be found in

* An Address at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Jan. 13, 1896.

Case No. 20 of this Society. Those who would like to know the history of the Hudson Bay Company should read it.

The recommendations and findings of the committee are quite too long to be repeated here, but I may say they recommend that the license to trade be terminated at the expiration of the present term of twenty-one years (in 1859) in such districts of the territory claimed under their charter as Canada may wish to open up and colonize, that these districts be ceded to Canada, and that the rights of the Hudson Bay Company wholly cease as to that part so surrendered. This was supposed to be about the end of the company's control of the region adjoining the Red river of the North and the Saskatchewan; and every one in Canada and Minnesota anticipated early action of the Imperial and Dominion Governments in opening up the country to settlement.

In the winter of 1857, at Washington, D. C., by the kind offices of Hon. H. M. Rice, I made the acquaintance of Mr. Ramsay Crooks, the New York agent of the Hudson Bay Company, who told me that he had just effected an arrangement with the Secretary of the Treasury, by which the goods of the Hudson Bay Company would be carried in bond through the United States, to Fort Garry, by way of Saint Paul. He wished to make an arrangement with some one to act as agent for the company in Saint Paul. I informed him that in the spring Messrs. J. C. & H. C. Burbank would succeed Blakeley & Burbank in the forwarding business in Saint Paul, and that I would recommend him to correspond with them in regard to what he wished done.

In the summer of 1858 two or three shipments of goods were received in Saint Paul and were taken by the brigade of the Hudson Bay Company's carts, under the charge and direction of Mr. James McKey, a most efficient man to handle this kind of transportation in the prairie country.

It is not possible to convey to you the impression made upon our business men by this evident good faith and determination of the Hudson Bay Company to abandon York Factory as their route of transportation, together with the determination of the Imperial Government to terminate the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hudson Bay Company in Northwest British America.

You will remember that this country was suffering from the great financial collapse of 1857, and any possible change for the better was hailed with the earnestness of drowning men. In addition to this good hope for the future came the discovery of gold on Fraser and Thompson rivers in British Columbia, which made our people wild. Congratulations were exchanged between our citizens as they met on the street and in their business offices; our papers, at once, took hold of the matter and began to discuss the question, how to avail ourselves of this good fortune, which had come to relieve us of our calamity; public meetings were called; resolutions were passed; each one who had any information that would help to elucidate and make plain the way of how to get there was pressed into service. Among others who were called upon, I was advised that the business public hoped that I would visit the Red river and report whether it was navigable or not, Mr. John R. Irvine volunteering to accompany me.

In October I got ready for this voyage of discovery and with Mr. Irvine left Saint Paul, by way of St. Peter's, Fort Ridgely, Yellow Medicine, Lac qui Parle, and the Kittson trail, to Fort Abercrombie, where we found Capt. Nelson H. Davis and Lieutenant P. Hawkins, with their company of the Second Infantry, and Jesse M. Stone, the sutler of the fort. The fort had been hastily built and consisted mostly of log cabins on the bottomland of the river.

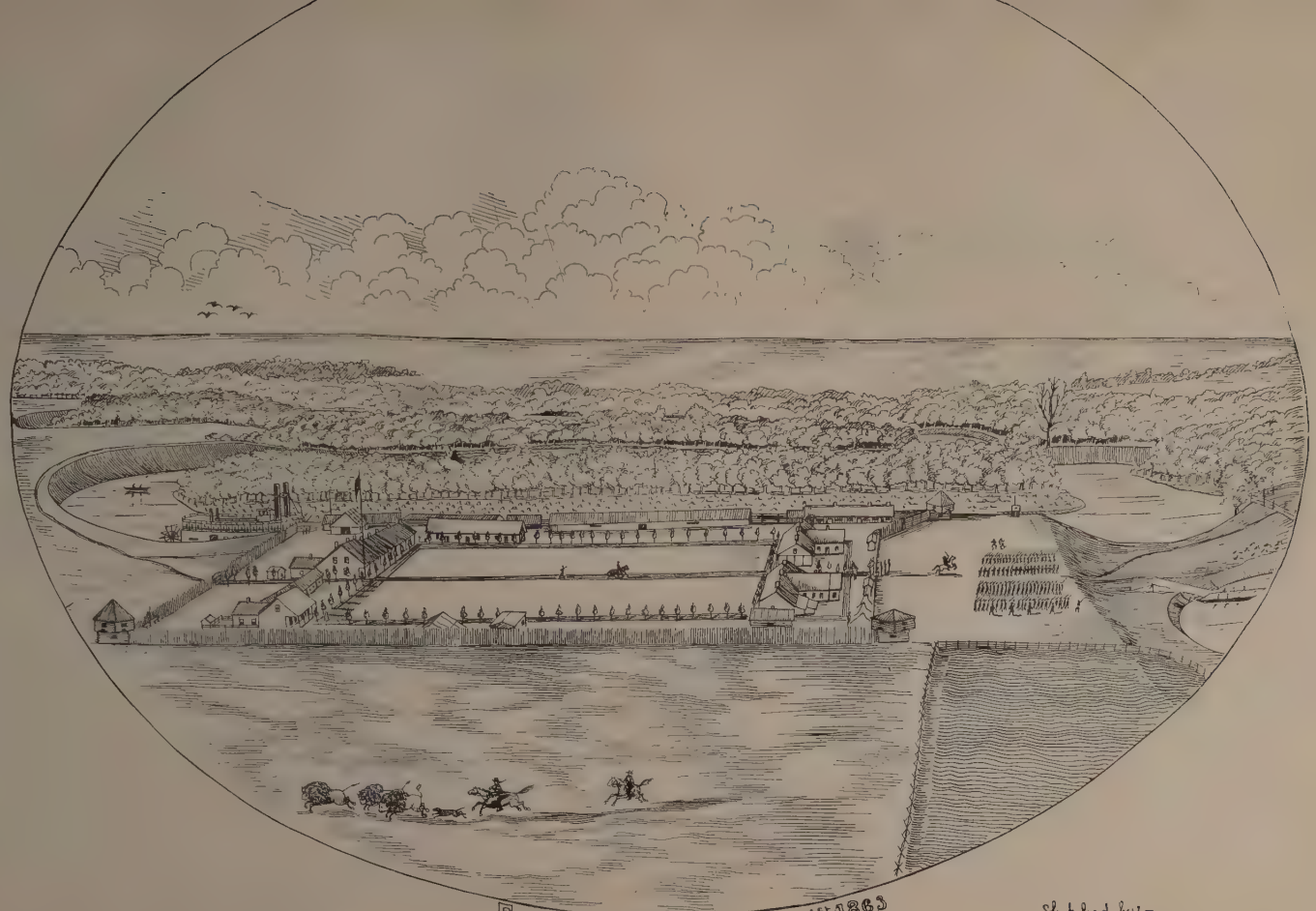
After enjoying the welcome hospitality of the officer of the post for several days, we resumed our journey, by crossing at the ford at Graham's point, about three miles south of the fort, to the east side, and passed down the banks of the river, camping on its bottomlands and viewing the stream as opportunity occurred. After passing two or three claim locations for the head of navigation on the river, among which I remember Sintominie and Burlington, we arrived at the claim of Mr. Irvine, which he had named Lafayette, oposite the mouth of the Sheyenne-Oju, about three miles above Georgetown, where we stayed until our horses were rested for our return trip by way of Old Crossing, Lightning lake, White Bear lake, and Richmond, to St. Cloud, and thence by the stage road to St. Paul. On this return we met Mr. Albert Evans, the mail-carrier between St. Cloud and Fort Aber-

crombie, on foot, with his mail upon his back, near the Old Crossing.

My report to the Chamber of Commerce was, that there should be three or four months of navigation and there ought to be a boat built next year. The Chamber immediately offered a bonus of $1,000 to any one who would build a boat ready to run next season. This bid came to the knowledge of Mr. Anson Northup, who proposed to build a boat, ready for navigation next year, for $2,000, which offer was accepted. Northup had bought the "North Star" in Minneapolis, and had taken her up over Sauk Rapids and Little Falls to run on the upper river, to carry the lumbermen's supplies. She passed Sauk Rapids June 7th, and soon after made a pleasure trip to Grand Rapids, at the present town of this name, about three miles below Pokegama falls. Capt. J. B. Young was master, and among the passengers on the excursion were Anson Northup, Baldwin Olmsted, O. B. Day, Lewis Stone, Jeff Perkins, David Gilman, and their wives, besides many others. They were about two weeks making the trip. In the fall the boat was laid up, in the mouth of Crow Wing river.

The machinery of the "North Star" had originally been brought to Minneapolis from Bangor, Maine, and was put on the "Gov. Ramsey," built in 1851 by Capt. John Rollins. After Northup made the contract to build the boat, he went to Crow Wing river, sawed the lumber, and probably framed the timbers for the hull. He loaded the machinery, cabin and furniture, and lumber to build the boat, on thirty-four teams, and with sixty men started for Lafayette on the Red river. Among the men who made this winter trip were Baldwin Olmsted, Mr. Morse, master builder Lewis Stone, J. B. Young, and A. R. Young, most resolute and reliable men for such work. The distance, probably one hundred and fifty miles, was in a country unknown, without roads; and the winter was the coldest on record.

About six weeks after they arrived, they had built the boat, which received the name of the builder, "Anson Northup," had run her up to Abercrombie, and started for Fort Garry on May 17, arriving there June 5. Soon afterward, this boat took a large number of passengers to lake Winnipeg on an excursion. She returned to Fort Abercrombie with twenty



Fort Abercrombie, D.T. May 1st 1863
In Command of Lieut. Col. F. Peteler. U.S.S.S.

Sketched by -
Geo. K. Elsbury D. 7th Minn Vols

passengers on her up trip, where the boat was tied up. Northup and the crew started for St. Paul, taking their passengers, with the teams that had been kept since the winter.

The great interest had, during the summer and fall of 1858, gathered strength daily. The contract with Northup for the boat proved to be a great card in starting the ball. The Chamber of Commerce had to raise the money to pay the bonus for building the boat. Some preparation to open the road to the gold fields in British Columbia had to be made. Foremost among the workers on these absorbing questions were Messrs. James W. Taylor, Joseph A. Wheelock, Col. W. H. Nobles, Martin McLeod, and Henry McKentey. The writings of the two first named gentlemen would fill a volume, and I may say that the speeches of Mr. Taylor would fill two. The earnestness with which he advocated the opening up of these different routes, to Garry and the Pacific, cannot be realized by those who did not have the good fortune to hear him. I remember the closing sentence of an appeal he made, while engaged in raising the money for the bonus; after having presented all the inducements that he could think of, he said, "When the whistle shall sound the advent of this boat in Garry, Archbishop Taché, who has prayed so earnestly and waited so long, will spring instantly to his feet and, raising his hands reverently above his head, exclaim, 'In the name of God, let the bells of St. Boniface ring, for civilization has come!'" He was more especially the friend of the water route, by way of the Red and Saskatchewan rivers to the gold fields, and advocated this route so constantly that he was in later times known as "Saskatchewan" Taylor.

On the 7th of December, 1858, the Common Council of the city of St. Paul, of which C. L. Emerson was president, asked Mr. Taylor to prepare a report upon the settlement of the area northwest of Minnesota and the extension of steamer, railroad, and telegraph communication west from the navigable waters of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, with the relations of Minnesota to the American and Asiatic coasts of the Pacific ocean. He prepared a large map of the territory to the west and northwest, which was hung on the wall of the Council Chamber to illustrate the matter of his report. They appointed a meeting on an evening to listen to the reading of

this report. It may be found, with others, in the appendix to the journals of the Senate and House for 1858-'59, together with a report of a committee from the House, in all about 100 pages.

In the mail letting of 1858, the service on the route from La Crosse to St. Paul for the winter months had been awarded to J. C. Burbank and R. Blakeley, under the firm name of J. C. Burbank & Co. In preparation for this service we had bought what we had believed to be sufficient wheel, horse, and harness stock for our work; but our business exceeded our anticipation, and we made arrangements with Messrs. Allen & Chase, who had been engaged in running the stage service above St. Paul to the north, and the Minnesota Stage Company was organized with J. C. Burbank, manager, and Alvaren Allen, route agent. When the spring opened we found we had a large amount of stage stock, but no place for it to run. Allen & Chase had been awarded the service on the several routes north from St. Paul to St. Cloud and Crow Wing, and from St. Cloud to Fort Abercrombie. We entered into partnership with them and moved our stock from the river road to their routes, and operated the new service in the name of the Minnesota Stage Company, under the same management as during the winter. The information that I had got from Mr. Ramsay Crooks in Washington in the winter of 1857, and the expectation that the steamer would be ready in the spring for service on the Red river, with the conviction that the Hudson Bay Company would vacate the territory south of the Saskatchewan river at an early day, induced us to stock the route from St. Cloud to Abercrombie for three times a week. As I had been out to see the country, my partners voted that I would be the best one to put the service in operation.

The route advertised was an entirely new one and probably located in the interest of some new town sites, whose claim stakes had been driven in anticipation that they would have the benefit of the bridges and the road which the stage company would have to build. The road to be fitted for service ran from St. Cloud, by way of Cold Spring, New Munich, Melrose, Winnebago Crossing, Sauk Rapids, Kandota, Osakis, Alexandria, Dayton, and Breckenridge, to Fort Abercrombie.

Early in June, at St. Cloud, I gathered the stock and general outfit for operating the road, together with a working party to make the road and build the bridges and stations. When this collection of horses, hack drivers, station keepers, and working party, moved out to build the road, bridges, and stations over these one hundred and sixty miles of road, the people of St. Cloud, beginning to realize what it meant for them, gave us their hearty cheers and Godspeed. The passengers who accompanied us on this expedition were Misses Ellenora and Christina Sterling, from Scotland; Sir Francis Sykes, Sheffield, Peters, and a servant, all bound for Fort Garry. Mr. James W. Taylor, who had worked so hard, accompanied us by invitation to see the steamboat and Fort Garry, and for the purpose of deciding for himself the practicability of steam navigation, by way of the Saskatchewan river, toward the British Columbia gold fields. After three weeks of hard work the road was ready for travel.

When I left St. Paul the Col. Nobles expedition for locating the road from Abercrombie to the Fraser and Thompson gold fields was being prepared for its start. We had the great gratification of meeting them at the ford at Graham's Point; and with them was another party, going to Fort Garry, among whom we found Messrs. Joseph A. Wheelock, of Saint Paul, and Manton Marble, proprietor and editor of the *New York World*. On our arrival at the fort, we found the steamboat tied up, as mentioned above. We had seen Northup with his crew, on his way home, at Alexandria, when I at once commenced to scold him for tying up his boat and abandoning her with his crew. His answer was, "If you want her to run, you will have to buy her." This was not pleasant under the circumstances.

Capt. Davis and Lieut. Hawkins were greatly surprised to see such an arrival and heartily welcomed us. Col. Nobles stayed long enough to overhaul his outfit, and again started for the gold fields. Mr. Taylor joined the Wheelock and Marble party. The mail started the next morning for St. Paul, and I was left to make some provision for my passengers. I said to the ladies that, if agreeable to them, I would ask Sir Francis Sykes to join in the expense of building a flat boat to take them all to Garry. They, with pleasure, consented.

Sir Francis' party was very glad to accept this solution of their situation. Capt. Davis and Lieut. Hawkins said, "Anything we have is at your service."

Mr. Claghorn, who was left in charge of the steamboat, was a carpenter, and with his assistance my men very soon produced a more cheerful outlook for all by their progress with their work. While our boat was being built, Sir George Simpson, governor of the Hudson Bay Company, came up from Garry, accompanied by Mr. James McKey and a dozen soldiers. After an introduction, he asked to see the steamboat. He expressed himself much gratified at seeing the boat, and at once said that J. C. Burbank & Co. ought to buy her. I said I had already as much steamboat property as I wanted, on the Mississippi. He called upon the ladies and informed them that Mr. Campbell, whom they were going to meet, was at the Norway House, waiting for them. He assured Sir Francis and party that they would find plenty of guides ready to go with them, and that there was no doubt of their getting down the river all right. The flatboat was soon completed, with a nice awning to keep the sun off the ladies. After inspection, all hands expressed themselves delighted with the accommodation for their voyage. The provisions were furnished by the sutler store, with such other preparations for their comfort as could be supplied by the soldiers of the post. They declared themselves ready, and with their baggage, tents, etc., on board, they took their seats, and I cast off the lines of the first passenger boat on Red river. With cheers from all, they bid me good-bye.

Mr. George W. Northrup was the captain and with two other men of my employees worked the boat to its destination in safety. They were twenty-two days on the river to Garry, where they arrived all well. The first inquiry of the ladies was for Mr. Campbell. Gov. McTavish answered, "He is at Norway House, waiting for you, and the last brigade of boats starts at four o'clock to-morrow morning. Will you go?" "Yes," without hesitation, was their answer.

The two ladies embarked in the Mackinaw boats before daylight, without knowing a single person in the crew, for a voyage through lake Winnipeg, a distance of three hundred miles, and were joyfully welcomed by Mr. Campbell on their

safe arrival. Miss Ellenora Sterling and Mr. Campbell were married in the evening. The next day Mr. Campbell suggested that Indian women's short clothes would be more comfortable for the remainder of the voyage. The ladies at Norway House soon had them fitted out in the fashion of the country, and they again changed their mode of conveyance by taking their seats in a large birch bark canoe with twelve paddles, under the care of chief trader Campbell, for Fort Chipewyan, on lake Athabasca, eight hundred miles away, where they arrived just as winter set in.

These ladies were of large, hearty, robust make-up, admirably pleasing in their presence and address, intelligent and ladylike. Mr. Taylor and I highly respected them, and, in recognition of their heroic courage in making this journey, six thousand miles from home, through our state into the wild inhospitable regions of the Hudson Bay Company, we proposed, while we were in camp on the west shore of Pelican lake, that we would see that the lake upon which we were encamped should be marked on the map of the survey as Ellenora, and that the one to the east of it should be named Christina. They were so named on the state map of 1860, but I regret to learn that the later maps have again changed the former name back to Pelican. I am sorry they do not know why the lake was called after this lady, Ellenora, or they would have the grace to restore her name to the lake and so help to keep her in memory for all coming time.

Sir Francis Sykes' party, when they started on their hunt, took George W. Northrup with them. Edward Eggleston has written the story of Northrup's life in *Harper's Magazine* (vol. 88). There is a copy in this society's scrap book for 1894, page 83. Major Brackett, in his report of the fight with the Indians July 28, 1864, gives the account of his death in that action. (See vol. 2, page 535, of Minnesota in the Civil War and Indian War.)

After I had bid adieu to the flatboat party, I took the first stage for home, meeting on the way a large train of carts with Hudson Bay Company's goods. The next day I was surprised to meet the up stage with a full load of passengers, who saluted me with great cordiality, informing me that Mr. Burbank had bought the "Anson Northup," that they were

on their way to load the goods that were on the train that I had met and to take them to Garry, and that the train would return for another load for the second trip of the boat. They also informed me that Mr. McKey would return from St. Paul, to select a point on Red river for the head of navigation and a town site. This crew were Capt. Edwin Bell, Dudley Kelly, clerk, J. B. Young, pilot, A. R. Young, engineer, and others to make up the crew. This information was a little more than I had bargained for, and I did not want for thought for the balance of the way to St. Paul. Sir George Simpson had offered us a contract to transport five hundred tons from St. Paul to Garry per annum for five years at what was thought to be a very good price per ton, and it was expected I would be delighted to go over to the river and take personal charge of the business. To this part of the bargain I at once objected, but said that after I had visited my family at Galena I would return and go down on the second trip of the boat and inspect this "land of promise."

On my return to the Red river I heard that McKey had made a selection of a place for the town site, below the mouth of the Buffalo and about three miles below Lafayette, the place where the boat had been built. On my arrival Mr. Atwater, who was engaged in a government survey and saw the stage drive in, came to call upon me and asked whether I had come over to go down on the boat. I said, "Yes." "Do you know where she is?" I said, "No; where is she?" "At Goose rapids. Her freight has been unloaded, and Mr. McKey starts to-morrow morning with a train to take the freight to Garry." I asked him to ride down to Georgetown, Mr. McKey's town-site, and ask him to send a cart up for me, and I would go down to the rapids with him. He sent for myself and baggage and furnished me with a saddle horse, and I joined the cart brigade for the rapids. We found the freight at the head of the rapids, and the boat was about half way down this now well known place.

Riding down the bank until we were opposite the boat, I called with more than my usual tone of voice, "Boat ahoy!" Capt. Bell, recognizing my voice, exclaimed, "Thank God! The man I have prayed to see for three weeks." He invited me to ride out to the boat, which I did, and, as I got off my

horse, was received by the crew with hearty greeting. In the morning each man was furnished an ax, for the purpose of cutting some of the nice timber on the shores to build a dam. Stakes were driven across the river, leaving a water way about the middle of the stream, sufficient to pass the boat; the bodies of the trees that we had cut were rolled into the river from each side and floated down to the stakes; the willows on the bottoms were piled under the bodies of the trees, which had been placed across the river above the stakes, and the boat floated into deep water below the rapids before sunset. The water was very low, but we worked our way to Garry without material detention.

Our welcome was hearty by the people of the settlement, some of whom had begun to almost doubt whether the steamboat had come from the south in the spring, as she was so long delayed in her return. Gov. William McTavish, Archbishop Taché, our Mr. J. W. Taylor, who had come with the Wheelock party, and Charles Cavalier, formerly of St. Paul and Pembina, were very kind to us and made us at home among them.

The boat was taken down to Indian river to be laid up for the winter in safe harbor. Mr. Lillie, the gentleman in charge of Lower Fort Garry, made us comfortable at his post, and with others went on down to the head of lake Winnipeg and back, after the boat had been laid up for the winter. Gov. McTavish also invited me to make his house my home while in Garry, which offer I gratefully accepted.

There did not seem to be any practicable way of getting the crew back to St. Paul, excepting to wait until the brigade of carts that had to be sent for the second lot of goods was ready to move, which detained us for three weeks. With our baggage and supplies for the home journey on the carts, we started for Pembina, where I had the pleasure of the hospitality of Major H. S. Donaldson and others over night. We resumed our journey by way of the old Kittson trail, the location of which can be found on the map of Capt. John Pope, in his report of his topographical survey of the territory in 1849. There were many incidents connected with these two hundred and fifty miles of cart transportation which might interest friends of the party, but I refrain from indulging myself in relating them.

During the winter of 1859-'60, Mr. J. C. Burbank visited La Chine and Sir George Simpson, and completed the contract for five years' transportation, as intimated above. The steamboat was transferred to J. C. & H. C. Burbank, I retaining my interest in the stage and express business.

In my trip down the river on the boat, I had become painfully aware of many imperfections in this new boat; the hull was new, but it was made of pine; the machinery was eight years old; the furniture was very limited; the boiler was of locomotive kind, and the head was cracked clear across and leaked so badly that it was not possible to get up a sufficient head of steam to be called seaworthy or bear inspection, so that it became necessary to have a new head. The Gates Foundry Company, of Chicago, sent a man out to take the measurements; and he returned to Chicago to make the head, and again returned to the boat to put it in and make such other repairs as were needed.

I had advised that time should be taken to have a dog train come up to Crow Wing, over the mail route by the woods road, and that they travel with the mail carrier, Monkiman, who knew the country and was a good train man; but the persons at Georgetown were of the opinion that they knew how to manage the transportation of the boilermaker and had him come to Georgetown, where one of their employers, James McKenzie, took him in charge and started out for the trip. I am not sure whether it was on the first or second journey, but as they came to the vicinity of Two Rivers, not far from Pembina, there came on one of the terrific storms that sometimes occurred in those days, and the party had to stop; the reason why, I am not able to state, but McKenzie started to find the road or to go to Pembina for help, and left the foundry man with the team. In McKenzie's attempt to get to Pembina, he lost his way, and, not having the proper means of protection, became exhausted and perished in the terrible storm. I am not able to say what were all the circumstances of this unfortunate result, but many hearts were made sad by the loss of this brave young man, who, in his great ambition to do his duty, was sacrificed in his effort to save those who had been placed in his keeping for care and safe conveyance.

In the spring, after the boat had been repaired, she was named the "Pioneer" and started out under the charge of

Capt. Sam Painter and Alden Bryant, clerk, and did a good business.

The mail contracts of Allen & Chase had been transferred to J. C. Burbank & Co. The mail route from Fort Abercrombie extended to Pembina and was carried by William Tarbell and George W. Northrup, in carts during the summer, and with dog trains in winter.

Among the agreeable events that were so full of hope for the future of St. Paul, in 1860, was the interview between Rt. Rev. David Anderson, Bishop of Rupert's Land, and the Hon. Senator William H. Seward. Mr. James W. Taylor has furnished this Society with the only report which is extant of the incidents of that occasion, and it seems so appropriate to be included in this paper that I have inserted it here.

St. Paul, Jan. 29th, 1862.

To the Editor of the St. Paul Press:

* * * It is an address of David Anderson, Bishop of the Church of England in the immense Diocese of Rupert's Land or Central British America, to William H. Seward, then Senator, and now Secretary of State. The meeting of the two men had been arranged by mutual friends—it occurred at twelve o'clock M., of September 18, 1860, in the room of the Minnesota Historical Society. The Bishop adopted the English custom of such occasions, and read his remarks from a manuscript: Seward's response was less premeditated. I copy from the autograph of His Reverend Lordship:

"GOVERNOR SEWARD: It is with no little pleasure that I embrace the opportunity of being presented to you on this occasion. From the position that I occupy in the Diocese of Rupert's Land, I cannot but feel a deep and growing interest in the welfare of the United States, and more especially in that of Minnesota, which immediately adjoins our own territory. Whatever tends to advance your prosperity, would at the same time, I am convinced, advance also our own, and I trust that the bonds which unite us together may be drawn closer year by year.

"The visit of His Royal Highness to the possessions of the British Crown on this continent, and his approaching visit to the United States, may be hailed as an event which is calculated to cement most happily the union between the two countries. On the establishment and continuance of such peaceful relations, the progress of civilization through the world and the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom would materially depend.

"I would gratefully acknowledge the very great benefits already received from your Government by our own distant and isolated land.

Much has been done during the last eleven years, of which alone I can speak, to diminish the distance which separates us from the home of our fathers. On my first arrival, thrice only a year could we expect to hear from England. We are now indebted to yourselves for a double mail each month. For this, in the name of every member of our community, I would express our deep and lasting gratitude.

"We would look beyond this to the opening, at no very remote period, of a Highway toward the Western Sea. I trust that, both in your own possessions and the British Territory, a route toward the Pacific may ere long be completed, and a direct communication thus opened from Sea to Sea. In such enterprises, I would at the present time ask you to use whatever of weight and influence you may possess in your own Legislature, and would, in return, assure you that any such efforts would meet with the earnest and hearty co-operation of those over whom the Providence of God has placed me.

"In conclusion, I would only pray that this spirit of harmony and peace may ever exist between Britain and the United States, and, with the continuance of such peace I would anticipate a bright and blessed spread of the Gospel of Peace among the nations of the Earth."

With the last sentence, uttered in the excellent prelate's most impressive manner, all eyes turned upon the statesman of New York. His first words of response startled the expectant circle:

"Bishop," said he, "two hundred years ago there was an irrepressible conflict in England. One party contended for a Church without a Bishop, and a State without a King; another party was certain that there could be *no* Church without a Bishop and no well ordered State without a King."

A pause. The Bishop of Rupert's Land was not comfortable. An uneasy suspense of breath ran round the room. So did the gray eye of the speaker. He was evidently in the humor, which his Grace of Newcastle afterwards failed so signally to appreciate. We were soon relieved, however. The Senator resumed: "This conflict of opinion, with its immediate issues of civil war, largely contributed to the emigration of Englishmen to this Continent, and the organization of diverse communities. With successive generations, the bitterness of the seventeenth century has been succeeded by new relations—by peace and good will—until we have, on this occasion, an interesting proof that the remote settlements of Selkirk and Rupert's Land respond to the 'spirit of harmony,' which is alike the cause and effect of Modern Civilization."

His Lordship's muscles relaxed. A half smile succeeded among the auditors—the speaker only retaining an imperturbable expression of gravity. In a few words, fitly chosen but unluckily not preserved by a reporter, the Senator cordially reciprocated the sentiments of Dr. Anderson, closing the formalities of the interview by the Anglo-Saxon ceremony of shaking hands.

The proceedings were of "admirable length"—certainly not exceeding fifteen minutes. And yet, as I recall them, I have seldom witnessed a more striking *tableau vivant*. Neill, as Secretary of the Society, first

received the Bishop and his friends. Among the latter were Captain (since General) R. B. Marcy, Judge Nelson, Dr. Van Ingen, and Captain Russell Blakeley. By common consent Captain Blakeley was requested to execute the ceremony of presentation. As Seward entered with Gov. Ramsey, a large following of Republican politicians, State and National, filled the apartment. Hon. C. F. Adams, now Minister to England, was a prominent and deeply interested spectator. North, now of Nevada, Benson, Baker, Morrison, and many others of Minnesota celebrity, were present. The occasion deserved much more notice than it received in the excitement and crowd of events that followed, and which is imperfectly supplied by this tardy record.

This new route, to be opened for steamboat navigation across the continent, challenged the attention of the steamboat men at once. Capt. John B. Davis, who was later Major of the Second Minnesota Regiment in the rebellion, believed that in high water a steamboat could be taken up the Minnesota river and, by the way of the Big Stone lake, to lake Traverse and the Red river. He resolved to make the attempt with his steamboat "Freighter," and, leaving St. Paul in the high water, got within about eight miles of Big Stone lake, but found the water quite too low and had to leave his boat for the winter, with the hope of doing better the next season, but finally abandoned the project. The boat was sold to J. C. & H. C. Burbank & Co. C. P. V. Lull went over to the boat in the winter, took out her machinery, taking it to Georgetown to be put in a new boat, to be built for the Red river business to succeed the "Pioneer."

In 1861 Mr. McConnell and his two sons came from Beaver, Penn., to build this boat, which was quite appropriately named "International." The timber was selected from the bottomlands of the Red and Buffalo rivers; the sawing was done by Mr. A. W. Kelly, now of Jamestown, North Dakota; and she was finished in the fall of 1861. The engines were put in by Mr. Edwin R. Abell. She measured 137 feet long, 26 feet beam, and was rated about 133 tons. C. P. V. Lull ran her for a trip or two, when Mr. N. W. Kittson was employed to take charge of her, as he could talk to the Indians, who had become very troublesome, complaining that the boat drove away all the game and killed the fish, and that the whistle made such an unearthly noise that the spirits of their fathers could not rest in their graves on the banks of the river. They had written a letter to the Burbanks, demand-

ing that they send four kegs of yellow money to quiet the spirits of their fathers, or stop running the boats. The money had not been sent, but Indian Commissioner Dole and Superintendent C. W. Thomson were on their way to hold a treaty with them at the mouth of the Red Lake river, opposite what is now Grand Forks, when the Sioux Indian outbreak occurred.

The teams with the goods and a military guard had left Fort Abercrombie for the treaty grounds, when a dispatch came from Commissioner Dole for the train to return at once, also informing the officers at Abercrombie that the Sioux were on the war path. Orders were sent to the detachment of troops at Georgetown, to return to the fort, and advising Messrs. Kittson and Murray that they must prepare to defend themselves.

On the 22d of August, the Sioux appeared at Dayton and Old Crossing, killing all they could find. At Breckenridge they killed all persons in the hotel and burned the house; overtook a stage driver, whom they killed; and took his team with about twenty-five hundred pounds of express freight.

A train load of goods had just arrived at Georgetown, and Messrs. Kittson and Murray prepared to defend themselves and property. After many days waiting for the Indians or advice from the fort, they concluded to load their goods on the "International" and a barge, and to abandon the place and go to Garry. The boat was overloaded, the water was very low, she got aground, and they were compelled to reload the goods on the train, and, with their passengers, started by land, abandoning the boat. When the train arrived at the treaty grounds, they found the Indians waiting for the commissioner and half starved. They at once demanded of Mr. Kittson and Mr. Murray that they should deliver them the goods on the train. This, of course, they refused to do, saying that they belonged to the settlers at Garry. The chiefs replied that they did not doubt what they said, but that their wives and children were starving; and, notwithstanding the threats of Kittson and Murray, helped themselves to nearly everything on the train, before they would allow it to proceed.

The barge, under the charge of Capt. Noble, and the boat crew, got by the Indian camp in the night and arrived safe, ahead of the train. Gov. Alex. Ramsey and Major A. C. Mor-

FORT GARRY AND THE STEAMER "INTERNATIONAL," LOOKING NORTHWARD FROM THE ASSINIBOINE RIVER.
(From Alex. J. Russell's Red River Country, etc., 1870.)

rell made a treaty with the Red Lake and Pembina bands, on October 3, 1863, in which provision was made to pay for this depredation. March 2, 1862, Congress increased the mail service to twice a week and extended the contract for three years.

The settlers, on the route from St. Cloud, built small stockades at Sauk Center, Alexandria, and Pomme de Terre, and the road was guarded by companies of troops, through to the fort. In 1863, Capt. Barrett, who was engaged in scouting in the vicinity of the fort, sent a detachment down to the abandoned steamboat and brought her to the fort, where she remained until 1864.

The mails to Pembina were carried with some difficulty, but usually with regularity.

The year 1864 found the Red river relieved of all Indian troubles, but by no means in a satisfactory condition. It had become apparent to J. C. Burbank & Co. that the interest of the Hudson Bay Company and their own interest were not identical. We wanted immigration and trade; they did not want immigration nor mails nor any one to trade in the Hudson Bay Company's territory but themselves. The expectation that the country would be opened proved a delusion. For five years we had followed the contest between the Dominion Government and the Hudson Bay Company, for possession of the country that the Imperial Government had, by resolutions, said should be surrendered to the Imperial Government for Canada.

This delay had proved a serious disappointment to us both, and for all that we could see it would continue. J. C. & H. C. Burbank & Co. took the shortest way to get out, and sold their interest in the steamboat business to Mr. Kittson for the Hudson Bay Company and gave up the fight. The stage company put things under short sail and intended to bide their time. The boat that was tied up at Fort Abercrombie, on account of low water, made but one trip during the season. The cart brigades again made their appearance upon the road between the railroad terminus and Garry; and, to make it still more interesting, that terrible scourge, the grasshoppers, came in immense quantities, destroying all the vegetation in

the valley, and large contributions were made to keep the people from starvation.

In order to make a better fight for their hold of the country, the Hudson Bay Company sold their rights, under the charter, to the "International Financial Association" in the summer of 1862. This company made great professions of their readiness to open up their lands to settlement and build lines of communication from Canada to the Pacific, but did nothing. This kind of procrastination continued until March 9, 1869, when Earl Granville sent them a proposition and notified them, if it was not accepted, that he would ask the Judiciary Committee of the Privy Council to say what were the rights of the Hudson Bay Company under their charter. The company evidently had a high opinion and respect for this committee, and did not like to have them take the trouble to express an opinion about their rights, and, on March 12th, informed Earl Granville that they accepted his proposition. This ended a twelve years' contest between the Hudson Bay Company and the Imperial Government.

The Dominion Government of Canada provided for the organization of a Crown Colony. On the 23d of August, 1870, Col. Wolseley, at the head of the 60th Regiment of Canadian Rifles, entered Fort Garry; and on September 2d, Lieut. Gov. Archibald arrived, and the colony was duly organized. Our consul, Mr. James W. Taylor, arrived early in November.

At this time there was no recognized means of communication between Manitoba and the outside civilization. The only mail that came to them was carried under direction of the Hudson Bay Company, by Mr. Goulet, about once a week, by horse cart or dog train, to and from Pembina, and the cost of freight per hundred was about four dollars, from St. Cloud to Garry. In the spring of 1871, Messrs. Hill and Griggs, of St. Paul, had built and ready for business the steamboat "Selkirk," Alex. Griggs, master, which arrived at Winnipeg on the 19th of April. Notice was given that all goods that were being ordered from Canada or England should be consigned to Hill & Griggs, in St. Paul, who had made arrangements with the United States Government to carry all goods passing through Minnesota to Manitoba in bond, and that all merchandise consigned to them would be delivered without trouble

to the owners. This was a good card for the "Selkirk;" she had all that she could carry, at very good prices. Mr. Kittson had to put the "International" into general trade, and in June she was duly advertised as a common carrier.

In 1867, I had bought the interest of Messrs. Burbank and Merriam in the Minnesota Stage and Express business; and asssociated with me was Mr. C. W. Carpenter, who had been our confidential clerk since 1856. As soon as was practicable in 1871, I fitted out my tent and team, to inspect the route from Georgetown to Winnipeg, for the purpose of locating stations and bridges, in preparation for stage service. In Winnipeg I made a contract to carry the mail to Pembina for the Canadian Government. Our agent, Mr. Proctor, had the bridges, stations and everything in order, and the first four-horse stage arrived in Winnipeg September 11th.

Events of interest and importance continued to follow, one upon the heels of another, during this summer, among which we remember the editorial excursion, consisting of the most prominent men of the day in the newspaper world, Messrs. Bayard Taylor of the *New York Tribune*, Charles A. Dana of the *New York Sun*, J. C. Evans of the *New York World*, E. C. Bowman of the *New York Herald*, Lieut. Gov. Bross of the *Chicago Tribune*, and Mr. J. H. Harper of Harper Brothers. They went from St. Paul to Morris by the St. Paul & Pacific railroad, and thence by stage to the steamboat running to Winnipeg, where they were hospitably received and entertained, our counsul doing his best to make them at home.

The telegraph line was extended to Winnipeg; the Northern Pacific railroad was completed to Moorhead; and the last brigade of Red River carts disappeared from this State. Immigration continued to pour into Manitoba, and building and trade were very largely increasing. The first Parliament was held during the winter of 1870-'71. Claim settling and town building were active along the river in Minnesota and Dakota, and our hopes of twelve years ago began to be realized.

The navigation opening in 1872 disclosed the fact that all the boats were under the management of Mr. Kittson and were called the Kittson line. The large immigration made the demand so great for provisions that several of our people fitted out flatboat stores and traded down the river until their

goods were sold, then sold their boats, and returned by stage to make another venture.

Logs from the Red Lake river pineries were run to Winnipeg and sold to saw mills. Some of our neighbors will probably remember some events that occurred while visiting Winnipeg in the log trade. The stage began running daily from Breckenridge to Winnipeg; immigration during 1873-'74 continued about as in the preceding year, although still increasing.

The only thing that occasioned remark was an intimation that the great steamboat monopoly was charging outrageous prices for transportation. This kind of feeling made itself manifest in the summer of 1874. The merchants of Winnipeg induced some gentlemen of the Red river, in Minnesota, and probably some of our fellow citizens of this vicinity, to organize a new company, to be called the "Merchants' Line." The residents of the United States were the corporate authority, as they could form a bonded line for the transportation of merchandise to Winnipeg. The management was also in the hands of American citizens, but the money to build two nice boats was mostly furnished by merchants in Winnipeg. The carpenter work, as far as possible, was done in Cincinnati, Ohio, and sent by rail to Moorhead; the machinery was built in Minneapolis; the capital was $50,000, with authority to increase to $100,000.

The steamer, "Manitoba," made her appearance in Winnipeg on May 21, 1875. The "Minnesota" arrived on May 23. They appeared to be very nice boats for the trade and were welcomed by the merchants in Winnipeg with great satisfaction. Red river is narrow and very crooked, and that two lines of boats could not run on it with safety was proved by an accident that happened June 11th, when the "International" and "Manitoba" came in collision and the "Manitoba" was sunk. She was soon raised and in the line again, but this accident was the beginning of trouble. Some of the stockholders did not feel satisfied with the management; and dissatisfaction continued until the steamers "Manitoba" and "Minnesota" stopped running. The "Manitoba" was seized for debt, in Winnipeg, and the "Minnesota" was taken possession of in Moorhead. A committee was sent to St. Paul to investigate

and report; upon their return, it was reported that the business was in a bad shape, and that the boats would not run again that season. Finally Mr. Kittson bought out the control of the boats, and in 1876 they were run in his line.

The grasshoppers in the summer of 1875 were perfectly terrific, but disappeared when they were big enough to go. This was the last of the scourge that had been with the people of Manitoba constantly since 1864. August 20, 1876, I was in Winnipeg. On my passage down, I had constantly watched for signs of the coming of grasshoppers, and thought I had seen some stray ones in the sunlight. I called upon Mr. A. G. B. Bannityne, and asked if there was any information about their coming this season. He said, "No," and remarked, "this is the latest date they have ever come"; but as he made the reply, he cast his eye toward the heavens and saw three large hoppers just above our heads, and they fell on the pavement at our feet, but they were the last; no more came.

The farmers had no seed to sow, and nothing to speak of was raised in 1876. In the winter of 1876-'77, Gov. Morris asked where he could get some seed wheat for the settlers to sow in the spring. I replied that the Munger Brothers, of St. Paul, had about 12,000 bushels of wheat at Caledonia on our stage road, which I had inspected on my way down, and informed him that it was the best lot of wheat I had ever seen. It weighed sixty-four pounds to the bushel. The Mungers sold him this lot of wheat; and when you hear of fine grades of wheat in Manitoba, you will remember where they got their seed. In 1876 some hay and probably about 50,000 barrels of flour were imported into Winnipeg.

The Kittson Line had been reorganized and was called the Red River Transportation Company. The principal boats of the line were the "International," Capt. Painter; the "Minnesota," Capt. Timmens; the "Manitoba," Capt. Alex. Griggs; the "Dakota," Capt. Seigers; the "Selkirk," Capt. John Griggs; and the "Alphia," Capt. Russell.

The St. Paul & Pacific Pembina branch had been extended to Crookston, and was put in operation in the summer. The steamboat freight and passenger business, and river and stage trade, were correspondingly diminished as to distance, although their volume was continually increased. In the sum-

mer of 1877 the railroad was extended to Fisher's Landing, down the Red Lake river toward Grand Forks. The ceremony of driving the first spike on the Pembina branch of the Canadian Pacific railway took place at St. Boniface station grounds, on the 29th of September, His Excellency, the Governor General of the Dominion, Lord Dufferin, taking part and being the chief spokesman of the occasion.

The Minnesota Stage Company had learned in the past what railroads meant for them, and early in the season had opened a new road from Bismarck to the Black Hills, building bridges and stations, again committing their fortunes to the chance of Sioux depredations, for another fifteen years of arduous service.

The immense immigration that came to the Red river, both north and south of the international boundary, and the crops that were being shipped from their very productive fields, gladdened the hearts of those who had chosen their future homes upon the banks of the river. The Indian troubles had passed away; the troops had gone west of the Missouri or had been disbanded; quiet, peace, and prosperity covered the land; and, as "all things come to those who wait," the last act to make the joy of the people in the Red river valley complete occurred on Dec. 2, 1878, when the track layers joined the rails of the St. Paul and Pacific and Canadian Pacific, at the international boundary line. This made it apparent to all that commerce and civilization had come to the valley of the Red River of the North.

NOTE—My grateful acknowledgment is due to Mr. Alexander Begg's "Ten Years in Winnipeg" for assistance in fixing many dates of incidents referred to in Manitoba. R. B.

LAST DAYS OF WISCONSIN TERRITORY AND EARLY DAYS OF MINNESOTA TERRITORY.*

BY HON. HENRY L. MOSS.

Officers and Associates of the Minnesota Historical Society: At the request of your committee, that I should address you on this occasion, as to the events and actors during the early territorial days of Minnesota, I submit the following review of the times, fifty years ago, around which cluster some of the most important and interesting events of our history. The brief time, in connection with business duties requiring my attention, has precluded my giving the careful examination of records and data which I should much desire; and if perchance errors occur in my statements, a defective memory is the apology.

By an act of Congress approved by President Polk March 3, 1849, the territory of Minnesota was organized; and thereby a government was established, having the usual powers existing under a representative republic, namely, the executive, judicial, and legislative. The executive consisted of a governor and secretary. The judicial department comprised a chief justice and two associate judges, all of whom, together with the district attorney and marshal, were appointed by the President. The legislative department consisted of nine members of the "Council," and eighteen members of the "Assembly," to be elected by the citizens of the territory.

Soon after his inauguration, March 4, 1849, President Taylor appointed for governor Edward G. McGaughey, of Indiana, who failed of confirmation by the senate, which was then in

* An Address at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Jan. 13, 1896.

session. The President thereupon appointed Mr. Pennington of New Jersey, who declined to accept. Then our honored and esteemed associate, Gov. Ramsey, received the appointment, which was confirmed by the senate. He accepted it, and soon after cheerfully left his Pennsylvania home and entered with zeal and energy upon his duties of directing the political affairs and developing the possibilities of a new empire. He has ever been, and is still, an honor to the Territory and the State, whom every citizen is proud to name and know.

The executive department was made complete by the acceptance of Gov. Ramsey and the appointment of Charles K. Smith, of Ohio, as secretary of the territory. For the judiciary, the President appointed Aaron Goodrich, of Tennessee, chief justice; David Cooper, of Pennsylvania, and B. B. Meeker, of Kentucky, associate judges; H. L. Moss, United States attorney; and Joshua L. Taylor, United States marshal. The two last named were already residents of the territory. Of these first territorial officers, only two yet survive, namely Gov. Ramsey and myself.

Although, as before stated, the organic act was approved March 3, 1849, and the official appointments were made immediately thereafter, the residents within the limits of the territory received no information thereof till the sixth day of April, upon the arrival of the first steamboat coming up the Mississippi river that spring, as the last mail prior thereto reached us about the 25th of February. All travel and transportation of the mail in those days were by the river route, on the ice in the winter, and by steamboat in the summer. The election of Gen. Taylor as President in the first week of November, 1848, was unknown to us until Jan. 4, 1849.

During the months of April and May, Gov. Ramsey, Secretary Smith, and Judges Goodrich and Cooper arrived. As St. Paul was made the temporary capital of the new territory by provision of the organic act, it was natural for the officers to make it the point of their destination. It had at that time an estimated population of about 200 inhabitants. The only place for public resort was a log building located on the corner of Third and Jackson streets, where now stands the Merchants' Hotel. This log building was the "Hotel" at that day,

of which our late esteemed friend, J. W. Bass, was proprietor.

Soon after his arrival, Gov. Ramsey invited his official associates to meet him at this public resort in council on the first day of June, 1849. Here it was, on that memorable day, that the first Minnesota cabinet held its meeting in a small room, about seven by nine feet in size, on the second floor, furnished with one bed, two wooden chairs, a small washstand made of unpainted pine lumber, a trunk, and a 10 by 12 inch mirror. It was then and there in that cabinet council, composed of the governor, the secretary, Judges Goodrich and Cooper, and myself, that the official proclamation submitted by the governor was approved. The proclamation set forth that the Territory of Minnesota was an established fact. It also set forth the names of the officers, that they had qualified and were prepared and ready to perform their respective duties.

In a subsequent proclamation, the governor directed a census to be taken, and appointed the necessary officers to take it, as a basis for the apportionment of the territory for the election of members to the legislature. He also assigned the judges to different portions of the territory for the performance of their duties. The proclamation assigned chief justice Goodrich to administer justice over the civilized portion of the territory, which embraced the entire country lying west of the St. Croix river and east of the Mississippi, extending to the British possessions. It banished judge Cooper to the uncivilized and Indian country west of the Mississippi and south of the St. Peter river, with headquarters at Mendota. It sent judge Meeker into exile in the wilderness, that *terra incognita* lying west of the Mississippi and north of the St. Peter river, a land where lay the beautiful lake Minnetonka, with its charming and picturesque shores, yet undiscovered. His headquarters were in an old dilapidated mill on the west bank of the river at St. Anthony falls.

In directing the census to be taken, the governor appointed John Morgan, of Stillwater, as the superintendent. Upon his report being made, the territory was divided into districts by the governor; and a general election was ordered to be held, for the election of nine members for the council, and eighteen

members for the assembly, of the legislature to meet on the third day of September, 1849.

This first Legislature remained in session till the first week of November following. During this session the territory was divided into counties, also into three judicial districts. Judge Cooper was assigned to the first district, which included the counties of Washington, Wabasha, and Itasca, being that portion of the territory lying upon its eastern boundary and extending to the northern boundary. Stillwater was the county seat of Washington county, to which the other two counties were attached for judicial purposes. Chief Justice Goodrich was assigned to the second district, which included Ramsey county, with St. Paul the county seat, to which were attached for judicial purposes the counties of "Dakotah," "Wahnahta," and "Mahkahto," lying west of the Mississippi river. Judge Meeker was assigned to the third district, composed of Benton county, with county seat located near the mouth of Sauk river, to which Pembina county was attached for judicial purposes.

In the foregoing account I have briefly mentioned the incidents pertaining to the organization of the territory and the first year in its history. It will not be out of place, if I here review the conditions that preceded the organization. I must go back to 1845, more than fifty years ago, when I gave up my allegiance to the sovereignty of the State of Ohio and became a willing subject of the Territory of Wisconsin, locating at Platteville in the lead mining district.

At that time the most southern of the three western counties of Wisconsin territory was "Grant" county, extending from the northern line of Illinois to the Wisconsin river, with the Mississippi river on the west, and having its county seat at Lancaster, where resided that distinguished founder of the "Pioneer Press," James M. Goodhue, who came to St. Paul in 1849. Next was "Crawford" county, its boundaries being the Wisconsin river on the southeast, the Chippewa river and Mississippi river on the west and northwest, with the county seat at Prairie du Chien. Then came St. Croix county, which included all the territory from the Chippewa river to the northern boundary of the United States, with the county seat at Stillwater.

This location of St. Croix county, with Stillwater its county seat, was an important and leading factor in the future events and actions culminating in the organization of the Territory of Minnesota. Here lay the remnant of the vast Northwestern Territory, out of which, by a provision of its ordinance, only five states could be established. After the admission of Iowa as a state, the region north of its northern line and west of the Mississippi was known as the Indian Country or Territory. The Mississippi was recognized as the boundary line between Wisconsin territory on the east and the state of Iowa and the Indian country on the west. In the various bills before Congress, and in the two conventions of Wisconsin territory to adopt a state constitution, the question of locating the northwest boundary line of Wisconsin was a leading one.

There were many propositions, all of which had earnest advocates both in Congress and in the convention. One was to include the entire country, to the British possessions, within the new State. Another was to make the Rum river the border line extending thence to lake Superior. Another placed the boundary at St. Croix lake and river; another at the Chippewa river; and still another would take an initial point on the highest elevation of the island of Trempealeau in the Mississippi river, and run a line due north to lake Superior.

It was argued by some that the ordinance of 1787 made it compulsory to limit the entire Northwestern Territory to five States. On the other hand it was claimed that the fifth State, Wisconsin, could be so restricted in its boundary that a portion of the territory could be taken in connection with a portion of the Indian territory (obtained under the Louisiana purchase) north of Iowa, to make a future State, without violating the provisions of the ordinance. This view of the case met with favor and was adopted.

But other contentions arose. Many prominent citizens of Wisconsin wanted the entire territory for a state; yea, they would have taken the entire earth, if they had the power to do so. Others wanted (and this was the leading factor that ultimately settled the contention) sufficient left of the Territory to guarantee a future State in the Northwest,—hence these were advocates for the line of the Chippewa river, or for the Trempealeau line. The Rum river was objectionable, because it

was so near the border of the Chippewa Indians that the future settlement of the country was too remote to justify an immediate organization of a new Territory; and there were no settlements as a basis to make the claim.

The final result we all know. A compromise of conflicting views adopted the St. Croix line, which was approved by the constitutional convention and confirmed by a vote of the citizens of Wisconsin; and subsequently it was accepted and approved by Congress in admitting the State into the Union, although it differed from the enabling act of a previous Congress.

Now arose another question,—a serious one, and one novel in the history of our Government. Not only a Territory had been divided by an act of the general government, but a county also, leaving outside the new State a full and complete county organization, with its officers performing all the functions of their respective offices, in protecting the lives and property rights of its citizens. Although having in name its United States court, county commissioners, sheriff, register of deeds, justices of the peace, and other minor officers, yet St. Croix county had been so divided that the portion left outside the State and containing the officers and offices above named was without any power or authority to protect the citizens, who had prior thereto enjoyed their protection. Congress had failed to continue in force the laws of the territory of Wisconsin over that portion not included within the boundaries of the State. But the people of that day were equal to the emergency; they were law-abiding, and a protecting government under authorized law they resolutely determined to have.

Frequent interviews and conferences were had between the residents of Stillwater, St. Paul, Marine Mills, and Bissell's Mound (now known as Cottage Grove), and with Gen. H. H. Sibley of Mendota, and Franklin Steele, Esq., of Fort Snelling, and others; the result of which was the holding of a general convention at Stillwater the fore part of August, 1848, to secure concerted action and adopt measures for the organization of a new territorial government.

At this point it may be proper to call your attention to the judiciary of Wisconsin territory prior to that date, and its relation to that part of the territory west of the St. Croix.

It was in the summer of 1842, when there were sparse settlements extending from the mouth of the St. Croix lake to the falls of the St. Croix, that Judge Irwin of the second judicial district of Wisconsin territory, living at Madison, was assigned to hold a term of United States district court at Stillwater, the county seat of St. Croix county, although he was a stranger to any resident of the county. He took steamboat at Galena, and landed at Fort Snelling. He knew that Joseph R. Brown was the clerk of the court, and resided at Stillwater; further than that he had no knowledge, and was ignorant of any route or means of conveyance from the fort to the place of holding the court. The commanding officer at the fort provided him with a horse and a guide to pilot him through the unsettled country. Arriving near the head of lake St. Croix, and inquiring for Mr. Brown, he was directed to follow the shore of the lake up about a mile, where stood a log cabin, which was his residence. This was a short distance above the present site of the State Penitentiary. The judge found the cabin, and found it occupied by an Indian woman and children, none of whom could talk in the English language or understand it. Upon inquiry of some people engaged in building a saw mill, he learned that Mr. Brown was at his trading post on Gray Cloud island, in the southern part of the county, twenty or more miles distant. He returned the following day to the fort, and upon the first steamboat down the river to his Madison home, disgusted with his trip, and declared that the next time he held a court in Stillwater he would provide himself with moccasins, clout, and blanket.

No other court was held in St. Croix county till the month of June, 1847. This term had been called by Chief Justice Dunn of the first judicial district, the occasion being the trial of a chief of the Chippewa Indians named "The Wind," who was under arrest for the murder of Henry Rust, a lumberman in the employ of Elam Greeley, whose camp the preceding winter was located on Snake river about thirty miles from the St. Croix river.

The holding of a regular term of the United States district court by the chief justice at Stillwater caused much interest among the attorneys of the district, and they made it the occasion of a genuine social trip of about 400 miles to the Falls of

St. Anthony,—as much for that day as we at the present time would consider a summer trip to Alaska. Judge Dunn, with his daughter, and attorneys with their wives, joined in the excursion. Among the number were Moses M. Strong, Frank J. Dunn, Samuel J. Crawford of Mineral Point, Ben C. Eastman (my partner at that time), George W. Lakin of Platteville, J. Allen Barbour and Nelson Dewey of Lancaster, Thomas P. Burnett of Patch Grove, and Wiram Knowlton and James H. Knowlton of Prairie du Chien. I may here add that the bar of the first judicial district of Wisconsin territory embraced attorneys who in legal acumen and ability, and in forensic eloquence, were not inferior to the members of any district, including the most noted attorneys in the eastern states. I only need mention the name of Moses M. Strong of Mineral Point, a good lawyer, and a powerful and eloquent advocate; he gained an enviable reputation for his skill and masterly defense of James K. Vinyard of Platteville, the slayer of H. P. Arndt of Green Bay, on the floor of the Territorial House of Representatives during the session of the legislature of 1841-'42.

It was such men as I have mentioned who were in attendance of the court at Stillwater in June, 1847, being the first court of record ever held within the limits of the state of Minnesota. On the first day of the term the Indian chief was indicted, and the trial immediately took place. Judge Dunn appointed Samuel J. Crawford of Mineral Point, assisted by M. S. Wilkinson, then residing in Stillwater, to conduct the prosecution; and also appointed Ben C. Eastman of Platteville, assisted by Wiram Knowlton of Prairie du Chien, for the defense of the Indian. A verdict of acquittal was rendered by the jury.

This trip of the party above mentioned was an eventful one. It was, I may say, a vision to the minds of those visitors to Stillwater and the Falls of St. Anthony, as it at once developed a strong and powerful influence in the approaching convention, to establish such a northwestern boundary line of Wisconsin as would leave no doubt of an immediate organization of a new territory. This was especially true of chief justice Dunn. I speak of him with pride, and in honor to his memory and name; for he was ever a good and kind friend to me, as much so as a parent can be to a child. He was dignified and stern upon

the bench; always courteous and genial in his social intercourse with attorneys and friends. His often repeated declaration to me after his return from Stillwater and during the following winter was, that "as certain as the new constitution was adopted for the state of Wisconsin, just so certain was the organization of a new territory to follow." "Go to Stillwater and abide your time," was his advice to me.

My decision was made. In the month of March the vote on the constitution was taken; it was adopted by a very large majority. I again renounced allegiance to state sovereignty, satisfied to be dependent upon, and a subject of the authority of, the United States. Within a few weeks after the result of the constitutional vote was known, I found myself at Galena, on board the steamer "Dr. Franklin," of which my long-time friend, Captain Russell Blakely (our esteemed associate), was chief clerk, bound up the river. At early morn of the last Sunday of April, 1848, at Stillwater, with some misgivings but with a resolute step, I stood upon the land of the unknown future Minnesota. And here I am still, proud of what that Minnesota has done in the past, and of the glorious vision into the future.

Now let us come back to the mass meeting in August, 1848. On my arrival at Stillwater I found living there an attorney who had preceded me more than a year. You all know of him, the Honorable Morton S. Wilkinson. As a member of the bar, and of the legislature, also of the constitutional convention, he was a recognized leader. As a member of the United States Senate, and during the dark days of the civil war, he gained a national reputation by his zealous and eloquent appeals to the patriotism of the people to sustain the integrity and the unity of the United States. Either in June or early in July, 1848, David Lambert, an attorney of Madison, Wisconsin, came and located in St. Paul; he was the first practicing attorney in this city, although at that time there were no courts in which to practice, except that of the justice of the peace. Mr. Lambert soon became the firm friend and confidant of Hon. H. H. Sibley, and co-operated with him in the movement for the new territory. It was with them and Joseph R. Brown that the idea of the Stillwater convention originated. It did not take a long time to enlist such men as Franklin Steele (sutler) of Fort Snelling, Louis Robert, Wm. H. Forbes, A. L.

Larpenteur, Henry Jackson, Ben W. Brunson, S. P. Folsom, and many others, in the movement; so that on the occasion of the land sales, at the United States land office, at the falls of St. Croix, August 14, 1848, when the first government lands of our Minnesota were sold, they came in force, as it were, *en route* to the falls, pitched their tents around a beautiful, cold spring on the shore of lake St. Croix, close below Stillwater, and spent the night. During the evening they were joined by J. W. Furber, John S. Norris, and others, from Cottage Grove and Point Douglas, also *en route* to the land sales. The trip by these parties required two days, and Stillwater was about a half-way stopping place. With this gathering, and mingling with Stillwater people, the subject of a new Territory became the absorbing topic of conversation; and then and there it was decided that a general meeting in convention should be held on the 26th day of August.

At the time mutually agreed upon, the people came together, without the formality of elected delegates or credentials. It was estimated that over one hundred were present, from the different settlements in the country. Of the lawyers in attendance were David Lambert, B. W. Lott, and William D. Phillips, who had recently arrived and located at St. Paul, and Morton S. Wilkinson and myself of Stillwater. The convention was organized by the election of General Sibley by acclamation to preside. I am not positive, but I think that Gov. William Holcombe was selected as secretary (possibly it was Joseph R. Brown). After a statement by the presiding officer of the purposes of the meeting, a committee of five was appointed to report resolutions.

Of this committee were David Lambert (chairman), H. L. Moss, Orange Walker, Socrates Nelson, and Joseph R. Brown. The committee met during the noon hour recess in the storeroom connected with Mr. Nelson's store. Mr. Lambert immediately submitted the draft of a preamble, series of resolutions, and a petition to Congress which evidently had been prepared with careful deliberation. They fully expressed the purposes for which the convention was held, and the committee adopted them after a brief consideration. General Sibley, in later years, informed me that he had written a statement of the convention for preservation; and I am in hopes that among his papers (now a part of the archives of this society), a copy of that pre-

amble and resolutions can be found. At the afternoon session of the convention the report of the committee was adopted.

Several topics under consideration caused at times animated discussion. The name to be given to the proposed new territory was not the least. Rev. Wm. T. Boutwell, who for many years was a missionary among the Chippewas, wanted the name "Itasca," it being the name of the lake given by Schoolcraft, as is well known, from the Latin words *veritas caput*, as he declared that lake to be the true head or source of the Mississippi. This name had many advocates; it was a beautiful name, and was expressive and significant in having a local application. If I am not mistaken, it was inserted in a bill introduced by Hon. M. L. Martin, delegate from Wisconsin territory, in 1845, for the organization of a separate territory in the Northwest.

General Sibley proposed the name "Minnesota," and explained that it was the "Sioux" word for the largest river entirely within the limits of the proposed Territory. This river was then known only as the "St. Pierre" or "St. Peter" river, and appeared as such in all published maps of that day. The Indian name was so little known at that time that discussion and explanation were had, to decide upon the proper spelling and pronunciation of the word, whether it was to be spelled with one "n," and thereby have it "Minesota," or with two. On the 23d day of December, 1846, Hon. M. L. Martin, the delegate to Congress from Wisconsin, introduced a bill for the organization of Minesota territory. On another occasion, when a bill was pending for the organization of "Itasca" Territory, he moved an amendment for the name of Minesota to be inserted. Senator Douglas introduced a bill into the United States Senate for the organization of Minesota. The action of this convention gave it unquestionably that beautiful and sonorous expression, Minne-so-ta, and resulted in selecting it as the future name of the proposed Territory.

Other topics of interest were considered, namely, the location of the capitol and other public buildings. I think that at this point it will not be deemed improper if I allude to what our associate, Judge Flandreau, said a few years since in an address before the Junior Pioneer Association, about a tripartite treaty. Not only in this convention, but also outside, upon the streets, up and down the river, and in the logging camps, the

subject was freely and openly discussed. While there was no formal agreement or resolution allotting the capital at St. Paul, the penitentiary at Stillwater, and the university at St. Anthony Falls, yet there was a general understanding among the settlers, acquiesced in honestly and fairly by the people of that day. Mr. Sibley wanted the capital located at Mendota; it was, however, impracticable to urge it; he knew it would avail him nothing to press it, for the reason that the entire country west of the Mississippi river was Indian territory outside of the limits of the military reservation of Fort Snelling. He favored St. Paul, and was ever unyielding and faithful to the personal pledges and mutual understandings of his fellow citizens. Mr. Franklin Steele, of Fort Snelling, was interested in the water power at St. Anthony Falls; and through his personal influence the location of the university at that point was agreed upon. The reason why the location was not inserted in the organic act, as it was for the capital and penitentiary, was that Congress made no monetary appropriation for university buildings. The survivors of those days well remember and know what those mutual understandings and agreements were, more binding and sacred in their performance and endurance than if made under bond and seal. Could such men as I have mentioned, Sibley, Steele, Holcombe, Brown, Nelson, Walker, and Lambert, have risen from their graves and heard the appeals and demands, during the last session of our state legislature,by those who advocated removal of the capital from St. Paul, they would have been astounded, and would have cried out to them, "Hold! Cease your unjust demands! Ye are a faithless and reprobate generation, despoilers of the monuments and good works of your ancestors!" You must excuse this digression, as it is my desire to place upon an enduring record my testimony as to facts, upon a subject which of late has interested every citizen.

Toward the close of the convention Mr. Sibley informed those present of his intention to spend the approaching winter in Washington in the interests of the territorial movement, and suggested the adoption of a resolution requesting him to represent the people in that behalf, saying that such a resolution would give him an influence and standing with members of Congress, and that through such support he could secure inter-

views with the members with better hopes of success. He also stated that his stay in Washington would be at his own expense, and that he should ask contributions from no one. A series of urgent resolutions was adopted, authorizing him to go to Washington as the representative of the citizens, and to remain during the coming session of Congress, for the purpose of securing the organization of the proposed territory, and also requesting that he be allowed a seat on the floor of the House of Representatives. The convention adjourned after a session of one day, with much enthusiasm among all present for the work before them.

It was not many days, however, before a new proposition or theory was started. I have never known who the author of it was. Mr. Sibley and Mr. Lambert came to Stillwater, and had first an interview with Governor Holcombe, then with John McKusick and Socrates Nelson and Orange Walker, of Marine Mills, and the result was a correspondence on the part of General Sibley and Governor Holcombe with Hon. John Catlin of Madison, Wisconsin, submitting to him the proposition that the division of Wisconsin territory and admission of a portion thereof as a State in the Union did not disfranchise that portion outside of the state boundaries. General Dodge, governor of the territory, was elected one of the United States senators from the new State. John Catlin, secretary of the Territory, thereby became *ex officio* governor thereof, under the provisions of the organic act of that territory. As before stated, that portion of St. Croix county west of the state boundary had a complete and perfect organization under the territorial laws, except that no one had assumed to exercise executive authority. The Honorable John H. Tweedy of Milwaukee, soon after the admission of the new State into the Union, resigned his seat in Congress, as the delegate from Wisconsin territory. Mr. Catlin at once responded to the letters of Mr. Sibley and Mr. Holcombe, coinciding with their views on the question. Thereupon a formal request signed by these gentlemen and others was sent to Mr. Catlin to come to Stillwater and assume the duties of governor of Wisconsin territory.

Soon thereafter, about the middle of September, Mr. Catlin with his family removed from Madison to Stillwater, having

in his possession the great seal of the territory of Wisconsin, and immediately issued his proclamation, as the acting governor, for a general election to be held at the usual date, as provided by law, in the following November, for the election of officers under the laws of the Territory, and especially for the election of a delegate to Congress from the Territory to fill the vacancy made by the resignation of Mr. Tweedy. In due time the election was held, after one of the most spirited and active campaigns that ever occurred on the soil of Minnesota, between the friends of Mr. Sibley and the Honorable H. M. Rice. The latter had many zealous and active supporters. During the summer months, he had under a contract with the general government been engaged in removing the Winnebago Indians from their lands in the vicinity of Fort Atkinson, Iowa, to their new reservation at Long Prairie. He was therefore unable to give any personal attention to the territorial movement, and the canvass of his friends was unequal to the stronger influence in favor of Mr. Sibley among his associates of the Stillwater convention.

As is well known, Mr. Sibley was elected by a respectable majority; and in a few days thereafter he started with his family for Washington. He went not only as first intended, as the representative of the voice and wishes of his fellow citizens, but as a delegate from the territory of Wisconsin, with the credentials and the certificate of the governor, with the seal of the Territory attached. Notwithstanding that he was thus fortified with official documents, Mr. Sibley found at once on his arrival that a difficult task was before him; on presenting his credentials, a spirited opposition was developed against his claim as a delegate. He was, however, allowed the privileges of the floor.

The opposition arose from various causes. Ignorance as to the geography of the country, its climate, and the character of its residents, very generally prevailed. One of the senators, on being introduced to Mr. Sibley, expressed astonishment to the dignified and polished gentleman that he was, and said he expected to meet a person of dark complexion, ornamented with trinkets and feathers. My friend and acquaintance, Hon. Joseph M. Root, member of the House from Sandusky, Ohio, in one of his appeals in opposition to the organiza-

tion of the Territory, exclaimed, "When God's footstool is so densely populated that each human being can only occupy two feet square, then, but not till then, will a white man go to that hyperborean region of the Northwest, fit only to be the home of savages and wild beasts."

This ignorance is not surprising, when we call to mind that most of the country lying between the Wisconsin and St. Croix rivers was at that time an unexplored wilderness. Similar ignorance prevailed very generally throughout the eastern and central states, and was the occasion of an amusing incident to our venerable associate, Governor Ramsey, when he was with his family arranging to leave the friends and neighbors of his Pennsylvania home to assume his official duties as governor of a country they knew nothing of. Anxious for his safety and welfare, they inquired of him, by what route he was going to Minnesota? Would he go by the Isthmus and Panama route? or would he take the longer trip around Cape Horn by sailing vessel?

Mr. Sibley had the active and energetic support, during the entire session of Congress, of the Honorable Stephen A. Douglas, senator from the state of Illinois, and chairman of the committee on Territories. After many sessions and deliberations of the committee on elections of the House of Representatives, a report was made in favor of Mr. Sibley's claim; and about the middle of January the House adopted the report of the committee, and he took his seat as the delegate from Wisconsin territory. By this act the House of Representatives established the precedent that the division of an organized Territory and admitting a part as a State into the Union did not annul the continuance of the territorial government over the portion remaining. The final result was, as before stated, that the act for the organization of the Territory of Minnesota passed and was approved March 3, 1849.

It was many weeks after the opening of the river that spring when newcomers began to arrive both at Stillwater and St. Paul, among whom were several lawyers. The largest number stopped in St. Paul. Their first gathering together was at Stillwater, at which place Chief Justice Goodrich had decided to hold a term of court, under the laws that were in force before the division of Wisconsin territory, which was held during the

second week of August, 1849. A regular panel of grand and petit jurors had been summoned for the term by the sheriff, John Morgan, and Harvey Wilson, clerk.

All the attorneys present were required to take the oath as attorneys under the laws of the territory of Minnesota and made of record. The first on the list was Mr. Wilkinson, as he was the first to settle within the limits of the territory; my name appears as second; then follow the names of David Lambert and Henry Lambert, who both came from Madison, Wisconsin, and located in St. Paul; then James Wakefield, and Wiram Knowlton, the latter a resident of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, where he continued his residence and subsequently became a judge of the district court of that State; Charles K. Smith and Alexander M. Mitchell, both residents of St. Paul, who came from Ohio; John S. Goodrich, from Michigan; William D. Phillips, from Maryland; Edmund Rice, from Michigan; E. G. Whitall, from Virginia; Samuel S. Dent, from Kentucky; Putnam Bishop, from Ohio; L. A. Babcock, from Iowa, who located, on coming to the Territory, at Sauk Rapids; Alexander Wilkin, from New York; B. W. Lott, from Illinois; and S. H. Quay and L. B. Wait, from New York.

As I make this record of those nineteen members of the first judicial proceedings in the history of our Territory, on the 13th day of August, 1849, I cannot refrain from a sober reflection, that I am the only survivor, and that ere long my name will be included with the departed, and the record thereof ended.

During the autumn of 1849 a number of other attorneys arrived in the Territory. Among them were Michael E. Ames, from Wisconsin, and Fred K. Bartlett, from Wisconsin, who located at Stillwater in September; H. F. Masterson and Orlando Simons; George L. Becker, from Michigan, who arrived in St. Paul in October; and William P. Murray, from Ohio, who reached St. Paul late in December, arriving just in time to be known as an "Old Settler," thanks to the United States mail carrier, who landed him in Stillwater, bringing with him the first mail through from Prairie du Chien, after the close of navigation.

As before stated, the first legislature divided the territory into counties and judicial districts. The first district, which included Washington county, with county seat at Stillwater,

was presided over by Judge Cooper. The second district, which included Ramsey county, with St. Paul for the county seat, was placed under the jurisdiction of Chief Justice Goodrich.

The second term of the court held in the territory was by Judge Cooper in Stillwater in the month of February, 1850. This term is noted for having the first criminal trial for murder under Minnesota laws. It was a case of a boy about thirteen years of age, by the name of Snow, killed by a companion of about the same age, on Third street, near the corner of Franklin street. The prosecution was conducted by Morton S. Wilkinson and Putnam Bishop; the defence by Michael E. Ames and myself. The firing was from the southerly side of the street, with an ordinary shotgun, directly across the street, where stood the Snow boy, both looking at each other. A single small bird shot penetrated the eye and brain of the Snow boy. The jury convicted the boy of manslaughter, holding that, even in the absence of malicious intent, the firing of a gun across a public highway where people were passing was an unlawful act. Judge Cooper, in pronouncing sentence, there being no penitentiary in the Territory, committed him to the guard house at Fort Snelling for ninety days, during the first two of which, and the last one, he was to be kept in close confinement and fed on bread and water. James M. Goodhue, of the "Pioneer," commenting on the decision of Judge Cooper, said it was a specimen of dispensing justice in homeopathic doses.

Judge Goodrich held the first term of the court in St. Paul, in a public room adjoining the bar-room in the American Hotel, which stood on the corner of Third and Exchange streets, in the spring of 1850. At this term of court was the trial of the first cause in Minnesota in which the United States was a party plaintiff. It was a case where Henry Jackson and his sureties were defendants on his bond as postmaster at St. Paul, in which the government obtained a judgment of about one hundred and fifty dollars for a deficiency in his accounts and remittances.

During the years 1850 to March, 1853, at which time there was a change in the administration of the general government by the election of President Pierce and the appointment of new

judges, a large number of attorneys settled in different towns in the territory, whose names afterward became prominent as leading lawyers, many of whom are still living. William Hollinshead settled in Stillwater in the month of September, 1850; after remaining there the following winter, he removed to St. Paul in the spring of 1851, and soon formed a copartnership which became the well known and distinguished firm, Rice, Hollinshead, and Becker. Among other arrivals were Isaac Atwater, at Minneapolis; S. J. R. McMillan, at Stillwater; and Lafayette Emmett, at St. Paul; all of whom subsequently became judges of the Supreme Court of the State and are still living. Another who came at this time was R. R. Nelson, whom we all know as the present distinguished judge of the United States district court.

Prior to and with the second session of the territorial legislature in 1851, and extending to 1853, began official criticism and censures, political strifes and contentions; and ere long a very general condition of antagonism and animosities prevailed. There were no political organizations nor partisan politics at issue. It was simply a series of personal politics and conflicts. There were the Sibley party, the Rice party, the Mitchell party, the Todd party, the Wilkin party, etc., etc. Each man was for himself, with a "don't care for the hindmost." The judges and other officials did not escape censure and complaint. Among some of them there seemed to exist a want of confidence or respect for each other. Many of the attorneys did not hesitate to freely and openly denounce the judges of the first and second judicial districts as unfit and incompetent to represent the judiciary of the territory; but no charges of corruption or malfeasance were made against them. James M. Goodhue, in his editorials of the "Pioneer," continually added fuel to the flames; he was sensational, exasperating, and even vindictive in his articles.

There are gentlemen still living who were of a self constituted committee who in the early spring of 1851 went to Washington and called on Daniel Webster, secretary of state, to secure the removal of Chief Justice Goodrich, and at the same time called on James Collamer, postmaster general, to secure the removal of Franklin Steele, the postmaster at Fort Snelling. This committee met with no success. The secretary of state,

after hearing their complaints, decidedly and positively declined to give the matter any consideration. General Collamer turned their application over to Henry Fitz Warren, first assistant postmaster general, who, unfortunately for their purpose, was personally well acquainted with Mr. Steele; and their application for his removal was not entertained.

The opponents of Judge Goodrich did not cease in their efforts to secure his removal. There were not wanting other causes of complaint against him during the year 1851, and early in January, 1852; and a letter to President Fillmore was formulated, containing specifications of incompetency as a lawyer and unfitness as a judge, and of improprieties on and off the bench. The letter was signed by a number of prominent attorneys, and was sent to a gentleman now living, who at that time was stopping in Washington, with a request that he make a personal presentation of the same to the president. Whether or not he did as requested, I never knew. The opposition and charges against the judge were sufficient, and in a short time thereafter, in January, 1852, he was removed by President Fillmore, and Jerome Fuller of New York was appointed chief justice of the territory.

The opposition to Judge Cooper arose from entirely different causes. He was considered a good lawyer, technical and precise; he sat with dignity on the bench, which was natural for him; but he was so positive in his convictions that he could not endure opposition to them, and frequently exhibited irritation and sometimes anger to those who differed from him. His refinement in manner and dress was the occasion of ridicule among the hardy and robust lumbermen with whom he came in contact. As early as the winter of 1851 Mr. Goodhue's editorials were overbearing and unmerciful toward him. Friends made an effort to have these attacks upon him cease. It was of no avail. Joseph Cooper, residing at Stillwater, a brother of the judge, took up the matter and made it a personal affair in the defense of his brother. Rumors of threats and personal attacks were in the air. Each had prepared himself for any emergency. On a February morning they met face to face on the sidewalk a short distance above where now stands the Metropolitan Hotel, and the conflict came. I am not aware that it is known which of them made the first attack. A shot

from the pistol in Goodhue's hand struck Cooper over the left groin, inflicting a wound, which, though not fatal, made him an invalid for life. The knife in Cooper's hand made a deep slash across Goodhue's abdomen; it fortunately did not penetrate the intestines, but left his life in peril for many days. This tragedy occurred directly in front of the building where the territorial legislature was then in session.

These personal animosities continued during the year, until the meeting of the legislature in January, 1852. With the appointment of Chief Justice Fuller, the legislature at the same time being in session, a new deal was made in the formation of the judicial districts, as the result of the opposition to Judge Cooper in connection with the removal of Judge Goodrich. Pembina county, heretofore an unorganized county and attached to Benton county, was organized and set apart for judicial purposes. Its population consisted almost entirely of half-breeds, with a few white traders.

On March 6th, 1852, an act was approved setting apart the counties of Washington, Ramsey, and Chisago, as the first judicial district, to which Chief Justice Fuller was assigned. Benton county was made the second judicial district, to which Judge Meeker was assigned; and the new county of Pembina was made the third judicial district and Judge Cooper assigned thereto, thus removing him from Washington county of the first district, where for nearly three years he had been the presiding judge.

Chief Justice Fuller arrived in St. Paul while the legislature of 1852 was in session; and on the third day of May he opened the spring term of the district court, which had a session of about three weeks. The session of Congress that year was the "long" session, and the action of the senate upon the nomination of Judge Fuller was delayed by the strong opposition of senator William H. Seward of New York, which resulted at a late day of the session in the rejection of his nomination. Thereupon President Fillmore appointed Hon. Henry Z. Hayner, of Troy, New York, chief justice of the Territory. There was no opposition to him, and his nomination was confirmed by the senate. He arrived in St. Paul early in the month of September, but too late to hold the fall term of the court. There being no winter term of the supreme court in 1853, Judge

Hayner had no opportunity to preside at any term; his duties were limited to such matters as came before him at chambers. The validity of the act of the legislature known as the "Maine liquor law" was argued before him, and he decided it as unconstitutional.

By the provision of the organic act, the time for which the territorial officers were appointed was limited to four years. During this time there were held only two terms of the supreme court. The first was held in July, 1851, Chief Justice Goodrich, and Judges Cooper and Meeker, presiding. Of the attorneys present, whose names are enrolled on the records of the court, and who still survive, are the Hon. R. R. Nelson, now the senior judge of the United States district courts; Hon. Isaac Atwater and Lafayette Emmett, who subsequently became judges of the supreme court of our State; William P. Murray, Esq., myself, and others. Another session was held in July, 1852, when Chief Justice Fuller and Judges Cooper and Meeker presided.

The terms of the judges having expired by limitation, President Pierce, soon after his inauguration, appointed Hon. William H. Welch, of Red Wing, chief justice; and Hon. Moses Sherburne, of Maine, and Hon. A. G. Chatfield, of New York, judges of the territory, who held their offices for four years, the limit of their appointment.

At the next session of the territorial legislature following the appointment of the judges by President Pierce, there was a readjustment of the judicial districts of the territory and assignment of the judges. Washington county and the counties bordering on the western bank of the Mississippi river constituted the first judicial district; and Chief Justice Welch was assigned to preside over the same, having his residence at Red Wing. Honorable Moses Sherburne, upon his arrival in the territory, located at St. Paul, and was assigned to preside over the second judicial district, which comprised the counties of Ramsey and Benton, with other counties attached thereto for judicial purposes. The new counties west of the Mississippi river and bordering on the Minnesota river became the third judicial district, to which the Honorable Andrew G. Chatfield was assigned, who made his residence at Belle Plaine.

Of the territorial judges appointed by the presidents of the United States during our existence as a territory, two survive,

namely, Honorable R. R. Nelson, of whom I have hereinbefore made mention, and our esteemed associate, Honorable C. E. Flandrau.

With this résumé of the executive and judicial administration for the first four years of our territorial existence, I bring this article to a close, leaving it to others, more familiar and capable than myself, to take up the theme with the Hon. Willis A. Gorman, our second territorial governor, and the judges appointed by Presidents Pierce and Buchanan.

In conclusion, I desire to pay a tribute to one still living, who has passed fourscore and ten years, being now in his ninety-second year, one who was in October, 1836, elected as the delegate in Congress from Wisconsin territory, when the limits of that territory extended from the western shores of lake Michigan, along the northern lines of the states of Illinois and Missouri, to the Missouri river on the west, and to the British possessions on the north, with its capital at Burlington on the Mississippi river. I refer to the Honorable George W. Jones, of Dubuque, Iowa.* I first made his acquaintance in August, 1845, and last met him in October, 1847. His life and history are an essential element in the history of that Wisconsin Territory, of which are now composed five States of the Union, namely, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and South and North Dakota. He has ever been an ardent and zealous friend of every movement for the advancement of the Northwest. In 1838 his political aspirations were checked and his future prospects darkened by his adherence and devotion to the "code of honor" which then existed, in becoming the second of Jonathan E. Cilley, of Maine, who was brought to an untimely end at the hands of William J. Graves of Kentucky. He has ever since retained his residence within the limits of Iowa, either as territory or state. Yet we are justified in claiming him as our first delegate in Congress. Every delegate that has succeeded him, either as delegate from Wisconsin, Iowa, or Minnesota, has passed away, and he the first still survives. Recalling the time when I knew him personally, fifty years ago, I wish to place upon the records of this Society our testimonial in remembrance of him and his services in former days in developing the vast possibilities of this Northwestern territory.

*Since this was written, General Jones died July 22, 1896.

LAWYERS AND COURTS OF MINNESOTA PRIOR TO AND DURING ITS TERRITORIAL PERIOD.*

BY JUDGE CHARLES E. FLANDRAU.

Judges and lawyers generally occupy such a large space in the growth and progress of a country that what they say and do makes one of the factors of history, and usually gets itself upon the records in some way. It certainly cannot be the result of self-assertion, as their modesty is proverbial. I am inclined to attribute it to the fact that their doings possess some real interest to the other members of society. They ought to be men of learning, and, as a general thing, they individually and as a body possess a large share of the brilliancy and wit of a community. They fill a large share of the public trusts, and shape the policy and laws of a country as naturally as water seeks its level. Their light is seldom hidden from the generation of which they form a part; but there always seems to be a desire to learn of their career in the early and unwritten period of a country, and I have been requested to prepare a paper for this occasion, noting who they were and what they did in the early days of Minnesota.

Our state had rather a mixed origin. Its mothers were the Northwestern Territory and Louisiana. The first gave us what lies east of the Mississippi, and the last what we embrace west of that stream; and before this area became Minnesota, it was, on the west side of the river, first Louisiana, then Missouri, then Michigan, then Wisconsin, then Iowa.

On the east side of the Mississippi it was, first, a part of the Northwest Territory, which belonged to Virginia and was

* An Address at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Jan. 13, 1896.

ceded by that state to the United States; later it was a part of Indiana; and afterwards of Wisconsin.

I once took the trouble to look up all the acts of Congress which created these several changes, and I have the dates of their passage, but I will not inflict them upon you at this time, preferring to confine myself to those matters that are more germane to the subject in hand. When Wisconsin was a territory, its part lying west of the St. Croix river was in St. Croix county, which included St. Anthony Falls, Stillwater, Point Douglas, Marine Mills, Arcola, and St. Paul, and was the home of a good many men of standing and ability. The admission of Wisconsin into the Union in 1848, with the St. Croix river for its western boundary, left all the country west of that stream without any government, and the lawyers, withont courts, which presented quite a formidable obstacle to their business prospects; but they were equal to the occasion. They claimed that the remnant which had been abandoned by Wisconsin, as a state, was still Wisconsin as a territory. They induced Mr. John Catlin, the Secretary of the Territory of Wisconsin, to remove from Madison to Stillwater, and, as ex-officio governor, to proclaim the existence of the territory and call an election for a delegate to Congress. Henry H. Sibley was elected, and was admitted to a seat from Wisconsin, and in March, 1849, procured the passage of an organic act for the Territory of Minnesota.

Sibley was a lawyer, but he never practiced the profession. He lived at Mendota, then called St. Peter's, and hung out a lawyer's sign in 1835. This sign was in the possession of his family at the time of his death, and either is, or should be, now in the museum of this Society.

While living at St. Peter's, Mr. Sibley was the first judicial officer who ever exercised the functions of a court in Minnesota. He was commissioned a justice of the peace in 1835 or 1836 by Governor Chambers of Iowa, with a jurisdiction extending from twenty miles south of Prairie du Chien to the British boundary on the north, to the White River on the west, and to the Mississippi on the east. His prisoners could only be committed to Prairie du Chien. Boundary lines were very dimly indicated in those days. Minor magistrates were in no fear of being overruled by superior courts, and tradition asserts that the writs of Sibley's court often extended into Wisconsin and

other jurisdictions. One case is recalled which will serve as an illustration: A man named Phalen was charged with having murdered a sergeant of the United States army named Hayes, in Wisconsin. He was arrested under a warrant from Justice Sibley's court, was examined and committed to Prairie du Chien, and no questions were asked. Phalen Lake, from which our water supply is partially derived, is named after this prisoner. Sibley was the first governor of the state, commanded a large part of the forces in the Indian war of 1862, and was made a Major General of Volunteers by the President for his services. He was one of our best citizens and is lamented by all.

An attempt was made in 1842 to hold a court in St. Croix county by Judge Irwin, then one of the territorial judges of Wisconsin. It came about in this way: There was a very enterprising settler here then, named Joseph R. Brown, who came to Fort Snelling with the regiment which laid the cornerstone of the fort, in 1819, and was discharged from the army in 1826 or thereabouts. In 1842 he was clerk of the courts in St. Croix county, and for some reason, best known to himself, procured the Legislature of Wisconsin to appoint a court in his county. Judge Irwin came up to hold it; and on arriving at Fort Snelling he found himself in a country which indicated that disputes were more frequently settled with the tomahawk than by the principles of the common law. The officers of the fort could give him no information, but fortunately he discovered Norman W. Kittson at his trading house near the Falls of Minnehaha. Kittson knew Mr. Brown, the clerk, who then lived on the St. Croix near where Stillwater now stands, and directed the judge to him. He furnished a horse, and his honor struck across the country and found his clerk, who had either forgotten all about the court or had never heard of it. The disgusted judge took the first chance down the river, a very angry man.

After five years from this futile attempt, the first court was held by Judge Dunn, then Chief Justice of Wisconsin. This occurred in June, 1847. The term was important, not alone as being the first term ever held in what is now Minnesota, but on account of the trial of an Indian chief named "Wind," who was indicted for murder. Samuel J. Crawford, of Mineral Point, was appointed prosecuting attorney for the term, and Ben C. Eastman, of Platteville, defended the prisoner. "Wind"

was acquitted. This was the first jury trial ever had in any part of the region now embraced in Minnesota.

The admission of Wisconsin into the Union left Morton S. Wilkinson and Henry L. Moss in Stillwater, the former having located there in 1847 and the latter in 1848. Mr. Wilkinson afterward became distinguished in his profession as a lawyer, and also in political life. He represented our state in the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States, and was always a genial and interesting man, much beloved by the old settlers up to the time of his death.

Mr. Moss was appointed United States District Attorney, when the Territory of Minnesota was organized, and practiced law for some years, but has been engaged in other business during a long time past. Mr. Moss is one of the very few survivors, in fact, I think the only one, of the lawyers dating back of the organization of our territory. He still lives, and has added some of his recollections of those interesting times to the annals of our Society on this occasion.

The first court house that was erected within the present limits of Minnesota was in Stillwater in 1847. A private subscription was taken up and $1200 raised, to be supplemented by the county of St. Croix with sufficient to complete the structure. It was perched upon the top of one of the high points in that town, and many are the citizens who have been winded and made to blaspheme in ascending to its lofty pinnacle. The first territorial court of Minnesota was held in it in 1849, and I held one there in 1857.

The first judges of Minnesota Territory were Aaron Goodrich, Chief Justice, and David Cooper and Bradley B. Meeker, Associate Justices; and the first court, of which I have spoken, was presided over by Chief Justice Goodrich, assisted by Judge Cooper. The court lasted one week. There were thirty-five cases on the calendar. The grand jury returned ten indictments, one for assault with intent to maim, one for perjury, four for selling liquor to Indians, and four for keeping gambling houses. Only one of these indictments was tried at this term, and, being the first, and the prisoner being a prominent member of the bar, Mr. William D. Phillips, it may be interesting to give a brief history of the case and of the defendant.

Mr. Phillips was a native of Maryland, and came to St. Paul in 1848. He was the first District Attorney of the county of

Ramsey, elected in 1849. He left this country when General Franklin Pierce was elected to the presidency, and never returned. He was a very eccentric person, and many anecdotes are related of him. On one occasion, when discussing the construction of a Minnesota statute with an attorney fresh from the east, his adversary made some classical allusion in which the name of Cicero or Demosthenes occurred. Mr. Phillips, answering, became very much excited, and in a rising flight of eloquence said: "The gentleman may be a classical scholar; he may be as eloquent as Demosthenes; he has probably ripped with old Euripides, socked with old Socrates, and canted with old Cantharides; but, gentlemen of the jury, what does he know about the laws of Minnesota?"

Another story is told of him, which proves that he possessed in a high degree that prime quality generally attributed to the profession, of always charging for services rendered. Mr. Henry M. Rice had presented him a lot on Third street for the purpose of building an office for his business, and when he presented his next bill for services to Mr. Rice there was a charge of four dollars for drawing the deed.

The indictment against Mr. Phillips charged him with an assault with intent to maim. In an altercation with a man, he had drawn a pistol on him, and the defense was that the pistol was not loaded. The witness for the prosecution swore that it was, and further, that he could see the load. The prisoner, as the law then was, could not testify in his own behalf, and he could not directly disprove this fact. He was convicted and fined $25. He was very indignant, and explained the assertion of the witness that he saw the load in this way. He said he had been electioneering for Mr. H. M. Rice against Mr. Sibley, and from the uncertainty of getting his meals in such an unsettled country he carried crackers and cheese in the same pocket with his pistol, a crumb of which had got into its muzzle, and that the fellow was so scared when he looked at the pistol that he thought it was loaded to the brim.

Many of the first lawyers of the territory were admitted to the bar at this term, among whom were Morton S. Wilkinson, Henry L. Moss, Edmund Rice, Lorenzo A. Babcock, Alexander Wilkin, Bushrod W. Lott, and a good many others. Of the whole list, Mr. Moss is the only survivor.

Edmund Rice was one of the pioneers of our railroad system. Mr. Babcock was Attorney General of the Territory from 1849 to 1853. Alexander Wilkin commanded our Ninth Regiment in the Civil War, and was killed at the battle of Tupelo; and Bushrod W. Lott was the first president of the village of St. Paul, and afterwards was United States Consul at Tehauntepec, Mexico.

Among the "forty-niners" were William P. Murray and George L. Becker. Mr. Murray served many terms in Minnesota legislatures, was for a long series of years corporation attorney of St. Paul, and is now living in this city. If Mr. Murray is engaged in the practice of law now, he enjoys the distinction of being the oldest living practitioner in the state in date of service. If he has retired from practice, that honor belongs to me, as every lawyer who was in practice forty-three years ago, at the date of my arrival, except Mr. Murray, has either died or retired from the profession. Mr. Becker was prominently connected with our railroad system, and is now on the Railroad and Warehouse Commission of the state.

Henry F. Masterson and Orlando Simons also came in 1849. They were partners for many years. Mr. Masterson was the first railroad lawyer we ever had. He was attorney for the first corporation formed. Mr. Simons became District Judge of Ramsey county.

The year 1850 gave us William Hollinshead, who was at the head of the bar for several years; Rensselaer R. Nelson, who became one of the territorial judges of the Supreme Court, and was made judge of the United States District Court on our admission into the Union, which position he still holds, being the oldest United States judge to-day, by date of commission; Lafayette Emmett, who was the first Chief Justice of our State, and who now resides in New Mexico; William H. Welch, who was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory; and Jacob J. Noah, who was first clerk of the Supreme Court of the State.

I recall a very good anecdote in which the Major, as we called Mr. Noah, figured. He lived at Mendota and practiced law there. About the year 1855 Mr. John B. Brisbin arrived in St. Paul and commenced practice. A great deal of the business was done in courts of justices of the peace, and Mr. Brisbin was called to Mendota to defend a client who was charged with

trespassing on another's land, or, as we then called it, "jumping his claim." Major Noah appeared for the plaintiff and filed his complaint. Mr. Brisbin demurred to it, and made a very eloquent and exhaustive argument in support of his position. The Justice was a very venerable looking old Frenchman (the greater part of the population being French at that time). He listened very attentively and occasionally bowed when Mr. Brisbin became most impressive, leaving the impression upon the speaker that he comprehended his reasoning and acquiesced in his conclusions. When Mr. Brisbin closed his argument, Major Noah commenced to address the court in French. Mr. Brisbin objected; he did not understand French, and judicial proceedings must be conducted in English. The Major replied that he was interpreting to the court what Mr. Brisbin had been saying. "I desire no interpretation; I made myself clear," said Mr. Brisbin. "Certainly," said the Major, "Your argument was excellent, but the court don't understand any English," which was literally true. Tradition adds that, when the court adjourned, the judge was heard to ask the Major, "Est ce qu' il y a une femme dans cette cause la?" Whether the judge decided the case on the theory of there being a woman in it or not, history has failed to record.

In 1850 Allen Pierce from Mississippi, who had been a partner of Senator Henry S. Foote of that state, settled in St. Paul, but did not remain any length of time. He went to Willow River (now Hudson), in Wisconsin.

Charles J. Hennis, an Irishman, came from Philadelphia and settled in St. Paul. The very mention of his name recalls eloquence and scintillating wit. He was a jovial fellow, but died early in the fight.

C. S. Todd, of Kentucky, and William G. Le Duc, arrived in 1850. The former remained only a short time. General Le Duc became Commissioner of Agriculture under President Hayes' administration. He now lives in Hastings.

In 1851 came DeWitt C. Cooley, of New York, who emigrated here from Texas; also a Frenchman named T. P. Watson, from Detroit. I do not recall that either of these gentlemen developed more than a routine professional career.

In 1852 Mr. Isaac V. D. Heard settled here. He was prominent at the bar, and was the author of a history of the Sioux war of 1862, in which he acted a prominent part as aid-de-camp

to the commanding general. Mr. Charles L. Willis, from Ohio, also coming in 1852, settled in St. Paul and practiced for some years. He is the father of Judge John W. Willis, now on the district bench of Ramsey county.

Mr. Daniel Breck, of Kentucky, was likewise an acquisition of 1852, but, in true Kentucky style, he killed a man shortly after his arrival and departed.

Mr. John E. Warren settled in Minnesota in 1852, coming from Troy, New York. He was a lawyer by education; but, having ample means at his command, he followed the dictates of his taste, which led him into literature and travel. He wrote a work on Spain, and another entitled "Para, or Adventures on the Amazon." He was once mayor of St. Paul, and United States District Attorney of the territory. I recall with much pleasure the sumptuous but refined hospitality of Mr. Warren's house, which was made doubly attractive by the brilliancy of his charming wife. They are both alive and reside somewhere in the east.

We must keep in mind that St. Anthony was part of Ramsey county up to 1856, and that it contained some of our prominent lawyers. Conspicuous among them were Isaac Atwater, afterward Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the state; Ellis G. Whitall, William H. Hubbard, James H. Strader, and Samuel M. Tracy; William H. Welch, whom I have heretofore mentioned as Chief Justice of the territory; George A. Nourse, who emigrated to Nevada and became Attorney General of that state; Israel I. and Dan M. Demmon; George E. H. Day; David A. Secomb, a very militant gentleman, whom some one once spoke of as being in collusion with a party, to which my old partner, Mr. Bigelow, who knew him intimately, answered: "It can't be true; he never colludes,—he always collides;" Mr. John W. North, who also went to Nevada and became one of its territorial judges; Abram R. Dodge; James M. Shepley; George W. Prescott, who was for a time clerk of the territorial Supreme Court, and the first clerk of the United States District Court after the admission of the state; E. L. Hall, R. L. Joice, Henry W. Cowles, and a good many others whose names I forget. The only survivors of all these gentlemen that I know of are Judge Atwater, who lives in Minneapolis, and, I think, George A. Nourse, who, when I last heard of him, lived in California.

The growth of the country was very rapid from 1852 to its admission into the Union, on May 11th, 1858. Many considerable towns had sprung up along the Mississippi river, and throughout the interior, and of course had their quota of lawyers; but St. Paul, Minneapolis, St. Anthony, Stillwater, and Winona, were the centers of judicial and legal business. In the latter years of the territorial period many distinguished lawyers took their place at our bar. Willis A. Gorman came as the second governor of the territory. He was from Indiana. Among others who came during that time were J. Traverse Rosser, from Virginia, secretary of the territory under Gorman's administration; Westcott Wilkin, from New York, who presided over the District Court of Ramsey county for a quarter of a century with distinguished honor and ability; E. C. Palmer, who became the first District Judge of Ramsey county; William Sprigg Hall, from Maryland, who became the first judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Ramsey county, which court was afterwards merged into the District Court; S. J. R. McMillan, who filled the position of Associate and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the state, and served two terms in the United States Senate; and Michael E. Ames, from Vermont, a queer but talented specimen.

Mr. Horace R. Bigelow and I arrived in 1853. Mr. Bigelow was one of the best of men, and at the head of his profession. He allowed his name to go before the first Republican convention ever held for the nomination of state officers, and was nominated for Chief Justice; but the Democrats won the fight. He would never run again for any office. I was a little more given to politics and office than my partner, Mr. Bigelow, and sat in the Legislature, in the Constitutional Convention, and on the Supreme Bench of both territory and state, and administered the affairs of the Sioux Indians; but I always excused myself and my constituents on the ground that we were very young and inexperienced in those days.

Previous to the admission of Minnesota as a state, there also came Alexander C. Jones, who was Judge of Probate of Ramsey county, and has for many years represented our country in China and Japan; John B. Sanborn, much distinguished as a fighting general in the Civil War; John Penman, a Methodist preacher turned lawyer, who was Judge of Probate of Ramsey county; Morris Lamprey, once a Regent of the State Uni-

versity; Oscar Stevenson, Judge of Probate of Ramsey county; John M. Gilman; James Smith, Jr.; Thomas Wilson, of Winona, afterwards Chief Justice and member of Congress; George L. Otis; Henry J. Horn; William P. Warner; William Lochren, now Commissioner of Pensions; George W. Batchelder, of Faribault; and many more gentlemen whom I will have to omit for want of time and space.

The bar of Minnesota in its early days was especially a fraternal and agreeable body among its members. I recall no incidents that reflect any discredit upon it. There was no jealousy within its ranks, but a generous courtesy existed. The professional word of a reputable lawyer has always passed current and rarely failed of redemption. What is termed sharp practice has been so universally discountenanced that it never gained a footing, and the progress of the profession has been characterized by a reciprocal accommodation among its members, which has made it a graceful fellowship of gentlemen. I have had forty-three years of actual experience both at the bar and on the bench, and I think I can speak with some degree of authority.

The period of the state is outside of the limits of this paper, but I am proud to be able to say that although the bar has been augmented vastly in numbers since our admission into the Union, my observation leads me to the conclusion that if any change has occurred in its ethical development, it has been on the side of improvement, rather than deterioration; and, so far as its professional and intellectual growth is concerned, it has produced, and now embraces within its membership, some whose fame extends throughout the national domain, and one who is attracting the consideration of the country as worthy of the highest honors at the bestowal of the whole people.

When the territory was organized, its judicial power was vested in a Supreme Court, District Courts, Probate Courts, and Justices of the Peace. Three judges were allowed it, a Chief Justice and two associates. The judges held the trial courts individually, and assembled *in banc* to sit as a Supreme Court of Appeals. This allowed a judge to sit in review of his own decision, which is not to be commended, but did not produce any noticeable disturbance in the administration of justice that I remember.

The first chief justice was Aaron Goodrich. I think he came from Tennessee. He was quite an eccentric person, and not particularly eminent as a lawyer. He presided from June 1st, 1849, to November 13th, 1851. When his successor, Jerome Fuller, was appointed, he declined to yield, claiming that, as his office was judicial and Federal, his term lasted during good behavior; but his contention, of course, did not prevail. At one time Judge Goodrich, Judge Chatfield, and William Hollinshead, were appointed to compile the statutes from 1849 to 1858. Goodrich got up a code of his own, which was unique. It was not a compilation at all, but an original code. I remember one provision, which was a cure-all for matters unprovided for; it was about as follows: "If any question shall arise, civil or criminal, which is not provided for in this revision, the ancient statutes shall prevail in regard to it." It got into print, but no further.

David Cooper was one of the first two associate justices. He was from Pennsylvania, and a very peculiar man for the position. We always called him a gentleman of the old school. It was not on account of his age, because he was quite a young man, but arose from his manners and dress. He was a very social man, and liked good things, and, when exhilarated, the more punctilious and ceremonious he became in his deportment. He always wore shirts with cambric frills down the front, and lace dangling from each cuff, in the manner that French courtiers decorated their hands in the days of Louis Quatorze. He remained in St. Paul and practiced his profession until June, 1864, when he went to Nevada, and thence to Salt Lake City, where he died some years after.

Bradley B. Meeker was the other associate justice on the organization of the territory. He served from June 1st, 1849, to April 7th, 1853. He was born in Connecticut, but studied law in Kentucky and was appointed from that state. Meeker held the first court in Hennepin county. He was a queer genius in his way, and became the owner of a considerable tract of land between St. Paul and St. Anthony, which included the famous Meeker's island in the Mississippi, where so many dams and other improvements have been projected, and still remain, in the clouds instead of the water. Meeker died suddenly at a hotel in Milwaukee, having started on a journey to pass through that city.

The next territorial bench consisted of Jerome Fuller, Chief Justice, and Andrew G. Chatfield and Moses Sherburne, associates. Fuller only remained a short time, and I find no record of his making. Chatfield was from New York originally, but was appointed from Wisconsin. Sherburne was from Maine. These two latter gentlemen were good lawyers, and made good judges. They served from April 7th, 1853, to April 23d, 1857.

After these came Henry Z. Hayner, as Chief Justice. There seems to be no record of his ever presiding at any court. He may have done so, but I have been unable to find anything that shows it, and tradition has never affirmed it to my knowledge. He was succeeded as Chief Justice by William H. Welch, with whom were associated Rensselaer R. Nelson and myself. We all served from April 13th, 1857, to May 24th, 1858. The state was admitted on May 11th, 1858. Judge Welch was from Michigan, but was living in the Territory of Minnesota when appointed. Nelson and I were from New York, but both were appointed from the territory.

It can readily be seen that the practice in the courts in those days must have been just a little mixed. The New York code was invented in 1849, and being such a radical departure from the common law and chancery practice, the older lawyers were reluctant to learn its ways, even in its home in New York; but when administered by judges from Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Maine, and Kentucky, all of whom were wedded to their own way of doing things and thought they could not be improved upon, the jumble was of course rather amusing. As in everything else, however, we all got through,—people usually do,—and the territory flourished.

I remember a remark which was made by a philosophical old gentleman to a party who thought everything was going to the dogs. He said: "Don't bother; you will get through the world; I never yet have known anybody to stick."

If you will indulge me, I will give you an instance or two of the physical labor involved in the early practice. In 1855 I walked from St. Peter to Winona in mid-winter, with the snow fifteen inches deep, a distance of a hundred and fifty miles, and back again, to try a lawsuit. On another occasion I paddled a canoe a hundred and fifty miles down the Minnesota, to oppose a motion, sold the canoe for three dollars, and footed it home. The home trip was, however, only a hundred miles. I

was offered forty acres of land as a fee for my Winona tramp, but declined it and accepted a twenty dollar gold piece instead. The rejected land has since become the heart of Mankato, worth a quarter of a million dollars.

The first visit I ever made to the Supreme Court was shortly after my arrival in 1853. A case was being argued in which a Sioux Indian had killed an immigrant woman in the neighborhood of Shakopee. He was convicted and had taken an appeal. Major Noah appeared for the prosecution, and ex-Chief Justice Goodrich for the prisoner. The Indian's name was "Zu-ai-za." His counsel could not pronounce it readily, and, being very familiar with Bible names, he called him all the way through the argument, "my client, Ahasuerus."

The Major in his brief had made some allusion to St. Paul, the Apostle, and Judge Goodrich responded by saying, "that his reference to St. Paul was the only authority he had cited that was in point, but he had such an intimate acquaintance with and high respect for the Apostle Paul, that he was assured he never would have recorded himself as the gentleman had quoted him had he not found himself in a very tight place." He used a much stronger term than "very." Zu-ai-za was hanged. It was our first execution which took place according to law. I have known of others, but I am happy to say that they were quite infrequent.

It is difficult to determine whether one was happier in those free and easy days than under the more advanced civilization of the present time. We cannot make a fair comparison between a period from which we looked at the world as a prospect, and one from which we take it in as a retrospect, since the environments of the observer are so very different; but my recollection is that we were all about as joyous and free from care as the larks we whistled with when tramping the prairies; and, if you will allow me to express a personal opinion, I would like very much to be transported back to those light-hearted times.

HOMES AND HABITATIONS OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

BY CHARLES E. MAYO.

In compliance with a request of the Executive Council that I should prepare a paper descriptive of the homes and habitations of the Minnesota Historical Society from its organization to the present time, together with a brief recital of the salient features and prominent proceedings of the society during that period, I beg leave to submit the following report:

According to the minutes in the record book of the society, a meeting was held at the office of C. K. Smith, Secretary of the territory, on November 15, 1849, for the purpose of organizing a society under the act entitled "An Act to Incorporate the Historical Society of Minnesota," approved October 20, 1849. William H. Forbes was called to the chair, and C. K. Smith was appointed secretary.

Secretary Smith appears to have given the first impulse which led to the organization of the society. His office, in which the first meeting was held, was in the front room (southeast corner) on the first floor of a two-story clapboarded log house on Bench street, known as the "Central House," occupied then, and later, as a hotel and boarding house.

The organization of the society was completed by the election of officers as follows: President, Alexander Ramsey; vice presidents, David Olmsted and Martin McLeod; treasurer, William H. Forbes; secretary, Charles K. Smith. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws, and report at a meeting to be held on the second Monday in January, 1850. There is no record of the names of those who were present at this first meeting; but it is believed that Mr. Henry L. Moss is the only survivor of that band of organizers.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, March 9, 1896.

An annual meeting was held January 1, 1850, in the Methodist church on Market street, when an address was delivered by Rev. Edward D. Neill, on "The French Voyageurs to Minnesota during the Seventeenth Century." Thus early did the society begin its legitimate work.

The adjourned meeting was held at the office of Secretary Smith, January 14, 1850, Judge David Cooper presiding, in the absence of the president and vice presidents, when the constitution and by-laws were reported, amended, and adopted. There were present: L. A. Babcock, M. S. Wilkinson, A. Van Vorhes, M. E. Ames, J. A. Wakefield, C. K. Smith, and H. L. Moss. The constitution provided that the officers, five in number, should constitute an executive council having charge of the affairs of the society; three, according to the by-laws, constituting a quorum.

Under date of February 6, 1850, Prof. Joseph Henry, of the Smithsonian Institution, wrote to Hon. Henry H. Sibley: "In my last report to the regents, I have taken an occasion to allude to the formation of an historical society in the territory of Minnesota, as a laudable example to be followed by other new parts of our union."

The next meeting of the society, of which there is any record, was the annual meeting in the Methodist church on Market street, January 13, 1851, when President Ramsey delivered an address entitled "Our field of historical research." Original papers by Rev. Stephen R. Riggs on "The Dakota Language," and by Henry R. Schoolcraft on "The History and Physical Geography of Minnesota," were read by Martin McLeod and George L. Becker, and were published, as well as the addresses previously mentioned, in the society's annals.

On January 29, 1851, a meeting was held at the brick building known as the "Rice House," in the Council Chamber, on Third street, between Washington and Franklin streets, when a resolution was adopted, approving the project of publishing a Dakota Lexicon, and a committee was appointed to procure subscribers. The work was prepared by Rev. S. R. Riggs, and was published by the Smithsonian Institution under the patronage of this Historical Society. It was highly extolled by literary and scientific men at home and abroad, and served a good purpose in making a name and reputation

for the infant society in literary circles. Col. D. A. Robertson, while in Europe, called on Baron Von Humboldt, and was not a little surprised when the Baron, on learning that his visitor was from Minnesota, took from his shelves a copy of the Dakota Lexicon, and spoke of it in complimentary terms.

November 18, 1851, the office of secretary was declared vacant on account of the absence of Secretary Smith; and Rev. Edward D. Neill was chosen to fill the vacancy. Mr. Neill continued to hold the position of secretary for twelve years.

January 19, 1852, Lieut. J. H. Simpson delivered the annual address in the Methodist church.

February 7, 1853, the annual meeting was held in the hall of the House of Representatives in the Capitol. Martin McLeod read a paper prepared by H. H. Sibley on the "Life and Services of Jean N. Nicollet;" and William H. Forbes read an essay, written by Rev. Mr. Belcourt, on the "Department of Hudson's Bay." At this meeting the thanks of the society were tendered to Hon. H. S. Geyer, of Missouri, for the very lively interest he had taken in increasing the library of the society. This is the earliest mention, in the records, of a library.

At the annual meeting January 17, 1854, a committee was appointed to secure a room in the Capitol for the use of the society. No mention is made in the records of rooms occupied by the society up to this date; and there is no record of occupancy of a room in the Capitol until November 27, 1855, when it is recorded that the society "met for the first time in the hall set apart in the Capitol for their use, and properly furnished with shelves for the reception of books and other donations." At this meeting Theodore French was elected assistant secretary, and Richard Walker, assistant librarian. The minutes state that twenty members were elected, but their names are not recorded. The writer's certificate of membership shows that he was elected at this meeting.

At a meeting of the society at their rooms in the Capitol December 1, 1855, Rev. Mr. Neill reported as a motto, for the society's seal, the words "Lux e tenebris." There was a large attendance, many donations and deposits were made, and

great enthusiasm was manifested. There were fifteen applications for membership, and it is presumed that the applicants were all elected; but the minutes do not show their names.

At the annual meeting January 15, 1856, Col. D. A. Robertson reported the sale of sixty-two life memberships at twenty-five dollars each, the proceeds of which were to be applied to payment on two lots at the corner of Tenth and Wabasha streets, purchased from Vital Guerin for fifteen hundred dollars. A committee was appointed to "take steps" for the laying of the corner stone of a hall to be erected on the society's lots, and, if possible, to procure an address on the occasion, from George Bancroft, Lewis Cass, or Thomas H. Benton. Mr. Neill read a paper on the life and writings of Hennepin.

On February 1, 1856, Hon. H. H. Sibley delivered the annual address, entitled "Reminiscences, Historical and Personal," in which he paid honorable tribute to the character of the Indian trader.

Gabriel Franchere, the last survivor of the party of fifty-seven men sent to the northwest coast by John Jacob Astor and others in 1811, to establish a fur-trading station on the Columbia river, in a letter from New York dated February 18, 1856, addressed to Mr. Sibley, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of his address, said: "One feature attracted my attention in a very pleasing manner, and that was the vindication of the moral character of the first pioneers of the wilderness. You have done ample justice to that much abused and misrepresented class of men, the Indian traders, who have been too much confounded by writers with the *courcurs des bois*, a class of men totally different from the regular trader,—these, the *courcurs des bois*, being generally men of dissolute habits, perverting the Indians by their immorality, and degrading themselves by their licentiousness, whilst the regular trader in his pursuits, although aiming at the realization of acquiring wealth by his intercourse with the savage tribes, yet had always, or at least in most cases, the welfare of the poor untutored Indian in view; indeed his own interest in a commercial point of view, and his personal safety, required the utmost care and prudence to carry out the object in view."

At a special meeting March 21, 1856, the charter having been amended by an act of the legislature providing for the election of an executive council, a council of twenty-five members was elected, eight of whom were non-residents.

The laying of the corner stone of the projected building for the use of the society was celebrated June 24, 1856, with great *éclat.* A procession was formed at the Winslow House, on the corner of Fort and Eagle streets, and marched to the grounds, preceded by a band and accompanied by Sherman's Battery from Fort Snelling, which had won distinction in the Mexican war under the name of the "Flying Artillery." An address was delivered in the open air by the mayor, Hon. George L. Becker, followed by an address from Lieut. M. F. Maury of the United States Coast Survey. The corner stone was laid with Masonic ceremonies. The expense incurred on the excavation and foundation wall having absorbed the available funds of the society, further prosecution of the work was shortly afterward abandoned.

During the year 1856 two meetings were held in the Baldwin school house, which stood on the site of the new government building fronting on Rice Park.

At a mee ing of the council January 13, 1858, William H. Kelley was appointed actuary, and continued to serve in that capacity until July, 1859, during which period he did good service in arranging and classifying the collections of the society. At about this time, the society's room in the Capitol being required for the use of the State Auditor, it became necessary to move its property into a smaller room suitable only for storage.

A special meeting of the society was held December 26, 1863, at the room of the St. Paul Library in Ingersoll's Block, when, Mr. Neill having resigned the secretaryship, William H. Kelley was elected to fill the vacancy for the unexpired term. February 19, 1864, Charles E. Mayo was elected secretary, and served three years. April 11, 1864, it was voted to rent a small room adjoining the St. Paul Library room, and that such portion of the collection as was thought desirable for exhibition should be moved to the new quarters, which was accordingly done. The society continued to occupy this room for about four years.

May 14, 1866, a committee was appointed to cause the excavation of one or more mounds on Dayton's bluff, on Saturday, May 19th, which was done under the direction of William H. Kelley and Alfred J. Hill, and a minute and elaborate report was made at the next monthly meeting. Hon. J. V. C. Smith, ex-mayor of Boston, and author of books of travel in foreign lands, was present at the meeting, and visited Dayton's bluff to observe the work on the mounds, in which he took a lively interest.

January 21, 1867, J. Fletcher Williams was elected secretary, and served in that capacity until his resignation in 1893, a period of twenty-six years.

May 1, 1867, a number of the members of the society and several invited guests celebrated the centenary of Carver's treaty with the Indians, by a visit to Carver's cave in the afternoon and a meeting at the society's room in the evening, when Rev. John Mattocks read a paper on the life and travels of Capt. Jonathan Carver.

May 15, 1867, the remainder of the library was removed from the Capitol to the room in Ingersoll's Block.

September 26, 1867, the society had a field meeting at Lake Minnetonka for the purpose of excavating some of the mounds in that region. Two mounds were opened, and a number of skeletons were exhumed. The skulls, which were in a good state of preservation, and some pieces of aboriginal pottery, were placed in our cabinet.

Rooms in the basement of the Capitol building having been provided for the society, the council met in their new quarters for the first time, November 9, 1868. The president, Hon. William R. Marshall, made an address appropriate to the occasion.

December 16, 1873, a special meeting was held to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the destruction of tea in Boston Harbor. Rev. John Mattocks and Hon. Aaron Goodrich read original papers relating to the event. There was a good attendance of ladies and gentlemen.

At a meeting of the council March 8, 1875, Henry P. Upham was elected a member of the executive council. The record states that "Mr. Upham, being present, was formally introduced by Mr. Hamilton and made remarks appropriate to the

occasion." Unfortunately, no report of the "remarks" appears in the minutes. The society, recognizing his peculiarly eminent qualifications for the office, improved the first opportunity to elect him as treasurer, which position he has continued to hold without interruption to the present time.

November 8, 1875, Rev. John Mattocks announced the death of Rev. Sterling Y. McMasters, a member of the council, and paid a just and touching tribute to his personal worth, attainments, and services to the society. At the next monthly meeting, December 13th, Gen. Sibley announced the death of Rev. John Mattocks, a member of the council for nearly nineteen years, and read a paper reciting his eminent and faithful services to this society and the community. Dr. McMasters and Mr. Mattocks were warm personal friends, and were highly esteemed as valuable members of the Historical Society.

November 13, 1876, Judge Goodrich offered a resolution providing that no permit for the occupation of grounds belonging to the society should be granted. Gen. Sanborn offered, as a substitute, a resolution requiring the officers of the society to so lease and manage the real estate of the society as to secure the largest income to the society. The substitute was adopted by a vote of seven to three.

At the next meeting, December 11, 1876, Judge Goodrich offered the following resolution: "Resolved, that the resolution offered by Gen. Sanborn and adopted at the last meeting of this council, relative to the leasing of grounds belonging to this society, be expunged from the records, the same having been adopted in violation of the laws of this society." The resolution was voted down by a vote of ten to four. This was the beginning of the "unpleasantness" inaugurated by Judge Goodrich, which finally culminated in the complete vindication of the society as represented by the executive council, through a decision of the Supreme Court. Judge Goodrich manifested a belligerent spirit which soon ripened into open rebellion. Actuated either by disappointment at his failure to receive the highest honors at the bestowal of the society, or by a natural iconoclastic disposition which prompted him to pull down rather than build up, and in emulation of the arch fiend who drew after him the third

part of Heaven's host in reckless and hopeless hostility, he plied his seductive wiles among the staid, conservative members of the executive council, in a determined effort to wrest the management of the affairs of the society from the control of the executive council, and to vest it in the original corporators and their successors elected by the survivors.

Greatly to the surprise of the faithful, he succeeded in detaching from their allegiance some half dozen of the members of the council, most of whom thereafter discontinued their attendance at the monthly meetings. Judge Goodrich, however, was so vindictive and exasperating in his unprovoked attacks on the society, which were parried by Rev. Dr. Neill and Col. Robertson with equal earnestness and irascibility, that, notwithstanding the depletion in numbers, no danger of the lack of a quorum was experienced during this stormy period. Time forbids my enlarging on the merits of the controversy, a published report of which is accessible to the curious.

January 4, 1878, a committee of five was appointed to draft a bill appropriating to the society thirty-five thousand dollars for the erection of a building for its use, and to use their best endeavors to secure its passage by the legislature. A committee of three was also appointed to solicit subscriptions from citizens for the same purpose, conditional on the passage of the legislative bill. About fifteen thousand dollars was eventually subscribed, when, no action having been taken by the legislature, the project was abandoned.

December 9, 1878, the council met in the new apartments in the basement, specially prepared for the society in the addition to the Capitol, just erected. The room vacated by the society was occupied by the Academy of Natural Sciences.

July 3, 1880, the society celebrated, at Minneapolis, the two-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony by Louis Hennepin. Hon. C. K. Davis delivered a scholarly oration, and A. P. Miller read an original poem, followed by addresses by Gov. Ramsey, Gen. Wm. T. Sherman, and Bishop Ireland. A number of military celebrities and dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church from abroad were present, and gave to the celebration a national and international character.

The Capitol building was burned on the night of March 1, 1881. Most of the library of the Historical Society was saved, though many of the books were damaged by being thrown out into the snow. The property was carried across the street and deposited in Unity church. Being fully protected by insurance, the society sustained no loss, aside from the destruction of some articles of value which could not be replaced.

A special meeting was called at the office of the president, Gen. Sibley, on March 3rd, when it was voted to move the effects into a room in the southeast corner of the Market House basement. The society continued to occupy this room for a library and for meetings until the completion of the new Capitol, when the rooms now occupied by the society were provided by the state authorities. The first meeting in this room in the Market House was on March 14, 1881.

April 9, 1883, the executive council met for the first time in its new rooms in the Capitol. President Ramsey and other members of the council made remarks on the gratifying fact that we had again resumed work in permanent and comfortable quarters. Judge Flandrau introduced the following resolution, which was adopted: "Resolved, That the Minnesota Historical Society congratulates its friends and patrons on resuming its former quarters in the rebuilt Capitol after two years, during which time its work has been much embarrassed, and on the fact of our securing such spacious and safe apartments."

From this date the history of the society is to most of you familiar; and here, having seen the society, after a voyage attended with some turbulence and much tribulation, safely moored in its haven of rest, and having traced its wanderings through discord and adversity to harmony and prosperity, my recital reaches its natural conclusion.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF NEWSPAPERS.*

BY J. B. CHANEY, ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.

The historical value of newspapers is now acknowledged by all who are competent to give an opinion upon the subject. They contain the current history of the people of their respective localities, a history more complete than can be found in any other form. For the local or the general historian, they are invaluable; events and dates which are not recorded in any other place are therein easily found. To the compilers of the political, social and religious histories of a people, the newspaper files are veritable mines of information,—mines which are even now being eagerly and thoroughly worked, and with satisfactory results. With the aid of these, their tasks are, comparatively, light ones; and, for future historians, the value of our newspaper records will be still greater.

Could Herodotus, the "Father of History," as he has been called, or, in more recent times, Rollin, Gibbon, and other compilers of ancient history, have had files of newspapers to consult, their works might have contained very much more of truth, and much less of fiction,—to say nothing of the valuable time saved to them, and to their readers, alike.

WHAT OTHER LIBRARIES ARE DOING.

The British Museum has, for many years, given special attention to the collection and preservation of newspapers; by some authority possessed by that great institution, it can compel, under penalty, publishers to furnish it with a copy of every issue of their journal; and they are all carefully collated and bound.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, Feb. 10, 1896.

The great libraries of our own country, even some of the large Free Public Libraries, are making strenuous exertions to obtain and preserve files of their local and State newspapers. Of this last named class, the Boston Public Library is a notable example. It is, however, the peculiar province and duty of Historical Societies to engage in this important work, for the benefit of posterity. Their newspaper departments are not, or should not be, current newspaper reading-rooms; if they are so used, it will result in the defeat of the object sought to be attained, namely, the preservation of the newspapers, in good condition for binding. As every one knows, the paper now used, made of wood pulp, is so fragile that it will not bear much handling; often it is so poor that it will not go through the printing process without breaking.

Historical Societies, both local and state, should make special efforts to secure as full files as possible of all newspapers that are now being or ever have been published within their respective territories. A very few years hence it will be impossible to obtain files of their earliest papers, and it probably is so now in many cases of defunct ones. But few of the great libraries of the country, with abundant funds, can now secure files of papers published prior to, during, or soon after the Revolution, because few files of them were preserved as they were published. Excepting for the habit our ancestors had of saving everything that cost money, even their newspapers, very few, if any, files of them would have been preserved for this generation. It was, fortunately, their practice, as some of us remember, to religiously preserve their newspapers; and, where their second generation descendants did not wantonly destroy or sell them for "old papers," as so much rubbish, an occasional file finds its way to some library, and thus is preserved. Very few of them, however, have been so fortunate.

In an article on "Public Libraries of the United States," written some years ago, Hon. A. R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, says:

> The modern newspaper, and other periodical publications, afford the truest, the fullest, and, on the whole, the most impartial image of the age we live in that can be derived from any single source. Taken together, they afford the richest material for the historian, or the

student of politics, of society, of literature, and of civilization in its various aspects. What precious memorials of the day even the advertisements and local paragraphs of the newspapers of a century ago afford us! * * * * A public library is not for one generation only, but it is for all time. Opportunities once neglected of securing the current periodicals of any age, in continuous and complete form, seldom or never recur. * * * * In every city and large town, the local journals and other periodicals should form an indispensable part of a public library collection. * * * * The destiny of nearly all newspapers is swift destruction. * * * * These poor journals of to-day, which everybody is ready to stigmatize as trash not worth the room to store or the money to bind, are the every materials which the man of the future will search for with eagerness, and for some of which he will be ready to pay their weight in gold. * * * * And that library which shall the most sedulously gather and preserve such fugitive memorials of the life of the people among which it is situated, will be found to have best subserved its purpose to the succeeding generations of men.

In these days of ancestor-hunting and the compiling of local histories, what a storehouse of facts those old newspapers would have proved to be, were they now generally accessible!

THE "READY-PRINT."

Historically, the "ready-print," or "patent-side" country paper, formerly held in low esteem, has become a most valuable feature of modern journalism. The large establishments devoted to the supplying of the country press with ready-prints, and with "plate" matter, are now systematically conducted by experienced editors, and supply to the public reading matter covering the fields of history and science, as well as ordinary literature, thereby enabling the country press to give to its patrons not only the local news, but valuable general matter.

OUR OWN COLLECTION.

The collection of Minnesota newspapers in the vaults of this Society is considered, by those qualified to give an opinion upon the subject, to be really the most valuable portion of its excellent Library, historically speaking. It possesses a file of the first paper ever printed within the territorial limits of Minnesota, including a copy of the first issue of that first paper, "The Minnesota Pioneer." That first issue bears

date April 28, 1849,—some four weeks prior to the organization of the Territorial Government, which was proclaimed on June 1st, of the same year, by our worthy president, Hon. Alex. Ramsey, who was the first Territorial Governor. It also contains a copy of No. 1, Vol. 1, of "The Minnesota Register," a paper printed on a cylinder press in Cincinnati, Ohio, and shipped here in packages, for general distribution. This number was erroneously dated upon the outside, "Saturday, April, 27, 1849;" but that day of the month, in that year, happened to come on Friday instead of Saturday; however, as it was not printed in Minnesota, it does not matter when it was dated. Mr. James M. Goodhue is entitled to the credit of printing the first newspaper on Minnesota soil. It was printed on a hand-press, on Third street, St. Paul.

Unfortunately, our files of some of the early Minnesota papers are somewhat imperfect; but, such as they are, they are still almost invaluable, and none others are in existence, so far as we know. Many of those early papers died years ago,—many of them had but a brief existence; while they did live, however, they chronicled the current history of their respective localities, and they are, to-day, the only record of many of the passing events of those early days.

Considering the fact that, for the first eighteen or twenty years of the existence of this Society, it was practically without either home or funds, it is remarkable that it has been able to secure and preserve so many of the early newspapers. In this connection, it is but justice to say that this Society and students of history are indebted to Hon. Alex. Ramsey for the gift of a series of volumes of Minnesota newspapers, containing a large number of different publications, chronologically arranged and bound. They are of great historical value, and in many instances contain numbers that are wanting in the regular files. This miscellaneous series covers the period between April, 1849, and the end of 1861. Governor Ramsey also presented nicely bound files of the "Weekly Pioneer" and the "Weekly St. Paul Press," from 1862 to 1874.

NEWSPAPERS FROM OUTSIDE OF MINNESOTA.

Besides our own State newspapers, we have a valuable collection of prominent papers published in other States, mostly

obtained by purchase. Among them are "The Connecticut Gazette," running back to 1780, thus taking in the last three years of the Revolution; "The Centinel," of Boston, Mass., extending back to 1786; some Albany, N. Y., papers, published in the early part of this century; and a complete file of the "New Hampshire Patriot," from September 12, 1809 (the twenty-second issue of the paper), to December 26, 1855. This last named is an exceedingly valuable accession, covering, as it does, the war of 1812-15 and the Mexican war, besides all other important national events between those two dates. It was a gift by three members of the Society, W. H. Grant, Esq., Gen. J. B. Sanborn, and Judge Greenleaf Clark.

Of more recent journals, we have, among others, the "New York Daily Herald," from 1847 to 1877; this set covers the last part of the Mexican war and the entire periods of the Great Rebellion and Re-construction. The Herald was considered, at least by the Army of the Potomac, as the most reliable paper that came into camp; and it was sometimes sold for twenty-five cents per copy, when other dailies would not be taken for ten cents. We have the "New York Daily Tribune," full files, from 1859 to 1872; and the "Boston Daily Advertiser," from 1859 to 1866, both inclusive.

We have, also, a complete file of the "Semi-Weekly Southern News," published at Los Angeles, California, from January 18, 1860, to November 14, 1865. This file covers a very important period in the history of that State. It was an outspoken Union journal from the inception to the collapse of the Rebellion, and did good work toward keeping California from joining the seceding States. The set was presented to this Society by its good friend, Hon. C. R. Conway, one of its publishers, previously, and now, a loyal Minnesotan.

Last, but by no means least in historical value, we have "Harpers' Weekly," from 1858 to 1866.

Besides these regular files, we have a series of volumes composed of a large number of the prominent New York dailies chronologically arranged, covering the Rebellion period, which, in some respects, are as valuable as a complete file of a single publication, reflecting, as they do, the differing sentiments of able writers upon the same subject matter.

With our own State journals, added to the foregoing, and paying more particular attention to recording the movements and achievements of Minnesota men engaged in defending the Union during the dark days of the Rebellion, this Society is placed in the front rank of Libraries, in its facilities for the acquirement of a knowledge of that great struggle, on the one hand to destroy, and on the other to protect, the Nation's life.

Of daily papers published outside of Minnesota, which we are now receiving, may be mentioned the following: "The Chicago Daily Tribune," from 1878 (except from July, 1887, to February, 1891); "The World," of New York, since 1891; and the "San Francisco Chronicle," of California, also since 1891. From our neighboring State of Wisconsin we are, and for several years have been, receiving four journals, one of them a daily, free of cost. From Bismarck and the Black Hills, we have files of several of the early papers published there; and for the most of them the Society is indebted to its good friends, Col. C. A. Lounsberry and Capt. R. Blakeley. They are very valuable, historically, and it is doubtful that they can be duplicated.

From the Dominion of Canada, we are receiving three representative daily journals, one from Montreal, one from Toronto, and one from Winnipeg. For these we pay a nominal price, as also for those from New York, Chicago, and San Francisco.

ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS.

Of English newspapers, we have some of very great historical value, as "The London Gazette," from November 13, 1665, to July 25, 1713; it was a semi-weekly publication, and at first was called the "Oxford" Gazette, but soon changed the name to "London," as above. There was no display of "job type" in its columns, but it was filled with news (a little late, to be sure) from all parts of the world, including America. We have also "The London Chronicle, or Universal Evening Post," from January 1, 1757, to December 30, 1762. This was an eight page, and for some time a tri-weekly, publication; it, like the Gazette, contained the latest intelligence from all parts of the world, and is particularly valuable, in this coun-

try, for its information in regard to the last "French and Indian War," covering, as it does, all but the first eight and the last one and one-third months of that costly struggle. And last, but not least in historical value, of English journals in our collection, is the "London Illustrated News," from May 14, 1842, to December 26, 1874, sixty-five volumes, complete from its No. 1. This is an exceedingly valuable journal, historically, giving, as it does, illustrated articles upon the most important events in both war and peace in all parts of the world between those two dates, which, as to war, include our Mexican and Civil wars, as well as the Crimean war of 1854-56, and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.

RAPID INCREASE.

In the spring of 1887, less than nine years ago, the Society was in the more or less regular receipt of about seventy-five different newspapers; but, by systematic and persistent efforts, that number has been increased to over 340, and the list is still growing larger. We now lack only about seventy-five of having files of every regular newspaper published in Minnesota,—we ought to have all of them.

While the question of room in which to preserve our large series of newspapers, so that any desired volume can be supplied conveniently for reference, has already become a serious one, it is the plain duty of the Society to continue the securing and binding of them while they can be obtained, even if we are compelled to stack the increase during the next two or three years on the floor of its fire-proof vault. It would doubtless be impossible to get files of the present period at a future time, for very few people of the present age preserve their newspapers; in fact, but few publishers have more than one complete file (and some none) of their own publication, while that one file is liable to destruction at any time by fire or other cause.

A paramount duty of the Minnesota Historical Society, as expressed in its charter, is, the collection and preservation of publications, etc., pertaining to the social, political, and natural history of the state; and there is no class of publications that so nearly covers the entire field as do its newspapers.

PUBLIC APPRECIATION.

That the value of our newspaper files is appreciated by the people, at least by a large portion, is evidenced by the frequent and constantly increasing use made of them by all classes of our citizens,—not alone by citizens of the Twin Cities, but also by those of other parts of the State, as well. Scarcely a day passes in which some of them are not called into requisition. The student of our history, the clergyman, the lawyer, the politician, the laboring man, and even the editor, comes to consult them for specific information on some matter in which he is interested, and which could not be obtained elsewhere, frequently of great importance to him. Legal advertisements involving the title to real estate, probate notices regarding the settlement of estates, notices of meetings, proceedings of conventions, notices of marriages and deaths, etc., etc., are all searched for in these volumes. Each year added to their age enhances their historical and intrinsic value. In cases of the loss or destruction of court records, these files are the court of last and only resort.

The Minnesota Historical Society may justly feel a pride in its magnificent collection of newspapers as a whole, and of its Minnesota papers in particular. It is highly complimented by all visiting librarians, historians, and others who are capable of appreciating its value. Many persons of eminence, in various fields of labor, have congratulated the Society upon its possession of such an invaluable collection of newspapers, containing, as they do, an almost complete history of Minnesota, from its first settlement by white people, of its marvelous growth in population and wealth, educational institutions, and all that goes to produce a grand and influential commonwealth, and a highly educated and prosperous people,—and these same newspapers were a large factor in producing this wonderful result in so short a period of time.

NUMBER OF BOUND VOLUMES.

January 1, 1877, the librarian reported 600 bound volumes of newspapers in the Society's collection. January 1, 1896, it had 3,239, an increase of 2,639 in nineteen years. It is now increasing at the rate of about three hundred volumes per year. The word volume, as we use it, has no reference to the news-

paper year of fifty-two issues, but to the bound book. Of a four-page weekly paper we put three years in one book; of an eight-page, two; of a twelve- or sixteen-page, one. The large daily papers, on the other hand, are bound usually in four or six volumes for each year.

The proper care of the 340 different journals regularly received, in re-folding, patching torn ones, keeping track of and sending for missing issues, collating at certain periods, getting them ready for binding, making labels with name and time covered in each book, examining them after their return from the bindery, putting in the book plates, entering them in the "Accession Register" by number, name, the time covered, and statement how they were procured (whether by gift or purchase), with any necessary marginal remarks in reference to their condition, etc., involves considerable labor and close application; but they are worth, historically, many times over, all the time, labor, and money they cost.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS.*

BY D. L. KINGSBURY, ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.

The purpose of this paper is to endeavor to correct a few, at least, of the prevailing fallacies concerning the various publications issued by the United States Government, commonly called "Public Documents," and, if possible, to add a little more to our knowledge of them. The average citizen believes them to be of little or no value, except, perhaps, for Members of Congress to unload, at no expense to themselves, upon their constituents as a partial return for their votes; and, probably in nine cases out of ten, these books are packed away in the garret, eventually to find their way into the paper mill, the second-hand book store, or, possibly, in a few instances, to be donated to this or some other library.

The principal cause, I believe, of this lack of appreciation is, in a large degree, the lack of discrimination in sending books without reference to the recipient's tastes or requirements. If the recipient could have his choice in selecting books treating upon such subjects as he is interested in, as suggested by the new superintendent of documents, through having his name placed on the list to whom the congressman desires books to be sent, and the superintendent furnishing him with the monthly catalogue of the publications, from which he can make selections, it would remove much of the prejudice now existing, and would accomplish the purpose of the government in collecting and issuing the valuable material which is contained in the various reports of the several departments and bureaus, and of the Smithsonian Institution, and the Geological Survey.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, April 13, 1896.

The monthly catalogue just mentioned is a new idea, and an excellent one. The first number was issued in January, 1895, and is a complete list of all publications issued from the government printing office, whether book, pamphlet, atlas, or map; giving a full description of each, and noting at what price it can be purchased,—which is the nominal cost,—so that anyone who cannot obtain them through the Representative of his district, or does not care to do so, can purchase the particular book that he may desire. This catalogue is also of great service to librarians, keeping them informed as to what has been issued, and, after a reasonable time, if any publications that the library desires are not received, a request can be made for them; otherwise many valuable books would, no doubt, escape attention.

I shall, further on, refer to other important and desirable changes and improvements on the old methods of printing, binding, and distribution of public documents, inaugurated and proposed by the new superintendent of documents, Hon. F. A. Crandall.

To the casual reader there is much in the government publications that is of very little interest, too scientific or statistical, or, as it is generally remarked, "too dry." But to the scientific man, the student, and those who are in search of knowledge,—and a subject cannot be mentioned that is not covered,—there is a mass of information, collected by men selected with particular reference to their attainments in the several subjects treated, that cannot be found, in so concise a form and so accessible to everyone, elsewhere.

While much of the vast mass of matter contained in these publications is statistical, and necessarily so, but none the less valuable, there is more that is entertaining as well as instructive. It is the statistical portion, however, that is the more often called for, and often from unexpected sources, where the information desired is of great importance and value. A particular book of this class may not have been called for during months, or even years; but when it is so inquired for, it is a credit to the library, and a satisfaction to the librarian, to be able to produce a book which, as the applicant often admits, he did not expect to find. It is largely the acquisition of scarce but valuable books, not only of the kind under discus-

sion, but in other departments as well, that gives a library its reputation and enhances its value as a source of information.

It is, and has been, one of the most difficult problems which librarians have encountered, to properly classify and catalogue the government publications, other than those of the Smithsonian Institution and the Geological Survey, so as to make their vast store of valuable knowledge readily available. It has not indeed been fully attained, and the best method for this purpose is yet to be discovered. It is proposed, however, by Mr. Crandall to devise a uniform system of catalogue cards that shall overcome the difficulty. These cards will be printed and distributed to libraries designated as depositories. The cataloguing will not, however, extend back farther than a few years, as one familiar with the subject can readily imagine the magnitude, if not the impossibility, of such an undertaking, in time and expense, if it should commence at the beginning.

It has been the practice, in the library of this society, to catalogue such publications of the United States Government as contain subjects of common interest, or those which seem most important and likely to be called for, and to rely on the general indexes compiled by Ben. Perley Poore and John G. Ames and issued by the government, and on what are called check lists, for all others.

The great difficulty in properly cataloguing the documents bound in sheep is the method which has prevailed of designating the volumes, according to the "binder's titles," as belonging to the first, second, or at times the third session of a certain Congress, in addition to the designation as reports of a department, or a branch or bureau of a department, volume one or two, part one or two, and the year. The man is not yet born that can master these "binder's titles;" and it frequently occurs that, after getting the title deciphered, beyond a question of doubt, and the book placed accordingly, we find later that it has been placed with the wrong series. These volumes bound in sheep comprise the greater number of the government publications on our shelves.

Fortunately, the information more frequently in demand is found in the reports of the various departments bound in

cloth, under their proper and simpler titles only. It is to these sets that reference is usually made, as a matter of convenience and with a great saving of time.

It would have been better, and would have simplified the cataloguing, if none but the cloth-bound volumes had been placed on the shelves; but, as the leather-bound have been the ones noted in the accession catalogue, and consequently numbered, it would now complicate matters to change the method which has prevailed.

The volumes in cloth are counted as duplicates, and with one or two exceptions, are filed in the duplicate room of the middle passage, but all are readily accessible. It is our plan to keep at least one unbroken set of duplicates, and additional numbers are used for exchange or sale. A considerable number of the surplus duplicates have been sent to the superintendent of documents at Washington for exchange, since he has established what may properly be called "a book clearing-house." Libraries send their excess volumes of government publications, with a list of such as they may lack. This is an excellent method by which gaps can be filled, because many editions are exhausted, so that single volumes and sets are held at a high premium.

Several of the series have general indexes, bound separately, making the series doubly valuable for reference, as it obviates the necessity of looking through the index of each volume. The reports in more frequent demand are those of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Commissioner of Labor, the Bureau of Statistics, the Consular Reports, the Bureau of American Republics, the Chief of Engineers, and the publications of the Patent Office.

Another difficulty encountered in classifying the volumes bound in sheep, is the inequality in size, making it impracticable to arrange them consecutively by series on the same shelf. The larger number are octavo, many are quarto, and a few folio, requiring their separation for convenient arrangement in different cases or at least on different shelves. It is confusing, when one looks for a particular report of a certain Congress, to find a break in the continuity of numbers, as it may not be remembered whether the volume is wanting, or is placed elsewhere on account of its size. Fortunately the

quartos and folios usually contain matter, plates, and maps, bearing on some subject which is catalogued, being consequently more liable to be remembered by the librarian. One cannot, unless he has at some time examined these plates and maps, appreciate their value and the high style of art of their production, a large number being in colors.

As will appear further on, the continuations of the series of reports that have been formerly received in sheep binding will be issued in cloth; the old black cloth being, except in one series, discarded, and other and more pleasing colors substituted. The year book of the Agricultural Department for 1895 is an excellent specimen of the new binding, and will compare favorably with that of the best publishers. The experience of the government, as well as of many libraries, is that leather binding not only is more expensive, but also is less durable, than cloth. It is estimated that a yearly saving of one hundred thousand dollars can be made by using cloth, with better results.

A bill recently drafted by Mr. Crandall, the superintendent of documents, to be submitted to Congress, proposes that each department shall have its distinctive color, and aims also to make other reforms, and to correct existing abuses. Its purpose is "to reduce the cost, increase the value, and simplify the methods of publication of the public documents furnished to designated depository libraries." This bill is designed to provide "that the libraries shall be supplied from the earliest editions of every document that can be made available for that purpose." By the old method of distribution, many important reports are received so long a time after they are made that they are valuable only as a matter of record. Therefore a few reports are anticipated as bulletins. If the proposed change should prevail, the bulletins will not be necessary.

Under the old method, there have been received and placed on the shelves duplicate and in some instances triplicate volumes of the same report, but with different titles. This procedure, costly to the government and cumbersome to the library, will be discontinued under the new plan.

This society has now on its shelves 2,450 volumes of the government publications called executive and miscellaneous

reports of the Senate and House. In addition, there are numerous special series. Among these are the decisions of the Department of the Interior in land cases, nineteen octavo volumes, and in pension cases, seven volumes. There are about six hundred volumes of the specifications and drawings and gazette of the Patent Office; of the Congressional Globe and Record, two hundred and fifty; and of the Smithsonian Institution and Geological Survey, about six hundred volumes. With other miscellaneous series, the total enumeration of United States publications in our library exceeds 4,000 volumes, being nearly one-sixth of the whole number of bound volumes (not counting the 31,000 pamphlets) on the shelves. I believe that there is no other department or series of books here, although many of them have cost large sums and their commercial and intrinsic value, to the present and future generations, is beyond question, that will be by the generations to come more appreciated, for reasons that I shall present further on. Yet these four thousand volumes have not cost the society a cent, practically; and possibly that may be one reason why we do not appreciate them at their full value.

Having called attention to the imperfections of the government publications, not of their contents but of the methods under which they have been issued, I shall now endeavor, as briefly as possible, to note some of their merits, which, as I believe, offset all their deficiencies.

It seems superfluous to call anyone's attention to the publications of the Smithsonian Institution, the Geological Survey, and the Bureau of Ethnology. Of the Smithsonian publications, which comprise the "Contributions to Knowledge," "Miscellaneous Collections," and bulletins and reports of the National Museum, even the most casual reader need but turn a few leaves to get an inkling of their vast store of invaluable information. To the student or anyone with scientific tastes, they are a source of pleasure and profit. The contents of the various volumes cover the whole range of scientific and useful knowledge. And while the reports of the Geological Survey and Bureau of Ethnology are confined more especially to particular subjects, the same can be said of their intrinsic worth.

Of the reports of the Secretary of Agriculture, it can be

truthfully said that the average American, other than farmers, and even a large number of the latter, until recently held them in lower esteem than all other publications of the government. There may have been reason for the opinion in the past, but not so now. These reports contain an amount of information covering the whole field of agricultural pursuits and allied industries that can not be found elsewhere; which, indeed, no one person could collect, much less publish, on so many and varied subjects.

The reports of the Commissioner of Education are particularly valuable, containing, as they do, the history of education in the United States since the foundation of Harvard College in 1636 to its present development, and covering all grades of educational institutions from the little country school house to the university. The methods that have been employed, and the results, are interestingly stated; and they are compared with detailed accounts of schools in all civilized countries. These reports, as well as those of the Secretary of Agriculture, are profusely illustrated.

The reports of the Commissioner of Labor are in frequent demand, particularly within the past three years. They contain indispensable information for the student of economic and social conditions.

There are on our shelves fifty-six volumes of the Consular Reports, bound by the Society, covering the period since 1880, and including four general indexes. These reports contain information of importance to the farmer, manufacturer, and consumer in this country. This information has been collected by American consuls at their various stations throughout the world, noting the products of the several nations, what they have to export, and what they need that can be supplied by the United States.

The bulletins of the Bureau of American Republics are somewhat of the same character as the Consular Reports, but are confined to the republics of Mexico and Central and South America. In addition to statistical information, they give descriptions of the people, the climate, and other more general information, including the very latest maps. Of these reports there are eighteen. Besides, there is a general commercial directory of Latin America. The information given

in these bulletins is concise and valuable, and they are a very useful acquisition to any library.

Even the Congressional Globe and Record are not devoid of information and interest to a general reader. While they are not what might be called attractive reading, yet one familiar with their contents cannot deny that they are of great value in a strictly historical sense, since they contain a daily record of the doings of Congress, of speeches delivered and others not delivered. Although seldom asked for, these massive volumes are a very needful part of every large reference library.

Last, but not of least importance, I may call your attention to the Patent Office publication, the Gazette, specifications and drawings of patents, and the annual reports. These publications can scarcely be termed historical, strictly speaking, yet are they not the history of the mechanic arts in this country, tersely told? of successes, and of disappointments? They represent the inventive genius of the period that has no parallel in history; a period which has produced the locomotive, the telegraph, the telephone, and the wonderful development of electrical science, with its application to commercial and domestic uses. But for the steamboats and the locomotive, the West would still be a comparative wilderness. In brief, the inventors of this country have done as much for its civilization and development as their fellows in any vocation or profession.

Taken as a whole, the government documents, other than the strictly scientific, contain the political, social, material, and economic history of this country. In them we have, consecutively and concisely arranged, matter of importance, in a greater or less degree, to every American, which cannot be found in any other collective form, and which is available to everyone.

For examples take the reports of the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, including the official war records. In these one can find the whole unembellished war history of the United States. In the ordnance reports we can trace the evolution of guns of all kinds, from the flint-lock blunderbuss and smooth-bore cannon of the Revolution to the rapid-firing, breech-loading ordnance of to-day. From the old wooden frigates, which served the purpose of their time, we pass to

the monster steel battle ships, and to the small but, perhaps, more terrible torpedo boats, of the present navy.

In the reports of the Chief of Engineers we find a complete and detailed account of the construction of our harbors on both seaboards, on the Gulf of Mexico, and on the inland waters as well, with descriptions of the military defenses. These reports contain maps, plans, and illustrations of all important works in these classes, finished and under construction, and give descriptions of the engineering methods and different kinds of machinery employed. The materials of various kinds used are carefully noted, and valuable tables show their adaptability to the several requirements. Thus they supply reliable information that is of the highest utility to mechanics, contractors, and builders; for the government, as is well known, conducts its work on scientific principles, keeping exact records, to the most minute detail, of tests of materials and processes of construction.

In the United States Statutes and the American State Papers, we have a full account of our diplomatic and treaty relations with foreign countries; and in the reports of the Interior Department one can find our transactions and treaties with the Indians. Much of both these records, however, it may be confessed, reflects no credit to us as a Nation, or as individuals.

There are other series of government reports containing valuable information that could be mentioned; but enough has been selected to indicate, as I trust, somewhat adequately the worth of the government publications, the importance of preserving those that are on our shelves, and the need of securing all that will be issued in the future.

When the Minnesota Historical Society shall be in the new quarters assigned to it in the new Capitol, then, and then only, can the accumulation of the government publications be so completely and properly classified in cases and shelves allowing convenient examination, and so fully catalogued, that all their vast stores of information, or any desired part thereof, shall be quickly obtainable by inquirers, throughout the almost infinite range of knowledge which they contain.

THE FIRST ORGANIZED GOVERNMENT OF DAKOTA.*

BY GOV. SAMUEL J. ALBRIGHT.

WITH A PREFACE BY JUDGE CHARLES E. FLANDRAU.

PREFACE.

For many years I have been desirous of obtaining the exact facts concerning the first settlement of Dakota, which took place in the year 1857, in the valley of the Big Sioux river, for the reason that its incidents form a most interesting and curious epoch in the history of the Northwest. It presents the only actual attempt (excepting one earlier instance†) to form a government on the principles of "squatter sovereignty," pure and simple, that has ever occurred in this country. The settlement here noted was by United States citizens, migrating westward; and the statement of its priority should be qualified by mention of the much earlier but scanty British immigration which had extended from the Selkirk settlement southward into the northeast corner of Dakota, in the vicinity of Pembina.

I was familiar with the movement to colonize the Big Sioux valley, and to some extent was interested in it; but, not having actually participated in the immigration and subsequent proceedings, I hesitated to become their historian, for fear that, through lack of personal knowledge, I might fail to do full justice to the event, and to the adventurous men who conceived and executed it. I could recall but two of the actual participants to whom I might refer for the facts, Alpheus G. Fuller and Samuel J. Albright, and as they had both been

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 11, 1896.

† The "State of Franklin," organized in 1784, in the district which now forms the eastern part of Tennessee, as noted on page 133, following this preface.

unheard of by me for nearly forty years, I had almost abandoned the idea of ever preserving this bit of history for future generations. An accident, however, discovered the whereabouts of one of them, Mr. Samuel J. Albright, of New York City, to whom I at once applied for the coveted information; and I am happy to say that he has furnished it in a most interesting and delightfully written narrative, which cannot fail to fascinate everyone interested in our early history. I append his story in full, with my brief preface.

When Wisconsin was admitted into the Union of States, in the year 1848, the St. Croix river was chosen as its western boundary, leaving out the part of the county of St. Croix which lay between the St. Croix river and the Mississippi. Within the large territory so abandoned were the towns of Stillwater, St. Paul, St. Anthony Falls, and several other settlements. The inhabitants of this region at once set about finding some government for themselves, and decided that the remnant of Wisconsin territory so deserted was still the Territory of Wisconsin. Governor Dodge, who was the governor of the territory, had been elected United States senator of the new State of Wisconsin, which left Mr. John Catlin, secretary of the territory, ex-officio governor of what was left of it. Mr. Catlin lived at Madison, and was invited to come to Stillwater and proclaim the territory still existent. He did so, and called for the election of a delegate to Congress. Henry H. Sibley was elected, and when he arrived at Washington was acknowledged and given a seat as delegate from the Territory of Wisconsin, after which the Territory of Minnesota was, on March 3, 1849, duly organized, with its domain extending from the St. Croix to the Missouri.

When Minnesota, on the eleventh day of May, 1858, was admitted into the Union, its western boundary was fixed by the Red river of the North and a line extending south from the foot of Big Stone lake to the north line of Iowa, thus leaving out all the land extending west of this line to the Missouri river, which now belongs to the two Dakotas. The situation was identical with that presented on the admission of Wisconsin. Anticipating this condition, a number of enterprising men, a year previous, had determined to improve the opportunity of organizing a new territory out of the remnant

which would be left of Minnesota, and to avail themselves of the advantages of being proprietors of the capital city and several lesser ones, that might become the seats of the university, penitentiary, and other public institutions of the new territory. They did not adopt the plan that was so successful in the case of Wisconsin, by calling upon the governor to order an election for a delegate, for the reason, undoubtedly, that until the year 1857 there were no inhabitants of the remnant, save those residing at Pembina at the extreme north, who could hardly claim to be of sufficient importance to ask that they be recognized as a separate government; but, instead, they boldly took possession of the country with the determination of creating an entirely new government with the aid of Congress.

It must be remembered that Mr. Buchanan was then President, and that Minnesota was strongly Democratic in its politics; but the Republican party, then in its infancy, had gained great strength in Congress, and entertained hopes of electing the next president, which it did in 1860. This condition of things militated against the organization of a new territory, the officers of which would be Democratic, and prevented the realization of the hopes of the adventurers who first settled Dakota.

When the Sioux Indian war broke out in 1862, the remaining settlements on the Big Sioux river were abandoned, and all the improvements were destroyed by the Indians. Shortly after the termination of the Indian war, a military post was established on May 1, 1865, at Sioux Falls for the protection of the surrounding country. This post, which was called "Fort Dakota," consisted of one company of cavalry at one time, and of infantry at another time, and was maintained until June 18, 1869, when it was abandoned, nothing remaining but the quarters occupied by the troops, and two men, Mr. C. K. Howard and Ed Broughton, who had acted as sutlers for the post. They operated a small trading house, and dealt with the Indians. Broughton lived in the stone house on the river bank, which was built by the settlers from Minnesota. A few settlers found their way into the valley near Sioux Falls while the troops were there,—a Mr. Jeptha Douling and his family and several others. They supplied milk and vegetables to the soldiers.

This state of things continued until about June, 1869, when R. F. Pettigrew located at the Falls. He found lying on the rocks the platen of the newspaper press that had been used in the issue of the "Dakota Democrat," and has preserved it until the present time. Mr. Pettigrew has been very prominent in the progress of Dakota. He represented it in Congress as territorial delegate, and is now serving a second term as United States senator from South Dakota. I am indebted to him for some of the facts in this narrative.

About the year 1871 a brother of Senator Pettigrew found his way into the valley of the Big Sioux and located on the old site of Flandrau,* about thirty-five miles above Sioux Falls, which town the old company had named in my honor. There was then no vestige of the former settlement. But a few Sisseton Indians were living there; and a man named Lew Hulett, a trapper, had built a shack in which he carried on a small trade with the Indians.

The site of Medary, one of the old locations, still farther up the river, was lost, and a new town by the same name was started a few miles from the old one; but that has also disappeared, and the present town of Brookings, on the railroad, about six miles away, has taken its place.

Since the second settlement of the valley of the Big Sioux, which may be said to have commenced about the time of the arrival of Mr. Pettigrew in 1869, the growth and progress of the country has been marvelous; and the success of the three principal selections of sites for cities made by the original settlers,—Sioux Falls, Flandrau, and Brookings, the successor to Medary,—proves conclusively the sagacity of these pioneers, as they are all now prominent localities in South Dakota.

With these preliminary remarks, I submit the narrative of Governor Albright, in the assurance that its perusal will be deeply interesting to everyone who cares to know how states are made in the Northwest.

CHAS. E. FLANDRAU.

* The name of this town has always been, and is now, spelled Flandreau on all maps; and the town has been incorporated under that name. It was a mistake in the beginning, and has been continued.

NOTE.

THE STATE OF FRANKLIN.

Prior to 1772, settlements were made in the valleys of eastern Tennessee, and the people organized themselves into the "Watauga association," by way of forming a local government. They adopted a plan vesting authority in a general court, which consisted of five members and a clerk. In 1776, the country of the Watauga association became annexed to North Carolina, and was called the "District of Washington."

Again, in 1780, eight stations or forts, with settlements about them, situated in what is now middle Tennessee, formed themselves into "The Cumberland compact of government," which was represented by twelve notables or "General Arbitrators." This government lasted until 1783.

The territory of these settlements all belonged to North Carolina until it was ceded to the United States in June, 1784. The Watauga people opposed this cession, and, North Carolina having repealed the act of cession, they then, in the latter part of 1784 and early in 1785, organized a state government and called it the "State of Franklin." It had a governor, Col. John Sevier, a secretary of state, Mr. Langdon Carter, a treasurer, Mr. William Gage, and a superior court of three judges, the first of whom were David Campbell, Joshua Gist, and John Anderson. The capital was located at Greenville. A constitution was adopted, and laws were enacted, among which was one making otter skins a legal tender for all debts. Under this law, a bundle of skins circulated for a long time and paid many debts; after which, it was discovered, by the last victim, that they were raccoon skins with the tails of otters sewed to them.

In the adoption of the name of the State, a considerable minority had wished it to be called Frankland (that is, free land); and Franklin, when informed of the honor conferred on him, replied that he had understood the name chosen to be Frankland.

Many of the people soon manifested discontent and refused allegiance to the Franklin government, and it continued only a few years. Its brief and turbulent history has been recently summarized in a chapter of the third volume of "The Winning of the West," by Theodore Roosevelt.

The country of the Watauga, Cumberland, and Franklin governments was finally merged into Tennessee, and was admitted into the Union as part of that State on June 1, 1796. Sevier, who had been the governor of the State of Franklin, was elected the first governor of the new State of Tennessee.

C. E. F.

GOVERNOR ALBRIGHT'S NARRATIVE.

Comparatively few of those who, in these later days, journey over the parallel of 44° from the Mississippi to the Missouri rivers, and from the windows of luxurious cars look out upon thrifty towns, comfortable dwellings, and highly cultivated farms, dotted here and there with beautiful groves, call to mind the fact that little more than a generation has elapsed since the country through which they are speeding was a wilderness of prairie, destitute alike of improvement or the semblance of trees, except as they occasionally fringed the margins of small lakes or sluggish streams. The white man's foot had seldom left its impress upon the virgin sward. A few adventurous trappers had invaded it for game and pelts; Nicollet had explored it in the interest of science; and in 1857 Colonel William H. Nobles, of St. Paul, laid out and marked by earth mounds the first road across it, doing this by order of the Secretary of War, and under strong military escort. A generation ago it was, however, the undisputed home of the Sioux Indian, who roamed over it undisturbed wherever his fancy led him, dependent for his subsistence principally upon the abundant game which his good "Manitou" had bestowed upon his children as a beneficent provision against hunger and famine. The pioneer had touched its eastern boundary only. It remained for a special enterprise to discover and develop in part its boundless agricultural wealth.

In the year 1858 the eastern portion of the former Territory of Minnesota was admitted into the Union as a state. As a territory it reached west to the Missouri river; as a state, its western limit was the Red river of the North, extending on about the same meridian south to Iowa. What remained of the original Minnesota was set apart to be organized into a separate territory or otherwise disposed of, as the general government might think proper. It comprised a large extent of country, practically uninhabited and unknown to the white man. Previous to the settlements on the Big Sioux in 1857, Pembina, in the extreme north, and an occasional settler in the Missouri river valley, comprised all that approximated civilization within its limits.

Nearly a year before the admission of Minnesota as a state, a company of gentlemen, principally residents of St. Paul, associated themselves as a corporation under the title of "The Dakota Land Company." Their purpose was to acquire early title to, and to colonize, some of the most desirable agricultural tracts and eligible town sites in the territory which was expected to be left on the west side of the new state of Minnesota. Among those who took an active interest in the company's affairs were Alpheus G. Fuller, J. P. Kidder, Joseph E. Gay, S. J. Albright, Baron Freidenreich and son, J. M. Allen, F. J. De Witt, Byron Smith, and others, all intelligent gentlemen, imbued with the spirit of enterprise, and conversant with the ways and requirements of frontier life. They were willing to devote both time and money to the systematic development of the country, and trusted to the future for results.

Early in the spring of 1857, immediately following the disappearance of the snow, some of these gentlemen, under the lead of Mr. Fuller, proceeded west from New Ulm with the intention of visiting the valley of the Big Sioux, looking over the ground in that region, and, if favorably impressed, making selections of claims and town sites. They laid their course by compass, west-southwesterly. The journey was made with ox teams, and they were frequently delayed at the crossings of streams, which usually ran between bluff banks, or were flanked by marshy approaches, overgrown by rank grass and high weeds, so that they were both difficult and dangerous to ford. The valley and falls of the Big Sioux were reached without serious mishap, where, however, the little party, which had expected to lay the corner stone of civilization in the new land, were greeted by a genuine, if not entirely pleasant, surprise.

Upon their arrival they found themselves confronted by a half dozen adventurous spirits, representatives of the Western Town Company, of Dubuque, Iowa, who had preceded them, having arrived at the falls and begun building on their proposed town site a few days earlier. The Iowa immigrants hailed the arrival of the new-comers, with their well equipped and provisioned outfit, as a most welcome addition to their ranks. The Minnesotans, on their part, were delighted with

the location. They regarded it as an ideal spot for a town. The surrounding country was all that could be desired as a farming district, with a soil as rich as the most exacting agriculturist could demand. The falls of the river, comprising several distinct cataracts, were picturesque to the point of grandeur; and, in connection with the rapids above them, might be utilized as an unsurpassed water power. They would attract mills and manufactories, and so tend to build up a manufacturing center. The dearth of timber could be made up for by the importation of lumber when railroads should be built; and the presence of the enduring quartzite rock on the surface gave evidence of unlimited supplies of building material beneath. Here appeared to be all the requisites for a city: beauty of location, almost unlimited water power, building material of the best quality, and a rich farming district surrounding. Therefore it was decided that this should be the company's initial point of operation in what was to be known as "Dakota." Here was to be Sioux Falls City, the proposed future capital of the territory.

This point having been settled to the satisfaction of all, a portion of the Dakota Land Company's party proceeded some thirty miles northward, and, at a natural ford, selected a second site, which was christened "Flandrau," as a mark of respect to Hon. Charles E. Flandrau, a resident of St. Paul, and an honored citizen of Minnesota. Continuing their observations northward, at a distance of twenty-five miles farther, still on the Big Sioux river, another town was located, which they named "Medary," in honor of Governor Samuel Medary, the last territorial governor of Minnesota, as it was hoped that he would be the first executive to administer the laws in the prospective territory of Dakota. This wish was frustrated by the fact that Congress failed to accord to it immediate Federal recognition; added to which was a desire upon the part of President Buchanan that Governor Medary should accept a like appointment to Kansas, in the hope that his executive ability might bring order out of chaos in that contentious territory.

Having satisfactorily accomplished the object of their first western visit, by the selection of these several eligible points for occupation, and having established a desirable location as

a base for future operations, Mr. Fuller and one or two others returned to St. Paul, leaving the remainder of their party at Sioux Falls to permanently occupy and improve the company's holdings, and to perfect arrangements for the reception and assistance of anticipated immigrants.

Ten colonists of the Western Town Company and six of the Dakota Land Company spent the following winter at Sioux Falls amid many privations and hardships. They were extremely fortunate in one thing, however. Among the Iowa party was a young but very intelligent physician, Dr. J. L. Phillips, fresh from his eastern studies; and upon his knowledge of surgery and medicine depended a most valuable life. The circumstances were these: Early in February, 1858, Mr. W. W. Brookings, the head of the Iowa colony, had the misfortune to have both his feet badly frozen while returning from an attempted journey to secure the site on which the city of Yankton now stands. From want of attention, or through lack of the necessaries for prompt treatment, mortification resulted; and, as a last resort, in order, if possible, to save his life, amputation of both legs below the knees was resorted to. This operation was successfully performed by Dr. Phillips, with no other implements at hand than a large butcher's knife and a small tenon-saw. Marvelous as it may appear, the patient, lying upon a bed of "buffalo robes" in his floorless cabin, with none of the surroundings and comforts deemed indispensable to a sick-room, not only survived the shock incident to the harsh surgery, but entirely regained his health, and afterward became one of the foremost citizens of Dakota and a judge of one of her courts.

In September, 1858, Mr. S. J. Albright, formerly editor and publisher of the "St. Paul Free Press," established a weekly paper in Sioux Falls City, to which he gave the name of "Dakota Democrat." The Dakota Land Company had erected a small stone structure for its accommodation, which was donated to the enterprise. It has been claimed that the small hand-press upon which the paper was printed had, previous to its removal to Dakota, performed a similar service for the first newspapers printed in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, thus becoming historical as the pioneer printing press in four territories. At the date of the Democrat's first issue, there

were less than two-score settlers within a radius of seventy-five miles; and the nearest point at which it could be mailed was Sioux City, Iowa, nearly a hundred miles distant. Its mechanical appearance bespoke excellent workmanship, which would have done credit to older communities and better facilities. Advertisements were necessarily scarce, where neither the arts, professions, nor trades, were yet in evidence. Foreign news items were frequently old before they appeared in this newspaper, but they were none the less new to those who had no other means of information. Its original matter comprised local happenings, and appeals to those who were so unfortunate as to still abide outside the limits of Dakota to hasten to that favored land of plenty and possibilities, where the earth needed but to be "tickled with a hoe to laugh with a harvest." It added unceasing calls upon the general government for territorial organization, but these were all to no purpose. Congress persistently neglected to heed the counsel and admonitions of the Democrat; its unprofitable importunity was finally abandoned; and Dakota remained without a representative in the "fourth estate."

The Indians were jealous and suspicious of the intrusion of their white visitors from the start, and became still more so when they observed evidences of the continued occupation of their favorite camping grounds adjacent to the Falls. This distrust grew into open protest as claims were staked off, cabins built, and the ground prepared for cultivation. Every furrow turned by the plough was to them as a wound planted in the breast of their loved prairie. They were not prepared to yield peaceably the heritage that came to them from the Mound-Builders of Em-e-ni-ja. They might finally be compelled to submit to their traditional enemies; but not until they had entered an armed protest against the justice of the claim which civilization makes to all the earth.

Ink-pa-du-ta's band of Yankton Sioux had furnished fearful evidence of their malignant hatred, in March, 1857, by the massacre of an entire colony of whites who had taken up the lands about Spirit Lake, Iowa, a hundred miles east of Sioux Falls. The slaughter was complete, with the exception of four females, who were carried away as captives. Wandering bands of Indians were still roaming over the country, venge-

ful and aggressive, intent upon pillage and murder. The Falls were often visited by them while upon their predatory excursions, sometimes decked out in war-paint, and at other times in the character of "good Indians," which guise was often assumed to cover theft and crime.

Against these bands there was little protection except watchfulness, courage, and trusty arms; all of which were occasionally necessary to ward off threatened danger. A rumor became current and gained credence that the Sioux nation had combined to wage systematic and exterminating war upon all whites found between the Minnesota and Missouri rivers. Some of the more timid in the western portion of Minnesota, rumor said, had already deserted their claims, and others had been warned by friendly Indians that unless they did the same they would have to abide the consequences. There could be no hope of effective assistance to the settlers at Sioux Falls in case the threat was carried out. The nearest government troops were stationed at Fort Randall, on the Missouri, and Fort Ridgely, on the Minnesota, at a distance of probably a hundred and fifty miles in each case; and should a concerted insurrection occur, both of these stations would find ample employment for their limited forces much nearer home.

The Dakota Land Company had, as one of its first improvements, erected a one and a half story stone house on the bank of the river, which, in an emergency, might serve as a means of defense against superior numbers. The walls were built of boulder rock, laid in mortared clay, without lime. There were but two rooms, about fifteen feet square, the one above the other, the upper being reached by a movable ladder which could be quickly withdrawn should occasion require. This building served for the time as a residence for the company's officials, and, as intimated, might have been utilized as a means of defense. But its limits were too contracted to prove efficient as a retreat for so many as half the settlers in the vicinity. It might serve as a rallying point, but nothing more; and under some circumstances it would be as likely to invite a disaster as to prove a protection against assault or siege.

The settlers therefore decided to construct around this building a fortification of sufficient dimensions to contain all who

would be likely to seek it as a retreat from imminent jeopardy. The material for its construction was near at hand and abundant. It was found in the heavy, tenacious prairie-sward, than which nothing could be more effective for the purpose; because it would be impossible for either bullets or arrows to penetrate it to the depth of three feet, or even much less. It was, of course, uninflammable, which was a great point in Indian warfare; and time only served to make the layers of sward more adhesive and compact. The walls, seven or eight feet in height, and enclosing an area of a hundred feet square, were pierced by port-holes, which commanded an unobstructed range of the prairie on every side; whilst corner bastions commanded the immediate exterior sufficiently to make scaling a perilous venture. Inside the enclosure was a living spring of pure water, thus precluding the possibility of a water famine; and each individual seeking an asylum within the fortress was expected to bring with him sufficient provisions to last through a short siege. The signal of danger and call for "assembly" was produced by beating upon a pendent circular saw. This, unlike any other sound, would be immediately distinguished throughout the settlement as a call to arms and concerted action.

Altogether, while this crude defense would doubtless have failed to pass the critical examination of scientific engineers, it would assuredly have proved a strong bulwark against any mode of warfare possessed by the Indians. Fortunately, it never became necessary to test its strength or defensive qualities. But its mere presence afforded a sense of security to the early settlers at Sioux Falls that repaid them many times over for the labor of its construction. In that way it may have served to ward off a calamity such as befell the colony at Spirit Lake.

There were continued threatenings and rumors during the summer and autumn of 1858, but nothing more serious occurred in the immediate neighborhood than the theft, by some of Ink-pa-du-ta's band, of three horses. One of these was a valuable animal belonging to Mr. Albright, and greatly coveted by the Indians, who had once before stolen him while the property of Colonel Nobles. The other two belonged to Mr. J. B. Amidon, who had arrived from St. Paul the day previous,

with his wife, son, and daughter. They were taken from the stable about ten o'clock in the evening, their loss being discovered half an hour thereafter. Pursuit was made at early dawn the following morning, and the trail was followed northward for two days; but the thieves succeeded in getting away with their valuable booty, and were never caught. The reward of "one hundred dollars for the return of the horse or the scalp of the thief," offered by the owners through the columns of the Democrat, called forth some very pronounced criticisms by certain Eastern papers. One of these censors in a Boston paper took up the matter quite seriously, and called for the arrest and punishment of the "Christian savage" who publicly offered a reward for murder. He was probably ignorant of the fact that in those days, on the frontier, there existed an unwritten law which made horse-stealing a capital crime, punishable with death, be the detected culprit white, black, or bronzed.

As Dakota was an unattached domain, having no voice in the political questions that obtained in either a state or a territory, the issues that divided its few citizens were merely sectional. A warm rivalry had sprung up between Sioux Falls City, representing the east and north, and Yankton, on the Missouri, which, with its earliest settlement in 1858, immediately became the center of interest for the western section. Each desired to make the best exhibit of population, improvement, and general progress; all of which were regarded as factors in the future location of the capital at such time as the country should change its condition of an ostracized waif for that of a recognized ward of the United States government.

The immigrants in the Missouri valley probably outnumbered those in the valley of the Big Sioux; but the latter were more enterprising and progressive, besides having organized companies, with capital to encourage and assist them. Moreover, these eastern colonists were almost all Americans, with the persistence and push incident to their nativity; while their more plodding western rivals were generally Swedes and Norwegians, who had taken up claims, and were content to till the soil and await events, with little apparent desire to hasten or influence them by personal effort. They had

gone there in quest of homes, and they had found them. They knew but little of our language or methods, and they were willing to bide their time, and let others shape the social and political status of their adopted country.

Sioux Falls, Yankton, and Pembina, were all in perfect accord upon one point, however, and that was a desire for territorial organization, and the consequent encouragement of immigration, the introduction of capital, and the establishment of industries; for it was argued that investments of any kind would be few and small where the collection of debts was left entirely to the conscience of the debtor, and where contracts could not be legally enforced, owing to the entire absence of lawful authority. The Dakota Land Company, on account of its greater interests, was especially anxious for organization; and it was hoped by its members that a direct and personal appeal to the powers at the national capital by an authorized delegate, representing a worthy class of citizens who were without other means of petition, might serve to hasten affirmative action.

It was in consonance with these views, in the spring of the year 1858, that Mr. A. G. Fuller, whose ability and acquirements eminently fitted him for the position, was selected and consented to undertake the onerous and profitless duties which the appointment imposed. His labors were to be in the interest of all; for, if successful, all would be benefited alike. Having received such credentials as were permissible under the circumstances, Mr. Fuller proceeded to Washington. He went fully equipped with data, documents, petitions, etc., and with letters of introduction from conspicuous gentlemen in the West to influential politicians at the Federal seat of government. It was not expected, of course, that he would be recognized as an empowered representative from an established territory; but he was admitted to the floor of the House of Representatives, and treated rather as a quasi-delegate by courtesy. Necessarily his intercourse with Congress was confined mainly to the Committee on Territories; and his endeavor was for the introduction of a bill organizing the new territory of Dakota. The committee heard him patiently, and became convinced by his arguments; but they failed to make headway with the House, where matters of greater import-

ance, at least to the members, furnished themes for debate. The times were unpropitious for the introduction of any new bill not possessing national interest. Sectional politics were at glowing heat; and measures offering political advantage to neither party were apt to be set aside. Representatives from the North and the South were jointly digging the "bloody chasm," and were unconsciously marshaling for the terrible conflict so soon to be inaugurated. Under these circumstances, Mr. Fuller saw that further effort on his part would be merely a waste of time, and consequently he returned to the West, somewhat disappointed at his present lack of success, but not discouraged as to the future.

It was certain that Dakota could hope for no Federal organization for at least a year, and it might be delayed for a longer and indefinite period. Meanwhile the country would be left without a semblance of law, or any acknowledged authority for the prevention or punishment of crime. This would be to invite within its limits a class whose presence would be a constant menace to society, with the probable effect of putting a stop to further immigration. These conditions led to a proposition, which met with the general approval of those concerned. It embraced the establishment of a temporary government to have existence only until a more permanent one should be provided by congressional enactment. There was no precedent for such a proceeding (unless in the dissimilar action of Utah), but necessity creates precedents; and in this instance the law of self-preservation furnished not only the pretext, but the justification. It would be a practical application of "squatter sovereignty" in its best sense, and certainly preferable to lynch law, its only alternative under the circumstances.

In response to the generally expressed sentiment, a convention was called to meet at Sioux Falls City on a given day, in the summer of 1859, to decide as to a proper mode of procedure in the premises. The attendance was limited, owing to the wide separation of communities and the primitive means of travel, no less than the sparsity of population. The boundaries north and south were the British Possessions and the Territory of Nebraska; and the average white population was scarcely one to a hundred square miles of territory. Those

taking part in the proceedings, however, were uniformly men of character and intelligence, and were all earnest in the matter which brought them together.

Following the organization and the appointment of committees, came a brief recital of the peculiar conditions in which the inhabitants of Dakota were placed, as American citizens within the limits of the United States, but without political affiliation with either state or territory, being without laws, protection, or Federal recognition. As a result of the further exchange of views, it was decided as the sense of those assembled that the general good would be best subserved by the inauguration of a government having due authority to enact laws which should be recognized as the voice of the people, and be regarded as valid and binding upon all, until such time as the United States should grant them a territorial organization. Authority to enact laws was assigned to a legislative body, to be duly elected by the people and to meet in session at Sioux Falls City at a stated time. The government of the former Territory of Minnesota, modified to meet exigencies, was accepted as a model for that of her cast-off sister; a committee was appointed to so change and amend the laws of that territory as to make them applicable to the requirements of Dakota; and the code, so amended, was to be submitted to the first legislature for their approval or further amendment.

To obviate the necessity of another assemblage, the convention assumed the privilege of making nominations for the offices of governor, secretary, and delegate to Congress. The latter position was unanimously tendered to the former delegate, Mr. A. G. Fuller; but that gentleman felt compelled to decline the proffered honor, in justice to his private interests, which, having been neglected during the previous winter, now demanded his attention. Several names were proposed instead, the nomination finally going to Mr. J. P. Kidder, an eminent jurist, and lieutenant governor of Vermont previous to his removal to St. Paul, from which city he came to Sioux Falls City, which he had chosen as his future residence.

As the convention's candidate for the position of governor, Mr. Henry Masters, of Sioux Falls City, was put in nomination. Mr. Masters was a gentleman of high executive ability

and thorough method. Previous to his present nomination, he had been regarded as a sort of unofficial magistrate in the Sioux valley, to whom the citizens turned for counsel and arbitration in matters of controversy. Originally from Massachusetts, he removed to Dakota with his family and effects, from Dubuque, Iowa. A few days subsequent to the adjournment of the convention, the community was startled by the information that he had been stricken by apoplexy at his home, and that death had followed the stroke. An important vacancy was thus created on the ticket so recently named, and one which was necessary to be filled without delay. It being impracticable to call another convention, the recent committee on nominations, after mature deliberation, named Mr. S. J. Albright, of the "Dakota Democrat," to fill the vacancy so unfortunately created by the death of Mr. Masters. The nomination thus proffered reached Mr. Albright and was accepted by him at St. Paul, whither he had gone, in company with Governor Kidder, in order to be in more direct communication with Pembina, whose vote was regarded as a necessary factor to the success of the general ticket named at Sioux Falls. This included, also, the name of Mr. J. M. Allen, from Ohio, as territorial secretary.

In the meantime the Missouri valley party was not idle. They had met at Yankton and selected for their gubernatorial candidate Captain J. B. S. Todd, a former officer in the regular army, and a gentleman in every way qualified to fill the position which his friends wished to bestow upon him. His support came almost exclusively from Fort Randall and the settlers in the Missouri and James river valleys, whose interests he championed. He was unsuccessful, however, in the contest for votes. Pembina, in the north, held the balance of power. Hon. N. W. Kittson, whose judgment in that section was accepted as almost infallible, was a warm personal friend of Mr. Albright, in whose favor he exerted his influence. The result was the defeat of Mr. Todd, and the success of the Sioux Valley ticket, carrying with it the location of the capital at Sioux Falls City.

A good portion of the succeeding winter was spent by Governor Kidder in Washington, as the duly elected delegate to Congress from the self-created territory of Dakota. The

prominent official position formerly occupied by him in Vermont, his high standing as a lawyer, his extended acquaintance with politicians, and his own genial temperament, were all adjuncts to Governor Kidder's earnest endeavors in the interest of his constituents. He was accorded an honorary seat in the House, which entitled him to no further rights, however, than a full hearing before the Committee on Territories, and in one instance, possibly, to be heard in full session on the "Territorial Day." He presented to Congress an exhaustive brief, which the House printed as a public document, in connection with an able oral argument in favor of granting to his constituents territorial enfranchisement. But argument, oratory, and appeals, proved alike as unavailing as were the efforts of his predecessor; and he returned to his orphaned territory to report upon the failure of his mission. His labors, however, were fully appreciated by those to whom he gave his time and talents; and he was later selected by the United States government as one of its Federal judges.

The first legislative assembly of Dakota came together in Sioux Falls City in the winter of 1859. It was in response to the mandate of the people's convention, which authorized it. There was no domed capitol to open its wide doors to these frontier legislators; no gilded halls, with soft carpets and luxurious chairs, to receive them. In fact, the capital city could boast of no sort of public building, nor private one, either, large enough to accommodate both branches. It was, therefore, decided to select two places, in near proximity, in which to hold the legislative sessions. The Senate was called to order in the cabin of Hon. W. W. Brookings, who had been elected as a member, and who afterward was chosen as the president of that body, although his infirmities, heretofore related, made it extremely difficult for him to leave his home. The House of Representatives met in the office of the "Dakota Democrat," and was organized by the election of a speaker and clerk. That newspaper was chosen as the official organ of the public printing for both branches. It was agreed to make the session as brief as possible. There was, indeed, little to be done except to put upon record the facts relating to the institution of the government; the enactment of a code of laws; the defining of county limits; the incor-

poration of several companies; and the petitioning of Congress, as a body, for territorial organization. They found ready for joint action, immediately upon assembling, "House Bill No. 1: To enact certain laws for the government of Dakota Territory." It was a neatly printed bill, covering several foolscap pages, so amending the Minnesota code as to make it applicable to the needs of Dakota. It had been prepared by a committee named by the preceding convention, and was adopted with very few amendments. Having concluded their labors in a most satisfactory manner, the legislature adjourned; and so was created and inaugurated the only genuine "squatter sovereign" government known to our history, the record of which should find a page in the annals of the two Dakotas, now grown rich and populous. Nor should the memory of those who, amid hardship and perils, and in some cases at the sacrifice of their lives, planted the seeds of civilization and laid the foundation for the building of two states, be permitted by their historians to die with the generation that knew them.

The names of the settlers at Sioux Falls in the years 1858 and 1859, so far as now remembered, are the following: Alpheus G. Fuller, J. P. Kidder, S. J. Albright, James M. Allen, J. E. Gay, Byron M. Smith, F. J. De Witt, W. W. Brookings, Dr. J. L. Phillips; Henry Masters, wife, and three children; C. S. White, wife, and child; Mr. Greenleaf and wife; Baron F. Freidenreich, and his son; J. B. Amidon, wife, and two grandchildren; I. I. Stewart, Joseph Scales, Mr. Philbrick, James M. Evans, A. L. Kilgore, L. B. Atwood, and James McCall.

The Sioux name of the city of Sioux Falls is Can-san-san Ha-ha Oton-wi, meaning "Whitewood Rapids City." The species of tree referred to is plentiful in the narrow belts of timber which grow, here and there, along the banks of the Big Sioux river. It also has a wide geographic range in the United States and southern Canada, east of the 100th meridian, being known, perhaps, more commonly, under its other names, as the basswood or American linden.

HOW MINNESOTA BECAME A STATE.*

BY PROF. THOMAS F. MORAN.

I.

PASSAGE OF THE ENABLING ACT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FOR THE ADMISSION OF MINNESOTA TO THE UNION AS A STATE.

During the first great epoch of our national history, from 1789 to 1861, the motives governing the admission of new states were too often based upon policy and expediency rather than justice. The partisan or sectional advantages or disadvantages likely to accrue were scrutinized with much greater care than the constitutional and legal requisites for admission. It would hardly be safe to assert that even in these latter days the admission of a State is entirely free from the taint of partisanship; but during the first seventy years of our national existence there was one burning issue, concerning which the opposing parties were fearfully in earnest, and which, though repeatedly tempered by compromises, gained in intensity as time went on and rendered unbiased political action well-nigh impossible.

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution seven of the thirteen States had abolished slavery; in the remaining six that institution still existed in varying degrees of vigor. A glance at the list of States in the order of admission reveals the fact that a slave-holding State alternates with a non-slaveholding one, and that very rarely are two of the same character admitted in succession. This order is, by no means, accidental, but is the result of a succession of compromises. The object was to maintain, in so far as possible, an equilibrium in Congress, but particularly in the Senate, between the opponents and advocates of slavery. So jealously was

* Written during studies in the Department of History at Johns Hopkins University; accepted by the Publication Committee, July 16, 1896.

this fictitious balance maintained that after the admission of Wisconsin in 1848, and until the advent of California in 1850, there were fifteen States in which the institution of slavery was fostered and the same number in which it was prohibited by law. California was admitted as a free State as part of the Compromise of 1850, and the equilibrium thus destroyed was never restored. The great contest which had abated for the moment was renewed with increased vigor by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854; and when, in 1856, Minnesota applied for admission to the Union the two contending forces were striving in every possible way to gain the mastery over disputed Kansas. Such auspices as these were by no means favorable for the admission of a State, and for months and even years the "Kansas question" and other political obstacles hung like a millstone about the neck of Minnesota. Her transition to statehood was not destined to be an easy one.

On December 24, 1856, Henry M. Rice, Delegate from the Territory of Minnesota, introduced a bill to authorize the people of that Territory to form a constitution and State government with a view to their admission into the Union. The bill was referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania was chairman. On January 31, 1857, Mr. Grow reported a substitute which differed from the bill of Mr. Rice in two particulars.

The substitute, which afterward became the "Enabling Act" of Minnesota, defined the boundaries* of the proposed state as they now exist. Mr. Rice's bill named the Big Sioux river as the western boundary of the southern half of the State instead of a line due south from the outlet of Big Stone lake to the north line of the State of Iowa as specified in the committee's substitute. The substitute thus cut off a narrow strip of territory estimated by Mr. Grow to contain between 500

* "Beginning at the point in the center of the main channel of the Red river of the North, where the boundary line between the United States and the British possessions crosses the same; thence up the main channel of said river to that of the Bois des Sioux river; thence up the main channel of said river to Lake Travers; thence up the center of said lake to the southern extremity thereof; thence in a direct line to the head of Big Stone lake; thence through its center to its outlet; thence by a due south line to the north line of the State of Iowa; thence east along the northern boundary of said State to the main channel of the Mississippi river; thence up the main channel of said river, and following the boundary line of the State of Wisconsin, until the same intersects the Saint Louis river; thence down said river to and through Lake Superior, on the boundary line of Wisconsin and Michigan, until it intersects the dividing line between the United States and the British possessions; thence up Pigeon river and following said dividing line, to the place of beginning." Congressional Globe, vol. 43, appendix, p. 402.

and 600 square miles. The Territory of Minnesota, according to the Act of March 3, 1849, extended on the west to the Missouri and White Earth rivers, thus embracing a large part of the present States of North and South Dakota.*

The bill reported by Mr. Grow further provided that Minnesota should have concurrent jurisdiction over the Mississippi river and all other waters forming a common boundary between herself and any other present or future State of the Union, and that the said river and navigable waters leading into the same should be common highways free both to inhabitants of Minnesota and to other citizens of the United States, without payment of tax, duty, impost, or toll. This provision was not contained in Mr. Rice's bill. The two bills were practically identical aside from the two particulars mentioned.

Each of them alike provided that on the first Monday in June (1857) delegates were to be chosen to meet at the capital on the second Monday in July. These delegates were, first of all, to determine by vote whether or not the people of the proposed State wished to be admitted into the Union; if so, they were to draft a constitution and take all necessary steps for establishing a State government. In case of decision for immediate admission, the United States Marshal was to take a census of the inhabitants of the proposed State in order to determine its representation in the House of Representatives.

In addition to the above provisions, several propositions were made, which, if accepted by the people of Minnesota, were to be binding on the State and the national government alike. It was thus proposed that sections sixteen and thirty-six in every township of public land in the State be granted for the use of schools; that seventy-two sections of land be reserved for the support of a State University; that ten sections of land be devoted to the completing of the public buildings of the State or for the erection of others at the capital; that all the salt springs in the State, not exceeding twelve in number, with six sections of contiguous land, be granted for State use, this, however, with the proviso that no individual

* For the territorial boundaries of Minnesota see Neill's History of Minnesota, pp. 492 and 493. There are two rivers tributary to the Missouri and known as White Earth. One is in the present State of South Dakota, while the other flows from the north into the Missouri in the northwestern part of North Dakota, about sixty miles east of the Montana line. The latter is the one mentioned in fixing the boundaries of the Territory of Minnesota.

rights in the springs were to be abrogated; and that five per cent. of the sales of all public lands within the State be granted to the State for internal improvements.*

In commenting upon the boundaries of the proposed State, John S. Phelps, of Missouri, called attention to the fact that the Ordinance of 1787 provided that not less than three nor more than five states should be formed from the Northwest Territory.† Since five States had already been formed, he urged that it would be a violation of the ordinance to incorporate a part of that Territory in a new State as Mr. Grow proposed to do.‡ He thought it inconsistent that this provision of the ordinance should be violated while the article§ prohibiting slavery should be so strenuously insisted upon. Mr. Grow thought no violence would be done to the spirit of the ordinance. He could see no violation of compact in incorporating in adjacent territory a little "gore of land" left outside of the organized States. Mr. Garnett of Virginia made an unsuccessful attempt to sidetrack the bill by laying it on the table. Mr. Boyce of South Carolina said there could be no objection to the admission of Minnesota in case her population was sufficient. Mr. Grow replied that trustworthy estimates placed the population between 175,000 and 200,000 inhabitants.¶ There was very little debate. Mr. Grow forced a vote under the "whip and spur of the previous question," and the bill was passed by a vote of 97 to 75, as follows:

	Americans.	Republicans.	Democrats.	Whigs.	Unionist.	Total.
Yeas.....	7	38	29	23	.....	97
Nays.....	24	4	28	18	1	75

* Congressional Globe, vol. 43, appendix, pp. 402-3. Such were the main provisions of the bill reported by Mr. Grow. It did not differ essentially from enabling acts previously passed and so was presented to the House with very little comment.

† Article 5 of the Ordinance of 1787. Journals of Congress, vol. 12, p. 62.

‡ Mr. Phelps did not intend this as an objection to the passage of the bill. He was in favor of its passage and voted for it; but he wished to twit Mr. Grow with a violation of that ordinance hitherto held sacred and inviolable by the Pennsylvania member. Mr. Phelps himself considered the ordinance as having no binding force whatever on Congress.

§ Art. 6. Ibid., p. 63.

¶ According to the last apportion ment, the States were allowed one representative for 93,420 inhabitants.

The bill provided that those qualified to vote at territorial elections should be allowed to vote for delegates to the State constitutional convention. This meant that aliens with certain specified qualifications could exercise the right of suffrage on an equality with citizens of the United States. During the call of the yeas and nays some of the members of the "National American" or "Know Nothing" party, as well as southern members, took occasion to explain that their opposition to the bill was due to this alien suffrage feature. Alien suffrage was contrary to the vital principle of the National American party; and aliens were, as a rule, opposed to slave labor. It will be seen by glancing at the table that the Republicans were practically unanimous in favor of the bill, only four of them voting against it. Of these four, Ezra Clark of Connecticut was elected as an "American" Republican; and Oscar F. Moore of Ohio, although elected to the 34th Congress as a Republican, disclosed evidence of "American" sympathies and was the candidate of the American party for the next Congress. The votes of the Democratic and Whig parties were quite evenly divided. According to the tenets of the American party their entire vote should be cast against the bill, but the northern Americans were placed between two fires. They would gladly vote to admit a free State, but the alien suffrage feature was very objectionable; as a result, seven of them voted in the affirmative and eight in the negative.* Although the vote as a whole was not strictly sectional, the bulk of the support of the bill came from the North and of the opposition from the South.†

* Six of these negative votes came from New England, and two from New York.

† Eighty-five of the ninety-seven votes cast in favor of the bill came from the North, and forty-eight of the seventy-five votes in opposition came from the South. Some familiar names are found among the members voting on the bill. On the affirmative were Schuyler Colfax, afterward vice president of the United States during Grant's first term; William H. English, afterward candidate for the vice-presidency with Hancock at the head of the ticket; Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, now the "father of the Senate;" C. C. Washburne of Wisconsin, E. B. Washburne of Illinois, and Israel Washburne, Jr., of Maine. These Washburnes were brothers and members of a family which has since become prominently identified with the industrial and political life of Minnesota.

II.

THE ENABLING ACT IN THE SENATE.

Having passed the House, the bill went to the Senate on February 2, 1857, and was referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois was chairman. On February 18, Mr. Douglas reported the bill back to the Senate without amendment, and on the 21st it came up for consideration. Mr. Douglas explained the provisions of the bill as Mr. Grow had done in the House. Asa Biggs of North Carolina offered an amendment providing that only citizens of the United States be allowed to vote for delegates to the State constitutional convention. The whole of the vigorous contest in the Senate was made on the principle contained in this amendment. The discussion was protracted by grace of senatorial courtesy nearly to the end of the session. The bill as passed by the House permitted alien suffrage as instituted by the territorial legislature, and against this feature the senators from the slave-holding states made a vigorous but unsuccessful crusade. Mr. Douglas wished the bill to pass the Senate without amendment, as he considered a recommitment to the House at that late date meant defeat for the measure as far as that Congress was concerned.

Mr. Biggs took the floor in behalf of his amendment. He disclaimed being "tainted with 'Know Nothingism,'" but held that in the formation of organic law suffrage should be restricted to citizens of the United States. He argued that the principle embodied in his amendment was found in the Oregon bill, and that it would be manifestly unjust to allow aliens to vote in Minnesota while in Oregon suffrage was restricted to citizens of the United States. Inasmuch as the Oregon bill had not yet come before the Senate but was still in the hands of the Committee on Territories, the absurdity of making it a precedent was apparent and Mr. Douglas was not slow to perceive and emphasize it. This same question of alien suffrage had been exhaustively discussed during the Kansas-Nebraska controversy; and though the present discussion was little more than threshing over some of the old straw of the famous Act of 1854, yet the senatorial flails plied with almost ceaseless activity and with unabated vigor.

In reply to Mr. Biggs, Mr. Douglas went into the history of the matter. The Act of March 3, 1849, he said, under which the Territory of Minnesota was organized, provided that the qualifications of voters should be fixed by the territorial legislature, provided only that none but citizens of the United States, and those who had declared on oath their intention to become such, should exercise the right of suffrage. Acting under the authority thus conferred, the legislature of the Territory had prescribed that citizens of the United States, and other persons who had resided in the Territory for one year and had declared their intention to become citizens, could vote in case they possessed certain other qualifications not necessary to be specified here. Mr. Douglas contended that this arrangement had proved satisfactory in every respect and should be left intact. Mr. Biggs held that the uniform practice was to allow none but citizens to vote, while Mr. Douglas correctly maintained that there was no uniform rule in regard to the matter. He further contended that it would be unjust and a breach of good faith on the part of Congress to exclude any from voting for delegates to the State constitutional convention who had hitherto exercised the right of suffrage under the laws of the Territory.

Mr. Brodhead of Pennsylvania held that the right to vote pertained to citizenship, and denied the power of Congress to make any but citizens voters. The Constitution, he said, had given Congress the power "to establish a uniform rule of naturalization." This Congress had done, and it would be an infraction of the law of Congress and of the Constitution to permit aliens to vote. He held, too, that the Ordinance of 1787 provided for citizen suffrage exclusively. To this Mr. Pugh of Ohio objected, and Mr. Brodhead quoted from the ordinance to fortify his position. In so doing, however, he read a clear and decided provision for alien suffrage.* The result must have been to stultify completely that portion of his argument, yet he seems to have gone bravely on.

Senator Brown of Mississippi followed with an able argument against alien suffrage. A State, he held, can confer the

* "Provided also, That a freehold of fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the states, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years' residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative." Congressional Globe, vol. 43, p. 809; quoted from the Ordinance of 1787. Journals of Congress, vol. 12, p. 60.

elective franchise upon whom it pleases; but it is for Congress to say whether or not aliens shall vote for delegates to the State constitutional convention. He argued, not for the unconstitutionality, but for the inexpediency, of allowing aliens to vote. He disclaimed any sympathy with the Know Nothings. "I despise their doctrines as much as anybody does," was his emphatic assertion. As a matter of public policy, he contended, alien suffrage is dangerous. "There may be," he said, "in this Territory Norwegians who do not read one word of English. . . . . What a mockery, and what a trifling with sacred institutions is it to allow such people to go to the polls and vote!"*

John Bell of Tennessee, afterward the presidential candidate of the so-called Constitutional Union party,† followed with a remarkable argument,—remarkable alike for the political and constitutional heresies which it contained and the tenacity with which he clung to them. His friends and foes, although at variance in the main, were almost unanimous in opposing the main issue of his argument. Mr. Bell took issue with Mr. Brown and declared that the State had not the sole power to fix the qualifications of her voters. This right to regulate suffrage inside of the State had been held, both before and since, to be within the undisputed province of the individual States‡; and, in taking his remarkable stand, Mr. Bell was treading upon the State rights corns of many of his fellow senators,—an imposition not slow to be resented. When informed of the fact that alien suffrage was permitted by law in Virginia, his ready answer was that in that case Virginia was violating the Constitution of the United States. If this be true, no less than fifteen states are in like manner violating the Constitution to-day.§

* Cong. Globe, vol. 43, p. 810.

† The resurrected wreck of the American or Know Nothing party.

‡ Constitutional Law, T. M. Cooley, p. 261.

§ The power of naturalization resides in Congress exclusively; but State legislation has operated, in effect, so as practically to appropriate that power for the several States. Many of the State legislatures, by various laws, have bestowed upon aliens the most important attributes of citizenship. According to State law an alien can reside here without hindrance; and in many States he can "hold, convey, and transmit," real estate to his descendants. The privilege of voting is given to him in fifteen States. When an alien enjoys these important attributes of citizenship, there is but little distinction between him and a citizen. "Indeed, as the suffrage would seem particularly to belong to citizens, and as the voter for representatives in the State legislature may vote for representatives in Congress also, it would seem that there might be some question whether a State could confer upon an alien this high privilege. It is a question, however, which has never been made." Cooley, p. 80. Inasmuch as the question has never been adjudicated, the presumption is that the prevailing practice is constitutional.

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, correctly held that when a State was once admitted she had full control over the qualifications of her electors. He was, however, in favor of the amendment, proposed by Mr. Biggs. There was danger, he thought, that some provision might be inserted into the constitution of the new State favorable to aliens, but prejudicial to the interests of the State and Nation.

Mr. Biggs then cited precedents to prove his case. He said that the Enabling Act for Ohio restricted the right of voting for members of the State constitutional convention to "male citizens of the United States."* Such certainly was not the case. Section 4 of this Act, after specifying the conditions under which citizens of the United States may vote, provided that "all other persons having, in other respects, the legal qualifications to vote for representatives in the General Assembly of the Territory, be, and they are hereby, authorized to choose representatives to form a convention."† The Ordinance of 1787 authorized alien suffrage in the Territory and the Enabling Act extended that privilege to voting for delegates to the State constitutional convention. Mr. Biggs further stated that the enabling acts for Indiana and Illinois entitled citizens of the United States to vote for representatives to a constitutional convention; all of which is true, but it is not the whole truth. These two enabling acts provided for alien suffrage in almost the exact words quoted above from the Ohio Act.‡

Mr. Douglas cited the law in the cases of Illinois and Indiana; and Mr. Biggs revived his former absurdity of making a precedent of the Oregon bill, which was still in the hands of the Committee on Territories.

Isaac Toucey of Connecticut argued against the amendment. In his opinion the electoral qualifications should remain as specified by the territorial legislature.

William H. Seward of New York maintained that the constitutionality of alien suffrage was settled long ago. Texas, he said, was admitted to the Union without having a single citizen of the United States.§ The right of suffrage, he ar-

* Cong. Globe, vol. 43, p. 812.
† Annals of Congress, 7th Congress, 1st Session, p. 1349.
‡ Annals of Congress, 14th Congress, 1st Session, p. 1841.
§ In the "Joint Resolution for annexing Texas to the United States," nothing is said of the qualifications of electors. (U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. 5, p. 797.)

gued, should be co-extensive with the obligation to submit to, support, and defend the government. As a matter of public policy, too, it was best, in his opinion, to allow alien suffrage in new States, because the population of these States is composed largely of aliens.

Mr. Butler of South Carolina thought that the time had passed for questioning the right of a State to prescribe the qualifications of her electors; yet he was not in favor of allowing any but citizens of the United States to participate in the organization of a new State.

Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, the "Natick cobbler," must have found it extremely difficult to voice in the Senate the sentiments of his varied constituency, inasmuch as he owed his election to a coalition of Democrats, National Americans, and Free Soilers. Yet there was no equivocating on his part, and when he had finished his terse and vigorous speech, there could be no doubts in the mind of any one regarding his position. He pronounced emphatically against alien suffrage, and while declaring the principle of the Biggs amendment to be just, politic, and expedient, he announced his intention to vote against it; and, in giving his reasons for this apparent inconsistency, he gave utterance, no doubt, to the thought which was uppermost in the minds of many of his more politic, but less candid, colleagues from the North. "Minnesota," he declared, "will come into the Union robed in the white garments of freedom; and I can give no vote that shall put in jeopardy her immediate admission into the sisterhood of free Commonwealths."* In his opinion, the passage of the amendment would operate to postpone indefinitely the admission of the State.

Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky argued that it was against the spirit of the Constitution to allow aliens to vote. He insisted that allowing an alien to vote was practically the same as making him a citizen, which is clearly not the case. An alien possessing the privilege of suffrage, simply, lacks some very important attributes of citizenship. "By conferring on an alien the highest prerogative of citizenship, do you not, in effect, for all political purposes make him a citizen?" Taking the word "political" in its restricted sense, Mr. Crittenden's

* Cong. Globe, vol. 43, p. 813.

question is clearly entitled to an affirmative answer; but there are privileges of citizenship other than political ones. An alien might be allowed to vote in a State, and yet not have the privilege of permanently residing there or of acquiring, holding, or transmitting real estate. This is not a probable case, but is theoretically possible. These privileges, it is true, are frequently granted to aliens and operate partially to obliterate the distinction between an alien and a citizen; but the State can never, without the power to naturalize,—which it does not possess,—grant to an alien "all the privileges and immunities" which the Constitution guarantees to the citizens of each state.* Making an alien a voter is certainly not making him a citizen; but it must be admitted that, by the grace of State legislation, the difference is in many cases not very marked.

Clement C. Clay, Jr., of Alabama, called Mr. Seward to task for his statement that suffrage should be co-extensive with the duty of obedience to government. In that case, he argued, the privilege of suffrage should be extended to both sexes, to infants, to blacks and reds as well as whites,—in short, to all races, all ages, and all sexes. He announced his intention to support the amendment, but disclaimed any sectional prejudice and disavowed even the slightest sympathy for the Know Nothing party.

Mr. Adams of Mississippi denied the constitutional power of Congress or the States to confer the elective franchise upon aliens. There is, he said, no decision of the United States Supreme Court affirming the right of either to do so. The simple answer to this is that no such decision is essential. In the absence of adjudication, the statutes conferring the privilege of suffrage are presumed to be valid. Such is the general rule regarding all statutes whose constitutionality has never been tested.†

After being thus thoroughly discussed in all its bearings, the amendment was passed by a vote of 27 to 24; the southern senators, as a rule, voting in the affirmative, and those from the North in the negative.‡

* Constitution, Art. IV., Sec. 1, Cl. 1.

† Cooley, p. 154.

‡ Twenty-three of the affirmative votes were cast by southern senators, and the remaining four by northern men. These four votes were cast by John R. Thomson (Dem.) of New Jersey, Solomon Foot (Rep.) of Vermont, Richard Brod-

After the amendment of Mr. Biggs was thus disposed of, Senator George W. Jones of Iowa, at the instance of citizens of Minnesota then in Washington, offered an amendment permitting the people of Minnesota to decide by vote whether the proposed State should have the boundaries specified in the bill or should embrace only that portion of the Territory lying south of the forty-sixth parallel.* The amendment met with but little favor and was speedily rejected.

The bill was then passed by a vote of 47 to 1, John B. Thompson of Kentucky casting the solitary negative vote. It was very evident, however, that this disposition of the bill was by no means satisfactory to its friends. The bill as amended would have to be returned to the House for consideration, and as the session was to expire in ten days it was not at all probable that the bill could be passed.

Accordingly, John P. Hale of New Hampshire at once gave notice that he would in due time move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed. On February 24 he did so, explaining that his intention was to reach and reconsider the amendment of Mr. Biggs.

Breezy Mr. Thompson of Kentucky, being the only senator who voted against the bill, thought it incumbent upon him to define his position. This he proceeded to do entertainingly and candidly, if not logically. He thought the bill was improved by the amendment of Mr. Biggs, but should not be passed either amended or not amended. "I am against the bill," he said, "with or without amendments. I am against it *velis et remis*, teeth and toenails, throughout." Our domain, he held, was being extended too much with no strong central government to hold it from breaking asunder; "for state rights is the great doctrine of the day." He charged that Minnesota was to be brought into the Union prematurely and hastily, merely to satisfy the ambition of politicians. He quoted from a letter written† some years before by Gouverneur Morris to Henry W. Livingston, to the effect that Con-

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head, Jr. (Dem.), of Pennsylvania, and Hamilton Fish (Whig) of New York. Robert Toombs of Georgia was the only man from the South voting in the negative. Lewis Cass, Stephen A. Douglas, and William H. Seward, are found among the "nays;" while Judah P. Benjamin, John J. Crittenden, and the eccentric Sam Houston, together with James M. Mason and John Slidell, afterward conspicuous in the "Trent Affair," appear among the "yeas."

* The 46th parallel is a little above the line dividing the Dakotas. It crosses the center of Morrison county a few miles north of Little Falls.

† Cong. Globe, vol. 43, p. 849.

gress did not have the power to admit a State formed from territory not belonging to the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. The letter further stated that the writer had always held that, should Canada or Louisiana* be acquired, they should be governed as provinces and have no voice in the federal councils. Adherence to this doctrine would, of course, exclude Texas, Florida, and those States organized in the Louisiana purchase and the Mexican cession. Here Mr. Thompson gave utterance to a reason for opposing the admission of the new State which others of his Southern colleagues, doubtless, entertained but were too politic to express.

"Whenever the State of Minnesota," he said, "shall be admitted, we shall have in this body two additional voices against what I think are the best interests of the country. I am not, as a southern man, going to vote to help them to bludgeon us. I am not going to put into their hands the club with which to cleave down a brother. When they are admitted, they will, like all new States, be continually asking for public lands for schools; for alternate sections of land for roads; and we shall have propositions for lighthouses, for harbors, and for lake defenses; and we shall be told about the adjacency of the Canada border and the necessity of protection. When a Minnesota senator lands here with all the pomp and circumstance of a bashaw with three tails, with the aristocratic gravity of an English Chancellor of the Exchequer, he will open his budget, and unfold proposition after proposition for roads, for canals, for lighthouses, for improvements of various kinds. You will find, after admitting Minnesota, that, like the name of many a Tommy in an old man's will, the name of Minnesota, the youngest child, will occur oftener on the statute book and the proceedings of this body, than the name of the Lord God in the twentieth chapter of Exodus. Then Minnesota, like California, now the youngest State, will be the presiding genius and divinity of the proceedings of Congress. I do not want representatives here from Minnesota for their votes, or their power, or what they will do after they get here."†

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* The date of the letter was December 4, 1803.

† Cong. Globe, vol. 43, p. 849.

Such were the breezy and candid, but, at the same time, cynical and narrow views of the senator from Kentucky. Continuing in a more sanguinary mood, he said: "These Minnesota men, when they get here and see my friend from Michigan [Cass] and my friend from Iowa [Jones] struck down,* will grapple up their bones from the sand, and make handles out of them for knife blades to cut the throats of their Southern brethren. I want no Minnesota senators."† He declaimed violently against further acquisition of territory. "I know," he says, "some men talk about annexing Canada and all New France; but I hope that, when they come in, we shall go out. I do not wish to have any more of Mexico annexed, unless you annex it by a treaty so controlling its regulations and municipal institutions as to erect it into a slave State. The equilibrium in the Senate is destroyed already. There is now an odd number of States, and the majority is against the slave-holding States.‡ I want no hybrid, speckled mongrels from Mexico, who are free-state people. It is bad enough to have them from New England, christianized and civilized as they are. . . . . My notion of governing the territories, is, that they ought to be governed by a proconsul, and pay tribute to Cæsar. I would not puff them up with treasury pap or plunder in the way of public lands, like an Austrian horse that is sleek and bloated with puff, instead of real fat and strength, by putting arsenic in his food. Are you to stall-feed the people in these Territories? No, sir. I would treat them differently. Like boys that get too big for their breeches, they ought to have rigid discipline administered to them; they ought to be made to know their place, and constrained to keep it. We are told of there being two hundred thousand people in Minnesota. I don't care if there are five hundred thousand. The greater part of Minnesota is situated in the Louisiana purchase. This, it seems to me, under the treaty of Louisiana, is incontestably slave territory, and should remain in territorial form until free-soilism dies out."§

Senator Thompson further launched into an eloquent defense of the Supreme Court, which had been called by Senator John P. Hale of New Hampshire the "palladium of slavery,"

* Cass was retired at the close of that session, and Jones two years later.
† Cong. Globe, vol. 43, p. 850.
‡There were at this time thirty-one States, of which sixteen were non-slave-holding. California was admitted last.
§ Cong. Globe, vol. 43, p 850.

and asserted that whenever these revered and venerable expounders of the Constitution are taunted or plucked by the beard, it is done by a barbarian Gaul invading the sacred precincts of the Capitol. He added: "Though they may sit, as the Roman senator did, in the forum, when his beard was plucked, recollect that then came the price of the freedom of Rome; it was first the sword and then the foot of Brennus in the scales that measured out justice, or what purported to be justice, between parties." *

Some senators, he said, seem to think that these Territories are as a matter of right entitled to admission as States under certain circumstances. Such, he held, is not the case; the Constitution says that new states may be admitted, but there is no obligation upon Congress in the matter. What census shows us that there are 200,000 people in Minnesota? "I suppose it is like every new country which is settled up. A man goes there, seizes a favorable locality, lithographs a plan of a city, makes out harbors and roads, and sends a flying fraud all over the country; and then comes to Congress to get appropriations and a new State made. The moment you admit a senator from this State, he will be as most of these men are (I say nothing about anybody personally), arrogant, assuming, pretentious, Free-soilish, and Democratic. He will set himself up as the emblem of representative wisdom, like Pallas from the brain of Jove, full-grown and panoplied for armor and public plunder. He will ask for all manner of appropriations you can imagine. The territorial delegates annoy us enough in the lobbies now, and I do not want to have Senators here from these places."†

After delivering himself of these petulant and dyspeptic views, Mr. Thompson entered upon an elaborate defense of the institution of slavery, asserting that a man had as much right to own a negro as he had to own a black horse or a black dog. Returning to the matter under discussion, he declared that the electoral vote of Minnesota would be cast against the best interests of the South; that her senators would oppose southern interests in voting upon contested seats; and that their general course would be prejudicial to the section from which he came. Commenting upon public opinion in the new

* Cong. Globe, vol. 43, p. 850.
† Ibid., p. 850.

States, he said, "Such are the avaricious and exorbitant demands of the new State people, that if General Washington were to die to-day, he being from an old State, the new States would not give a piece of land two feet by six in which to inter him." *

Continuing, he ventilated his ideas anew upon territorial government. "Instead of taking in partnership and full fellowship all these outside Territories and lost people of God's earth, I would say, let us take them, if we must do it, and rule them as Great Britain rules Afghanistan, Hindostan, and all through the Punjab, making them work for you as you would work a negro on a cotton or sugar plantation."† He rebuked Senator Butler of South Carolina for conceding too much to the North. These northern men, he said, are of that same race which overran the Roman empire, and "will they not be attracted by the sunny fields of the South? When by poverty and want they get as hungry, and ferocious, and desperate, as their own prairie wolves, and when they come down, as they eventually will, to invade the South, and divide off your fields, you may have some Virgil to sing over it; but I say that by your conduct in this case you are leading to a course by which you will shiver your own household gods on your own hearthstones, and you will not be masters in your own country. Do you want these Sclaves, and Germans, and Swiss, and all mixed up nations of that sort, with their notions of government, unfitted it would seem by inheritance and instinct for free government, to swarm up in these northern latitudes, and eventually come down upon the South? First, I do not wish them there; next, I do not wish them to outvote us."‡ Mr. Thompson concluded his remarks with a eulogy upon the narrow and bigoted doctrines of the National American party.

Mr. Douglas took occasion to reply to some of the arguments of Mr. Thompson, leaving the absurdities of the latter's remarks unnoticed; because he preferred to consider them, as he said, rather the outcome of humor than of malice. Mr. Douglas was of the opinion that is was clearly the duty of Congress to admit a State into the Union when that State

* Cong. Globe, vol. 43, p. 851.
† Ibid., p. 851.
‡ Ibid., p. 851.

possessed the qualifications requisite for such admission. Especially was this true, he held, of States formed out of the Louisiana purchase, since, according to the treaty by which Louisiana was acquired, the inhabitants of that territory were entitled to admission as soon as they were prepared for it.*

Mr. Thompson asked by what clause in the Constitution a Territory is entitled to admission because she has a certain number of inhabitants. In reply, Mr. Douglas held that when a Territory had population enough, according to the ratio of representation, to entitle her to one representative in Congress, she was then entitled to admission. If not then, the treaty might remain nugatory forever. He held that there was no moral right to vote against the admission of a State because of her politics or her institutions. He proclaimed that he had never hesitated to vote for the admission of a slave state because by so doing he was increasing the power and votes of the South, and denied that any senator could properly vote against the admission of a free State because the institutions of the North were not acceptable to him. He contended that since Nature had made more of this country adapted to free than to slave labor, it was folly and worse than folly to attempt to maintain an equilibrium between the free and slave states in the Senate. He argued that it was necessary to organize new States and Territories to accommodate our ever increasing population, which would continue to increase in spite of the senator from Kentucky. (Mr. Thompson was a bachelor.)

In commenting upon the suffrage question, Mr. Douglas said that he considered the qualifications laid down by the legislature of the Territory as entirely satisfactory. He pointed out the fact that, before an alien could vote in Minnesota, he would have to turn his back upon the haunts of the eastern cities, build a home in the wilderness or on the prairie, and remain there for a certain specified time. He apprehended no abuse of the privilege of suffrage from such men as these; but admitted that greater stringency should prevail upon the seaboard. He argued against any necessity for uni-

*That part of the treaty of April 30, 1803, referred to by Mr. Douglas, is found in its Article III., which is as follows: "The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States." (U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. 8, pp. 200-202.)

formity in electoral qualifications in the various states.* During the course of his remarks, Mr. Douglas took occasion to reply† to some flings made by Mr. Thompson derogatory to the character of the people of Minnesota, and stated in conclusion that his object in urging a reconsideration was to reach the "odious amendment" of Mr. Biggs.

Mr. Green of Missouri, who had voted for the Biggs amendment, announced his intention of changing his vote, not because he did not believe in the principle of the amendment, but because he considered that Congress would be doing an injustice in excluding from the privilege of suffrage many who had exercised that right under territorial laws. For this change of opinion Mr. Green was destined to be severely arraigned.

Mr. Adams of Mississippi insisted that, in excluding aliens from voting for delegates to the State constitutional convention, Congress was depriving them of no privilege which they had ever possessed. He also claimed that the House had not noticed the alien suffrage feature of the bill, else its passage would have been more stubbornly contested.‡ In conclusion, Mr. Adams disclaimed any political or sectional prejudice.

At this juncture, the head of the breezy Mr. Thompson of Kentucky appeared above the troubled surface long enough to pay his respects to the arguments advanced by some of his opponents. By way of introduction, he complimented the ability of Mr. Seward and professed admiration for that power which enabled him, while representing New York, to carry New England in one pocket and Ohio in the other. He wittily described the contest which he said would take place between the Republicans and Democrats for the foreign vote in the various States, and interpreted their zeal in behalf of alien suffrage as a sop to the foreign vote. There was doubtless some truth in this latter assertion.

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* Hamilton's opinion on the idea of uniformity in conferring the elective franchise is interesting in this connection. "To have reduced the different qualifications in the different States to one uniform rule, would probably have been as dissatisfying to some of the States as it would have been difficult to the Convention." (Federalist, No. 52.)

† "I do not believe that there is a State in this Union, whose people have a higher character for intelligence, for sobriety, for obedience to the law, for loyal principles, for everything that affects the Union and the Constitution, than the people of Minnesota." Congressional Globe, vol. 43, p. 854.

‡ During the call of the yeas and nays in the House, some members explained that their hostility to the bill was due to the alien suffrage feature. The matter, however, was not discussed; in fact, Mr. Grow pushed the bill to a vote, and allowed very little discussion on any feature of it.

Mr. Bayard of Delaware antagonized alien suffrage. He asserted that to allow an alien to vote was repealing the naturalization laws, which is clearly not so. Suffrage is not all of citizenship. Even according to Mr. Bayard himself, suffrage is but the "first and best" prerogative of citizenship.

Mr. Butler again spoke, prophesying dire calamities from allowing aliens to vote. "I know, sir," he said, "that this Confederacy is to run its course. I believe it will tread the path and run the hazards of all republics; and I believe we cannot restrain it. . . . . Let it run."*

The motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was carried February 24, 1857, by a vote of 35 to 21.

Mr. Biggs thereupon argued strenuously for the principle contained in his amendment, and declared that "by a fair construction" no enabling act passed by Congress authorized alien suffrage; which position, as shown by the above extracts from the enabling acts, is entirely untenable. Though Minnesota was clearly destined to be a non-slaveholding State, he would favor its admission with his amendment, notwithstanding the fact that the equilibrium between the North and South would then be entirely destroyed.

Mr. Brown wanted to know the cause of what he characterized as a marvelous change of sentiment on the part of the Senate. Has foreign influence crept in and taken possession of the Senate? he asked. Robert Toombs thought the eloquence of his friend, Mr. Brown, extraordinary and unnecessary, and begged to be excused from being alarmed at what he deemed imaginary evils. In speaking of alien suffrage, he said: "It was the practice of our forefathers; it has worked well; it violates no part of the Constitution of the country."† He was against the amendment because he did not want to take away privileges conferred by the territorial legislature.

Sam Houston of Texas added a word in favor of the Biggs amendment; and Mr. Crittenden spoke in a like strain. The Senate was then forced to adjourn for lack of a quorum.

Early upon the following day, February 25, Mr. Douglas pressed the bill upon the attention of the Senate. Upon motion of Mr. Green, the vote on the Biggs amendment was reconsidered, the vote for reconsideration being 31 to 21.

* Cong. Globe, vol. 43, p. 859.
† Ibid., p. 863.

Mr. Biggs charged that some malign influence had been brought to bear upon the Senate, which, he said, was swayed and controlled by foreign influence, until its deliberations had degenerated into a scramble for alien votes.

Mr. Brown, in a remarkably explicit and concise speech, took issue with Mr. Bell regarding his ideas upon alien suffrage. Mr. Brown held it to be bad policy to allow unnaturalized foreigners to vote, but within the undoubted province of the States to do so. In bewailing the waning influence of the old States, he said: "The two votes of the good old mother of States and statesmen ought not to be borne down by the votes of two others brought here on such a basis."* Still deprecating what he terms the power of foreign influence in the Senate, he declared that, "Some strange phantasy has come over the spirit of our dream."

Mr. Bell reiterated the views which he previously expressed; and in a long and labored argument, in which he held it contrary to the naturalization laws for States to admit aliens to the privilege of suffrage, he persistently confused the prerogatives of the voter and the citizen. Robert Toombs furnished a full and complete refutation to his elaborate argument in two short, simple sentences. "I wish," said Toombs, "to correct the senator in a statement. He does not distinguish between the right of suffrage and citizenship." Mr. Bell asked Mr. Brown if the people of New York could allow Canadians to vote in their State, after a brief residence; or if, in like manner, the people of Texas could constitutionally permit Mexicans to vote in Texas. Mr. Brown replied emphatically and correctly in the affirmative.†

The amendment of Mr. Biggs was then rejected, the vote for it being 24 yeas to 32 nays. The bill was then passed, as it came from the House, by a vote of 31 to 22; and was signed on the same day, February 25, 1857, by the president *pro tempore.*

* Cong. Globe, vol. 43, p. 874.

† Although the above are extreme cases and not likely ever to occur, since they are contrary to sound public policy, the constitutional right of the State so to act can hardly be questioned.

III.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

In accordance with the Enabling Act, delegates to the State constitutional convention were chosen on the first Monday in June, 1857. Of these delegates the majority belonged to the newly organized Republican party.* The second Monday in July was the day named in the Enabling Act for the assembling of the delegates at Saint Paul. The hour of meeting was not specified and this omission led to serious embarrassment in the deliberations of the convention, as well as to strenuous objection and delay in the acceptance of the constitution by Congress.

The Republicans, fearing that the Democrats might anticipate them and effect an organization of the convention, proceeded to the Capitol at midnight preceding the day designated, and there remained in quiet possession of the hall of the House of Representatives. The Democrats held that 12 o'clock noon was the usual and legal time for the assembling of such bodies when no particular hour was specified. Accordingly, about noon, July 13, 1857, the Democratic delegates, accompanied by Charles L. Chase, Secretary of the Territory and a delegate also, made their appearance at the Capitol. Mr. Chase and J. W. North, a Republican delegate, proceeded simultaneously to call the convention to order. Mr. North nominated Thomas J. Galbraith as president *pro tempore*, while Mr. Chase put a motion to adjourn, upon which the Democrats voted in the affirmative and left the hall. On the day following they assembled in the Council Chamber and organized.

Each of the two bodies, the Democratic and Republican, claimed to be the Constitutional Convention and proceeded to draft a constitution. A conference committee was finally appointed, and on August 29, 1857, both wings of the convention adopted the same constitution. This constitution was ratified almost unanimously on the 13th of October, and on the same day state officers and congressional representatives were chosen. George L. Becker, William W. Phelps, and

* Neill's History of Minnesota, p. 626.

James M. Cavanaugh, all Democrats, were chosen to represent the new State in the National House of Representatives; and in the following December the legislature elected Henry M. Rice and James Shields as United States senators.

IV.

THE ACT BY WHICH THE STATE WAS ADMITTED.

PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION IN THE SENATE.

On January 11, 1858, President Buchanan notified Congress that he had received from Samuel Medary, governor of the Territory of Minnesota, a copy of the constitution for the proposed State, certified in due form. The copy mentioned was sent to the Senate. On motion of Mr. Douglas, the whole matter was referred to the Committee on Territories.

A bill for admission was reported to the Senate in due time, and on January 28, Mr. Douglas urged its consideration. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi opposed present consideration, and was upheld by the vice president, John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky. On February 1, Mr. Douglas again tried to call up the bill, but Mr. Gwin of California insisted on the consideration of the Pacific railroad bill, which he had in charge. Mr. Douglas urged that in justice to the senators elect from Minnesota the bill should be acted upon at once. These senators, Henry M. Rice, and James Shields, had been in Washington since the early part of the session waiting to be admitted to their seats. Crittenden and Seward supported the position taken by Mr. Douglas, while Mr. Gwin, supported by some of the southern senators, demanded consideration for his railroad measure.

Kansas was seeking admission at this time under the Lecompton (or Slavery) constitution, and many of the southern senators were desirous of postponing action upon the Minnesota bill until the Kansas question was disposed of. In this they were successful, as will be seen subsequently. Mason of Virginia wanted to wait and see the attitude of the northern senators on the Kansas matter, and was in favor of taking up the Minnesota and Kansas bills together. He thought it

might be necessary for the "southern States to determine where they stand in the Union."

Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts, in reply, stated that he and others were determined to oppose in every way the admission of Kansas under what he termed the "Lecompton swindle." He insisted that there was no connection between the Minnesota and Kansas cases and hence no reason for considering them together. Mr. Bayard opposed the immediate consideration of the Minnesota bill, saying that the main object of the northern men seemed to be to get in the new senators. Mr. Hale thought it unjust to alter the regular order of proceedings in order to wait on Kansas. Mr. Douglas held that, since the Kansas matter was not now before the Senate, it would be ridiculous to enter into the merits of the question.

Mr. Brown insisted, in an incendiary speech, that Kansas and Minnesota should stand or fall together. Assuming a menacing attitude, he said: "If you admit Minnesota and exclude Kansas, standing on the same principle, the spirit of our revolutionary fathers is utterly extinct if this Government can last for one short twelvemonth."* Do you want, he asked, two more senators to aid you in excluding Kansas?

Mr. Crittenden thought the admission of Minnesota a mere formal proceeding, and considered it an injustice to delay the admission of that State simply because there was a controversy about Kansas. He gave utterance to strong Unionist sentiments, and charged some of his old colleagues with trying to strengthen their arguments by prophesying the overthrow of the government.

To this Mr. Green replied: "Here let me say, this Union cannot be sustained by singing songs to its praise. If we find the car of the Republic sunk in the mire, and get down on our knees and sing praise to it, and call on the gods to aid us, and put not our own shoulder to the wheel, it will never be extricated from the difficulty." We must strive to meet and ward off the difficulties which beset us. "This is the only method of preserving this glorious Union."†

The contest for precedence between the Minnesota and Pacific railroad bills was thus sharply waged until the shades

* Cong. Globe, vol. 44, p. 501.
† Ibid., p. 503.

of evening put an end to the debate and decided that both measures, for that day at least, should be postponed.

THE APPLICATION OF THE SENATORS.

On February 25, 1858, Mr. Crittenden presented to the Senate a letter from James Shields, one of the Senators elect from Minnesota. Mr. Shields held that the Enabling Act authorized the people of Minnesota to form a State constitution, "and to come into the Union;" and that, the provisions of the act having been complied with, Minnesota was *ipso facto* a State in the Union, and that no further action in the matter on the part of Congress was necessary. This being the case, he asked to be allowed to assume his seat. Mr. Crittenden presented the credentials of Mr. Shields, and asked that he be sworn in.

Johnson of Arkansas, and Mason and Hunter of Virginia, contended that there was no such State as Minnesota recognized by the United States Senate; while Crittenden, Simmons of Rhode Island, and Pugh of Ohio, held to the contrary. It was cited, by way of precedent, that the senators and representatives from Indiana took their seats before the State was formally admitted, and that in the case of Ohio no formal act of admission was passed at all, a committee being appointed to examine her constitution. Mr. Brown of Mississippi presented the clearest and best argument in the case, in which he asked, Who accepted the constitution of Minnesota? Who has pronounced it republican in form? Who guarantees to us that she has complied with the provisions of the Enabling Act? These questions were unanswered and unanswerable from the point of view of the opposition. Robert Toombs offered a resolution, which was adopted, referring the matter to the Judiciary Committee, "with instructions to inquire whether or not Minnesota is a State of the Union under the Constitution and laws." On March 4, 1858, Mr. Bayard, in behalf of the Committee, reported "that Minnesota is not a State of the Union."

Nothing more was heard of the Minnesota bill in the debates of Congress until March 23, 1858. Although the constitution of Minnesota was sent to the Senate before the Kansas con-

stitution,* the southern senators were successful in holding the former in abeyance until the bill for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton or Slavery constitution was passed by the Senate. On this date, March 23, Mr. Douglas asked that the bill be considered, and thought there should be no opposition inasmuch as the Kansas question was now disposed of as far as the Senate was concerned; but Mr. Gwin pressed the claims of the Pacific railroad bill, and the remainder of the day was passed in fruitless debate.

On the following day, March 24, Mr. Doolittle of Wisconsin said that, since there had been a tacit understanding that the Minnesota bill was to be considered immediately after the Kansas matter was disposed of by the Senate, good faith to the friends of Minnesota demanded that the bill be taken up at once. Mr. Gwin again objected in favor of his Pacific railroad bill, and was supported by Bigler of Pennsylvania, Broderick of California, and Mason of Virginia; while Wade and Pugh of Ohio, Stuart of Michigan, Seward of New York, Bright of Indiana, Crittenden of Kentucky, and Johnson of Tennessee, contended for the priority of the Minnesota bill. Mr. Mason thought the Senate should suspend action upon the Minnesota bill until the House had disposed of the Kansas question. Mr. Seward scouted the idea as absurd. Wade and Crittenden held that the admission of men entitled to seats in the Senate should take precedence of all other business.

After this discussion, the Senate, by a vote of 30 to 16, voted to take up the Minnesota bill.

THE BILL IN THE SENATE.

The bill as a whole differed little from the usual form for such acts, but there was one feature which caused a division in the committee and provoked an animated discussion in the Senate. The census provided for by the Enabling Act was not finished, and the returns from the work already done upon it were not above suspicion. This led to serious embarrassment in determining the representation in the House. The bill, as reported by Mr. Douglas, provided for one representative for the present and as many others as the completed census should show the State entitled to. Mr. Douglas explained

* The Constitution of Minnesota was transmitted to the Senate on January 11, 1858; that of Kansas on February 2, 1858.

that he opposed this feature of the bill in the committee, but had to accede to it in order to get the bill before the Senate.

The new constitution of Minnesota provided for three representatives, and three had already been elected. Mr. Douglas was in favor of allowing them all to take their seats at once. Others were opposed to such an action. Various amendments were proposed. Douglas was supported by Pugh, Doolittle, and others; while Green, Brown and Wilson argued for two representatives, and Mason, Collamer and Crittenden favored one only. Some wished to refer the matter to the House for decision, but others held that the representation of a State should be decided by Congress and not by the House alone. Some proposed to strike out the section entirely; which, as Mr. Green showed, would be equivalent to allowing three representatives as provided in the State constitution.

Mr. Douglas called attention to the embarrassment which would ensue in determining which one or two of the three elected should be admitted. Mr. Pugh thought that that difficulty might be obviated by admitting first the man who received the highest vote, while others held that the three were now on the same basis and that the majorities received were matters of no significance. Mr. Bayard would have Congress decide upon the number of representatives, but would leave it to the House to determine which one or two of the three elected should be admitted in case all were not.

Mr. Jones of Iowa argued for three representatives on the ground that less than that number would be unable to attend to the interests of the new State. The simple answer to this was that population is the basis of representation and not the amount of business to be transacted.

Mr. Wilson proposed to allow one representative now, and to have a new census taken at once in order to determine the number of additional representatives, if any, to which the State is entitled. Mr. Toombs proposed to allow three until the new census was completed; and then, if it turned out that the State was not entitled to them, one or two of them should be retired. The difference between these two propositions seems slight, but Mr. Iverson of Georgia objected strenuously to Wilson's proposal, because, as he said, that plan involved a new election for the one or two additional members to which

the state would likely be entitled. The reason is clear. Mr. Iverson was a Democrat, and the three representatives elect from Minnesota were also Democrats. A new election might result favorably to the Republicans. You may tell me that my fears are imaginary, said Iverson, and perhaps they are; "but I fear there is a cat under the meal tub, and I am not willing to risk it."

The matter was compromised by voting to allow Minnesota two representatives until the next apportionment, which was all that the State could in equity demand, for reasons to be noted directly. The census as far as completed showed a population of about 140,000 souls. Mr. Douglas estimated the population of the counties from which no returns had been received at 10,000. Under the apportionment law then in force, each State was entitled to one representative for 93,420 inhabitants. A population of 150,000 would, as Mr. Douglas himself admitted, legally entitle the State to only one representative, since a major fraction did not at that time necessarily entitle the State to an additional member. But the integrity of the census was impeached. It was held that the pay of the deputies was inadequate, and that therefore the work was not thoroughly done. A letter was presented from the United States marshal reciting the many difficulties under which the census was taken.

Some of the supporters of Mr. Douglas would have preferred to brush aside the census entirely and be governed by other estimates. Some in arguing for three representatives took the number of votes cast for State officers—40,000 in round numbers—and multiplied it by six to obtain an estimate of the population. This multiplier is too high for any frontier country. Mr. Collamer aptly hit off this method of calculation. He said it reminded him of the method employed by a man who wanted to know the weight of his hogs, but had no scales. He put a large stone on one end of a slab to balance the hogs at the other and then guessed at the weight of the stone. Even 240,000 inhabitants were not enough for three representatives. In a running debate upon this subject between Douglas and Mason the latter had decidedly the best of the argument. Mr. Fitch of Indiana claimed that no mis-

take could be made by allowing Minnesota three representatives as her population would soon entitle her to that number, if, indeed, she had not sufficient already, to which it might be said that present and not prospective population should be made the basis for representation.

During the above discussion, which lasted for several days, various other objections to the admission of the State were urged. Mr. Brown announced that he did not approve of the constitution, but would vote for admission to keep faith on the slavery question. He was particularly averse to allowing aliens and persons of mixed white and Indian blood to vote. Mr. Trumbull stated that the State legislature of Minnesota was passing laws, and that they were being approved by the Territorial governor. Such legislation as this, he added, would be held a nullity in any court in Christendom. He held also that according to the constitution the members of the House of Representatives of Minnesota were elected for life;* a feature, he continued, not in harmony with republican institutions.

It was with great difficulty that Mr. Douglas was able to obtain the attention of the Senate for consecutive days upon the Minnesota bill. One of the principal causes of delay was the Kansas bill, from which the House struck out all after the enacting clause, and submitted and passed a substitute. The Southern members forced this substitute upon the attention of the Senate, and considerable time was spent in agreeing to disagree upon it. The debate upon the Kansas question was so intensely sectional that it left a bad atmosphere for the discussion of other matters. Finally, a considerable time was devoted to the Minnesota bill on April 6 and 7, and the vote upon it was taken on the latter date.

Various objections were made on the ground that Minnesota had not complied with the provisions of her Enabling Act. The split convention was held to be illegal. The representatives were elected at large, while the law of Congress required that they should be elected by congressional districts. It was held that more delegates were elected to the

* The constitution does not place any definite limit to the terms of office of the representatives. Incidentally a term of two years may be inferred. Constitution of 1857 in Debates of the Constitutional Convention, (Democratic Wing) p. 654 and (Republican Wing) p. 607.

State constitutional convention than the Enabling Act permitted.*

Anthony Kennedy, a Unionist Whig senator from Maryland, opposed the admission of the State because of the alien suffrage feature in her constitution, which, he held, was contrary to the Constitution of the United States and against the interests of the South. He was opposed to the "squatter sovereignty" feature because it destroyed the equilibrium of the Senate. He quoted from the speeches of Calhoun at length to establish the unconstitutionality of alien suffrage. He held that only citizens of the United States could constitutionally vote, and that the States were compelled to allow such citizens to vote within their limits. Mr. Johnson of Tennessee took exception to this latter statement—that a State was obliged to allow a United States citizen to vote—and clearly showed the absurdity of it. By way of acknowledging his error Mr. Kennedy, with due senatorial suavity, maintained the correctness of his position and assured Mr. Johnson and the Senate that he would come to that point directly; which, of course, meant, according to congressional interpretation, that he would take great care not to come to it at all.

Mr. Brown became sarcastic in decrying Indian suffrage. "All you have to do," he said, "is to catch a wild Indian . . . . give him a hat, a pair of pantaloons, and a bottle of whisky, and he would then have adopted the habits of civilization, and be a good voter."† This thrust elicited from Sam Houston, the foster child of the red man, an eloquent defense of that much abused personage.

The vote upon the bill was finally taken on April 7, 1858, and resulted in 49 yeas and 3 nays; Clay of Alabama, Kennedy of Maryland, and Yulee of Florida, voted in the negative.

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* Section 3 of the Enabling Act provided that two delegates be chosen for every representative to the territorial legislature. The Minnesota authorities construed the word "representative" to apply to Councillors as well as to Representatives proper. This construction made a convention of 108 members. Some of the senators insisted that the word "representative" should be construed as meaning a member of the lower house of the territorial legislature, thus making a convention of only seventy-eight members. The latter is, of course, the more plausible construction.

† Cong. Globe, vol. 45, p. 1514.

THE BILL IN THE HOUSE.

Since the Enabling Act was passed, a new House had been organized and a new Speaker elected. G. A. Grow of Pennsylvania was replaced as chairman of the Committee on Territories by Alexander Stephens of Georgia, and it was to the care of the latter that the bill was now entrusted. On the day after the passage of the bill by the Senate, a message was sent to the House informing that body of the Senate's action. Mr. Stephens made repeated but unsuccessful attempts to have the bill taken up, but finally succeeded in his efforts on May 4.

The old question of representation came up, and much the same line of argument was pursued as in the Senate. Mr. Stephens wished to allow Minnesota three representatives, and was supported by W. W. Kingsbury, then the territorial delegate from Minnesota. Mr. Garnett of Virginia contended for one; but John Sherman of Ohio was the most determined of all in his opposition to the admission of the new State, being the most severe, acrimonious and partisan in his strictures upon her.

In place of the bill then before the House, Sherman offered a substitute, the preamble of which recited that the constitution of Minnesota "does not conform with the constitution and laws of the United States." He would remand the entire constitution back to the State for revision. No legal convention, he held, ever sat in Minnesota; it was a "double-headed mob," composed of 108 instead of 78 delegates; and the representatives were not elected by districts, but at large. He could see no reason for this unless it was to allow uncivilized Indians to vote for three representatives instead of one. In the hurry of their miserable strife, he said, no tenure of service was set for representatives; it was a predetermined plan to hold office as long as possible. The utter absurdity of this latter statement needs no comment and deserves no notice. Albert G. Jenkins of Virginia answered Sherman's arguments *seriatim* and with considerable ability.

Indian suffrage was severely denounced by Mr Garnett. No such provision, said he, was ever heard of except it be in "Nicaragua or some such pretended republic of South Amer-

ican barbarians;" the makers of such a provision would not seem, he added, to be "eminently capable of 'enjoying the rights of citizenship.'"* Mr. Blair of Missouri continued in much the same strain. "At one of the precincts," he said, "one pair of breeches was obtained, and thirty-five Indians were successively put into it, and in that way it was ascertained that they had adopted the habits of civilized life."†

Mr. Anderson of Missouri, in arguing against the alien suffrage feature, voiced a sentiment which many others doubtless had in mind, but were too politic to express. He said: "I warn gentlemen from the South of the consequences that must result from maintaining the right of unnaturalized foreigners to vote in the formation of State constitutions. The whole of the Territories of this Union are rapidly filling up with foreigners. The great body of them are opposed to slavery. Mark my word: if you do it, another slave State will never be formed out of the Territories of this Union. They are the enemies of the South and her institutions."‡ His words were as prophetic as they were candid, for another slave State was never admitted. After quoting from a speech said to have been made by John C. Calhoun in opposition to the admission of Michigan, Mr. Anderson became grandly eloquent in his argument against the constitutionality of alien suffrage.

Mr. Davis of Maryland, and Mr. Smith of Virginia, also opposed the alien suffrage feature of the bill. The latter made one of the longest speeches in the entire discussion, in which he utterly confused citizenship and suffrage, and which he interspersed with quotations having no application whatever to the point at issue. One of his colleagues, Mr. Millson, reminded him of the fact that his strictures upon the alien suffrage clause of the Minnesota constitution could, with equal force, be applied to his own State, Virginia, where unnaturalized foreigners could vote. Mr. Bliss of Ohio clearly showed that the fundamental error of Mr. Smith lay in considering the term "citizen" and "elector" as synonymous, when they are not so. Bliss admitted the inexpediency, but not the

* Cong. Globe, vol. 45, p. 1953.
† Ibid., vol. 45, p. 1953.
‡ Cong. Globe, vol. 45, p. 1980.

unconstitutionality, of allowing aliens to vote. He considered the irregularities so emphatically dwelt upon by his colleague, Mr. Sherman, as matters of no vital importance. Mr. Ricaud of Maryland quoted from Calhoun's now famous Michigan speech to the effect that States could not naturalize,—a fact which no one since the foundation of the government has disputed, a point which the most ardent advocate of State rights never claimed.

Mr. Stephens made little of the irregularities over which Mr. Sherman had previously pounded the pulpit so fiercely. He held it sufficient that the constitution of the proposed State was republican in form and expressed the will of the people. He held that even the election of representatives for life would not make the constitution anti-republican, since many States had elected their judiciary for life and no objection was made. Mr. Stephens then turned his attention to the famous speech of John C. Calhoun, from which his opponents had derived so much inspiration and argument. It must have greatly lessened the influence of this speech, said to have been delivered in opposition to the admission of Michigan, when Mr. Stephens remarked that the speech was not to be found in the Congressional Globe, and that the records showed no objection on the part of Mr. Calhoun to the alien suffrage feature of the Michigan constitution, and that in another instance he voted for alien suffrage. Mr. Stephens was refreshingly clear in distinguishing suffrage from citizenship. In speaking of the difference, he said: "Great confusion seems to exist in the minds of gentlemen from the association of the words citizen and suffrage. Some seem to think that rights of citizenship and rights of suffrage necessarily go together; that one is dependent on the other. There never was a greater mistake. Suffrage, or the right to vote, is the creature of law. There are citizens in every State of this Union, I doubt not, who are not entitled to vote. So, in several of the states, there are persons who by law are entitled to vote, though they be not citizens."*

The discussion was thus prolonged, with the interposition of other business, until the eleventh of May. On this date Mr. Sherman's substitute was rejected by a vote of 51 to 141,

* Cong. Globe, vol. 46, p. 2059.

and the bill was passed as it came from the Senate, the vote being 157 to 38.* The Speaker and the President signed the bill on the same day that it was passed by the House.

V.

THE ADMISSION OF THE SENATORS.

The State having been admitted, the next thing in order was the admission of the senators and representatives. This is usually a merely formal process devoid of public interest; but, in this case, unexpected opposition was developed.

On May 12 Robert Toombs presented the credentials of Mr. Henry M. Rice as a United States senator from Minnesota, and moved that the oath of office be administered to him. Mr. Harlan of Iowa then presented a communication from certain settlers on the Fort Crawford Reservation in his State, setting forth that Henry M. Rice, as agent for the Secretary of War, had charged them $1.50 per acre for their land, instead of $1.25 as directed by the Secretary of War, and that he had refused to receipt to them for more than $1.25 per acre. Some other charges of fraudulent dealings were also made. Mr. Harlan presented these allegations to the Senate, but made no motion. Mr. Brown thought the charges no bar to the admission of Mr. Rice, but proceeded to object on other grounds. States, and not Territories, he held, can elect senators; and because Minnesota was a Territory when Mr. Rice was elected, he affirmed that the election was null and void.† Mr. Seward characterized this objection as psychical rather than practical. Mr. Benjamin called the attention of the Senate to the fact that they would find upon their desks a communication from the War Department, in which Mr. Rice explained that the twenty-five cents per acre extra were expended for the interests of the settlers and cheerfully paid by them. He characterized Mr. Harlan's action as unusual, discourteous, and even cruel. Mr. Toombs made a few remarks about the judgment appropriate for a senator and a gentleman, and requested a vote. Mr. Pugh suggested that,

* The opposition came equally from the North and South, and was politically as follows: Republicans, 12; Americans, 11; Whigs, 9; Democrats, 3; Free-Soilers, 2; Unionist, 1.

† Senators had in other instances been elected before the formal act of admission was passed.

if Mr. Harlan's high standard of morality made it impossible for him to occupy a seat in the Senate with Mr. Rice, there was a very simple remedy,—to resign. Jefferson Davis came to Mr. Harlan's rescue, and explained that that gentleman was simply acting for his constituents.

Mr. Rice was then sworn in. Mr. Toombs next presented a resolution of the Minnesota legislature giving the long term to Mr. Rice and this was referred to the Judiciary Committee. Mr. Rice now stated that he was taken entirely by surprise by the charges preferred by Mr. Harlan, and was not prepared to enter into an elaborate defense. He stated, however, that he had acted in strict accordance with the instructions of the Secretary of War, and that if any fraudulent act should appear upon investigation he would resign his seat in the Senate.

The oath of office was then administered to James Shields, the other senator from the new State.

Two days after his admission, Mr. Rice moved that an investigation be made into the charges preferred against him by Mr. Harlan. The motion was carried, and the matter was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. On June 9, 1858, Jefferson Davis in behalf of that committee made a report completely exonerating Mr. Rice. Mr. King and Mr. Wilson did not concur in the report, however, as they considered the method of selling public lands worthy of condemnation. Mr. Wilson was careful to explain that he imputed no criminality to Mr. Rice. The report was adopted on motion of Mr. Davis.

VI.

THE ADMISSION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES.

On May 13, 1858, Mr. Phillips of Pennsylvania presented the credentials of William W. Phelps and James M. Cavanaugh of Minnesota and moved that they be sworn in as members of the House of Representatives. The motion encountered an uncompromising antagonist in John Sherman. He held that the credentials of the two men were signed by Samuel Medary, governor of the Territory of Minnesota, but that they should be signed by the governor of the State under the State Seal. He said that Mr. Medary was then postmaster at

Columbus, Ohio, and could by no manner of means certify to the election of representatives from another State. Where, he asked, are the credentials of the third man elected?* He contended that there was no legality in tossing up a copper to determine which men should be admitted. He held their election entirely void, and insisted that Minnesota should have no representative in the House until after the next regular congressional election.

On motion of Mr. Millson of Virginia, the credentials were referred to the Committee on Elections with instruction to inquire into the rights of Messrs. Cavanaugh and Phelps to seats. On May 20, 1858, Mr. Harris of Illinois, in behalf of the majority of the committee, submitted a report favoring the admission of the representatives, with the proviso that such admission "should not be construed as precluding any contests of their right to seats which may be hereafter instituted by any persons having the right so to do."† On May 22 printed copies of the majority and minority reports were submitted. The majority report held that the Enabling Act authorized the election of the representatives before the actual admission of the State; that there were precedents for election by general ticket instead of by congressional districts; and that the fact that three were elected was immaterial, since credentials were presented for only two.

The first minority report was signed by Ezra Clark (Am. Rep.) of Connecticut, James Wilson (Rep.) of Indiana, and Jno. A. Gilmer (Am.) of North Carolina, and held the election void because it took place while Minnesota was yet a Territory. It held that the precedents for such an election were fit only to be reversed and expunged. It held further that there was no way known to law by which two of the three elected could be designated, and that the certificates of election presented were mere nullities because not signed by any State officer. The recommendation was that Messrs. Cavanaugh and Phelps be not allowed to qualify.

The second minority report was signed by Israel Washburne, Jr., of Maine, who came to the same conclusions

* Mr. Washburne of Illinois stated during the debate that the three men elected, Cavanaugh, Phelps, and Becker, had cast lots to determine which two of them should have seats in the House. Mr. Becker was unsuccessful, hence his credentials were not presented.

†Cong. Globe, vol. 46, p. 2275.

reached by Messrs. Clark, Wilson and Gilmer, but by a somewhat different course of reasoning. Mr. Washburne stated that the constitution of the State provided for three representatives, while the Act of Congress restricted the number to two; therefore, he continued, if the constitution is valid, all three are elected, if invalid, none is elected. He further stated that to allow candidates to decide who shall retire is to transfer the election from the people to the candidates.

After a discussion in which the signers of the various reports were the principal participants, the report of the majority was adopted, and Messrs. Cavanaugh and Phelps were sworn in, May 22, 1858. Thus was the North Star State, after a struggle extending from December 24, 1856, to May 22, 1858, enrolled among the American Commonwealths and duly represented in both branches of Congress.

VII.

THE SEAT OF THE DELEGATE.

There was a difference of opinion as to who should represent in the House that part of the Territory of Minnesota not included in the new State. W. W. Kingsbury and Alpheus G. Fuller contended for that honor. On May 27, 1858, Mr. Cavanaugh presented a resolution reading as follows: "Resolved, That the Committee of Elections be authorized to inquire into and report upon the right of W. W. Kingsbury to a seat upon this floor as Delegate from that part of the Territory of Minnesota outside the State limits."* Mr. Harris of Illinois presented the credentials of Alpheus G. Fuller as delegate from the same Territory.

The whole matter was referred to the Committee on Elections. On June 2, 1858, Mr. Harris of Illinois, chairman of that committee, submitted the majority report, holding that Mr. Kingsbury was legally elected delegate on October 13, 1857, and that the admission of a State formed out of part of the Territory did not annul that election. The case of H. H. Sibley was cited. Mr. Sibley was elected delegate from the Territory of Wisconsin after the State of Wisconsin was ad-

* Cong. Globe, vol. 46, p. 2428.

mitted. He was elected from that portion of the Territory not included in the State, and was allowed to take his seat by a vote of 124 to 62. In conclusion, the report recommended that Mr. Kingsbury be allowed to retain his seat, and that the memorials of Mr. Fuller be given no further consideration.

A minority report, signed by Messrs. Wilson, Clark, and Gilmer, decided in favor of Mr. Fuller. This report stated that Mr. Kingsbury was elected by the voters of the territory now comprising the State, and that those living in that part of the Territory not included in the State were not allowed to vote; but this was denied "upon good authority" in the majority report. It was also held that Mr. Kingsbury lived in the State of Minnesota, not in the part of the former territory left outside the State. Mr. Fuller, in the course of a long letter said that he came "without form of law, but on the inherent principle of self government and protection."

Mr. Harris contended that it was not necessary for the delegate to live in the Territory which he represented. Israel Washburne of Maine supported Mr. Harris, declaring that there was both a State and a Territory of Minnesota. Mr. Jones of Tennessee held that there was no Territory of Minnesota, and hence that no one was entitled to a seat as delegate. After considerable discussion, the majority report was adopted, and Mr. Kingsbury retained his seat until March 3, 1859.

MINNESOTA'S NORTHERN BOUNDARY.*

BY ALEXANDER N. WINCHELL.

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1. Various proposals.
2. Final provisions.
a. Commissioners to agree upon and mark the line from Lake Huron to the Lake of the Woods.
b. Boundary west of the Lake of the Woods omitted.
VII. Convention of 1818.
1. The forty-ninth parallel adopted.

*Read at the University of Minnesota October 12, 1895; awarded "The '89 Memorial Prize in History" at the twenty-fourth annual commencement, June 4, 1896; accepted by the Publication Committee, July 16, 1896.

VIII. Work of the Commission under the Treaty of Ghent.
  1. They map and define two parts of the line.
  2. They disagree as to the line from Lake Superior to Rainy Lake.
    a. Claims of each party.

IX. Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842.
  A compromise measure.

X. Present condition of the boundary.
  1. Not in accordance with the spirit of the treaty of 1783.
  2. Loss to the United States.
  3. The actual boundary not yet known.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

American State Papers, Foreign Relations.
Diplomatic Correspondence. Jared Sparks.
Senate and House Executive Documents.
Secret Journals of Congress.
Life and Works of John Adams. C. F. Adams.
Works of Franklin. Jared Sparks.
Treaties and Conventions of the United States.
Journal of the House of Representatives.
Congressional Globe.
Narrative and Critical History of America. Justin Winsor.
Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. vii., pp. 305-352, "How the Mississippi river and the Lake of the Woods became instrumental in the establishment of the Northwestern Boundary of the United States," Alfred J. Hill; vol. viii., pp. 1-10, "The International Boundary between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods," Ulysses Sherman Grant.

NOTE. Mr. Hill's article in volume VII. of the Minnesota Historical Society Collections will be found to cover much of the earlier history of this subject quite fully. In such parts, where I have been obliged to parallel Mr. Hill, I have condensed the account; and I would refer the reader who desires more details of that period to his article. I am indebted to the same article for several references of value.

INTRODUCTION.

On September 4, 1895, there appeared in the Minneapolis Times a special telegram from Tower, Minn., entitled, "Where is the Boundary?" and reading as follows:

Tower, Minn., Sept. 3. (Special.)

The trouble between the Arion Fish Company, of Crane Lake, and the Canadian authorities, over the seizure of their nets said to have been in Canadian waters, threatens to result in an international difficulty and revive a long-disputed question. By the last treaty with Great Britain the boundary line between northeastern Minnesota and Canada was established in the navigable channel or deepest water in the chain of lakes and rivers between the two countries. Several times disputes have arisen, and good authorities claim that if the line were properly adjusted it would give the valuable tract known as Hunter's island to the United States. Minnesota parties have found extensive and valuable deposits of iron ore on the island, and were it within the United States it would become a flourishing and prosperous district. The island comprises several thousand square miles of territory, and many locations for iron have been taken on it by Minnesota capitalists.

While the statements in this clipping have no more truth than the average newspaper report, they are a good indication of the importance of the subject.

I.

BOUNDARIES IN COLONIAL TIMES.

To find the origin of this boundary it is necessary to go back to colonial times. The Hudson Bay Company gradually enlarged its territorial claims until in the eighteenth century it claimed the whole watershed of the Bay of Hudson as far south as the forty-ninth parallel. This claim was recognized in the Treaty of Utrecht, and it is this recognition, misunderstood to refer to a boundary line of Canada, that is the prototype of our present northern boundary.

II.

FIRST BOUNDARY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1783.

When Canada was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, this line naturally became of no importance. But within twenty

years another boundary line was defined that trenched upon the watershed of Hudson Bay; but with this new boundary neither of the former parties had anything to do. It was in February, 1779,* that Joseph Mathias Gérard de Rayneval, the minister from France to the United States, urged upon Congress the appointment of a commissioner to take part in negotiations for a general peace, when such should occur. Such an appointment made it necessary to formulate conditions of peace beyond the main demand of independence. On the 23rd of that month, therefore, a special committee, to whom had been referred certain "official letters and communications received from Paris," reported that certain articles were absolutely necessary for the safety and independence of the United States, and therefore ought to be insisted upon as ultimata. The first of these articles was concerning the bounds, which were to be as follows: †

> Northerly by the ancient limits of Canada, as contended for by Great Britain, running from Nova Scotia, south-westerly, west, and north-westerly, to Lake Nepissing, thence a west line to the Mississippi; . . . and westerly by the river Mississippi.

On March 19th, Congress took into consideration the report of the Committee of the Whole, and agreed to the following ultimata:‡

> 1. That the thirteen United States are bounded, north, by a line to be drawn from the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, along the high lands which divide those rivers which empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; thence due west in the latitude forty-five degrees north from the equator, to the north-westernmost side of the river St. Lawrence or Cadaroqui; thence strait to the south end of lake Nepissing; and thence strait to the source of the river Mississippi; west, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi from its source to where the said line shall intersect the latitude of thirty-one degrees north. . .

This second description of the boundary was adopted by Congress in the draft of instructions approved on August 14th

*Minn. Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. VII., p. 307.
†Secret Journals of Congress, 1775-88, vol. II., p. 133.
‡Ibid., pp. 138, 225; Diplomatic Correspondence, Jared Sparks, vol. IV., p. 340.

for the use of the minister to be appointed to negotiate a peace. Continuing, the instructions read:*

> But, notwithstanding the clear right of these states, . . . if the line to be drawn from the mouth of the lake Nepissing to the head of the Mississippi cannot be obtained without continuing the war for that purpose, you are hereby empowered to agree to some other line between that point and the river Mississippi; provided the same shall in no part thereof be to the southward of latitude forty-five degrees north. . . .

John Adams was first appointed as the commissioner, and he went to France; but there he found scant favor, partially on account of his bluntness; moreover official influence was opposed to initiating a peace at that time, or through any man but Franklin. Adams went the next year to Holland, to which country he had been made minister.

On June 15, 1781, Mr. Adams' commission was annulled by Congress, and he was reappointed as one of the five persons to negotiate the treaty. His colleagues were Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson. They were given some discretionary power, and they used probably more than was given.

On the British side, Mr. Oswald, and later Mr. Strachey, were the negotiators. On October 8, 1782, certain articles† were agreed upon by Franklin, Jay, and Oswald, which the British commissioner took to England for the King's consideration. The first article defined the boundary exactly according to the description contained in the instructions given by Congress on March 19, 1779, already fully quoted. These were rejected by the King, and Mr. Oswald returned, furnished by the King's ministers with arguments for a more southerly line. Mr. Strachey came over also to help on the argument.

November 5, 1782, the commissioners had again reached an understanding, and Mr. Strachey took a second proposition to England for the King's consideration. In these articles‡ the northern and western boundaries were given as running "thence down along the middle of that [Connecticut] river to the 45th degree of north latitude, following the said latitude until it strikes the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be

*Secret Journals of Congress, 1775-88, vol. II., p. 227.
†Diplomatic Correspondence, Jared Sparks, Vol. X., pp. 88-92.
‡Ibid., p. 94.

drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the 31st degree of latitude north of the equator."

The next day* John Adams, writing to Livingston, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, said, "We have at last agreed to boundaries with the greatest moderation. We have offered them the choice of a line through the middle of all the great lakes or the line of 45 degrees of latitude, the Mississippi, with a free navigation of it at one end, and the river St. Croix at the other."

On the 25th of November,† Adams, Franklin, and Jay met at Mr. Oswald's lodgings, and after some conference, Mr. Oswald delivered to them certain articles as fresh proposals of the British ministry, sent by Mr. Strachey. The second one of these articles defined boundaries for the United States, and the words there used were in effect the same as those employed in the provisional Articles of Peace. So far as concerned the northwestern boundary, the following were the terms:

. . . from thence [i. e. the point of intersection of the Connecticut river and the forty-fifth parallel] by a line due west on said latitude until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataroquy; thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of said Lake until it strikes the communication by water between that Lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication, into Lake Erie, through the middle of said Lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that Lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into Lake Huron; thence through the middle of the said Lake, to the water communication between that Lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior, northward of the Isles Royal and Philippeaux to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said Lake to the most north-western point thereof; and from thence on a due western course to the river Mississippi, thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the 31st degree of north latitude.

In addition, the navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, was to remain forever free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

*Life and Works of John Adams, by C. F. Adams, vol. VII., p. 661.
†Diplomatic Correspondence, Jared Sparks, vol. X., p. 101.

Thus the famous phrase, "the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods," originated with the British. As stated before, the same line, defined a little more fully, was that adopted in the Provisional Articles of 1782; and these were exactly the same as those signed ten months later as the Definitive Treaty of Peace.

Concerning this boundary the Commissioner wrote to Robert Livingston:*

> The Court of Great Britain insisted on retaining all the territories comprehended within the Province of Quebec, by the Act of Parliament respecting it. They contended that Nova Scotia should extend to the river Kennebec; and they claimed not only all the lands in the western country and on the Mississippi, which were not expressly included in our charters and governments, but also all such lands within them as remained ungranted by the King of Great Britain. It would be endless to enumerate all the discussions and arguments on the subject.
>
> We knew this Court and Spain to be against our claims to the western country, and having no reason to think that lines more favorable could ever have been obtained, we finally agreed to those described in this Article; indeed they appear to leave us little to complain of, and not much to desire. Congress will observe, that although our northern line is in a certain part below the latitude of fortyfive, yet in others it extends above it, divides the Lake Superior, and gives us access to its western and southern waters, from which a line in that latitude would have excluded us.

Franklin,† writing to Livingston, said that the British "wanted to bring their boundary down to the Ohio, and to settle their loyalists in the Illinois country. We did not choose such neighbors."

In reply, Mr. Livingston‡ said: "The boundaries are as extensive as we have a right to expect."

The extent of the boundaries was a great surprise to foreigners generally. Luzerne§ wrote to the French minister Vergennes that the northern boundary from Lake Superior to the sources of the Mississippi had surpassed all expectation. It gave the Americans four forts that they had found it impossible to capture. Lands nearer the coast had already depreciated in value, owing to the new acquisitions. "There is a belief," he said,—and the remark shows the view then

*Diplomatic Correspondence, Jared Sparks, vol. X., p. 117.
†Works of Franklin, Jared Sparks, vol. IX., p. 442.
‡Diplomatic Correspondence, Jared Sparks, vol. X., p. 129.
§Narrative and Critical History of America, Justin Winsor, vol. VII., p. 158.

opening of the future of America,—"that the plenipotentiaries, in pushing their possessions as far as the Lake of the Woods, are preparing for their remote posterity a communication with the Pacific." And later he wrote that the vast extent of the boundaries had caused great surprise and satisfaction.

Now, there are two geographical errors in the line as indicated in the treaty, which made it impossible to determine where the line really ran, and which required forty years to eradicate.

These errors were both wholly due to the inaccuracies of the map upon which the line of demarcation was drawn. This was Mitchell's map, published first in 1755, and brought to the negotiation by the British Commissioners. Other maps much better were not wanting, and some were even before the commission; but it was not known at that time that they were more accurate, and no great care was put upon the line in the northwest corner, as that was not supposed to be of any present importance and was especially insignificant when compared to the pressing need of an accurate boundary in the northeast corner. The errors were:

1st. The idea that the Lake of the Woods outflowed southeastward instead of northward, and that it was at the head of the basin of the Great Lakes instead of near the base of the Hudson Bay watershed. This error was undoubtedly of great benefit to the United States, because the evident and plainly stated intention of the commissioners was to run the line through the middle of all the Great Lakes and onward to the source of the greatest lake. This would have brought the boundary down through Lake Superior to its southwest end, and then up the St. Louis river to its source in Seven Beaver lake, which is very nearly due north of Duluth and a little farther south from the international boundary than it is north from Duluth.

2nd. The idea that the Mississippi took its rise northwestward of the Lake of the Woods, and that a line could therefore be run due west from that lake to the Father of Waters. This made it, of course, physically impossible to run the line as the treaty required, and thus introduced to diplomacy what was long known as the "Northwest Boundary Question." If the first error had not been made, the second would scarcely have existed; for, though the St. Louis river rises a short distance

north of lake Itasca, yet its source is almost exactly on an east and west line with the northernmost bend of the Mississippi and is considerably south of several small branches of the river.

The result of the first error was the addition to the United States of a very large tract of land,—how large we cannot, of course, precisely know, but it is at least fifteen thousand square miles, or as large as the combined areas of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.

To whose advantage the second error worked is not so clear. It may be said that through it the British obtained the right to the free navigation of the river Mississippi. That is undoubtedly true, but did that right amount to anything? And even if it did, there is strong probability that the Americans were very willing to grant this right in order to have a strong ally in demanding of Spain, which controlled the lower Mississippi, the free navigation of that end of the great river.

III.

UNEXECUTED ARTICLE OF TREATY OF 1794.

The provisions of this first treaty betweeen the two great English-speaking Powers were not fully observed by either one; and, other questions also arising, there was very soon a necessity for another treaty. With this in view, John Jay was sent to England by Washington in 1794. Lord Grenville, the British minister, giving voice to a suspicion* that had been gradually growing stronger, considered it as an established fact that a due west line from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi could not be drawn, because such a line would pass entirely to the north of any of the sources of that stream. In accordance with this supposition he suggested to the American envoy two new lines between the waters of lake Superior and the Mississippi, either of which would rectify the geographical error of the former treaty. The first was a line drawn due west from "the bottom of West Bay in the said Lake" to the "river of the Red Lake, or eastern branch of the Mississippi, and down the said branch to the main river of the Mississippi." This line would have been as impossible as

*Minn. Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. VII.; appendix, A. J. Hill, p. 315.

the one he was trying to correct. The other plan was to follow the "water communication" described in the treaties, until a point due north of the mouth of the St. Croix river should be reached, whence a line should be run directly to the Mississippi at the mouth of its said tributary. Mr. Jay would not listen at all to such proposals, which involved a cession of territory. Nor was he willing to concede to his lordship that the position of the head of the Mississippi in relation to the Lake of the Woods was certainly known. He suggested, however, that the truth should be ascertained by actual survey, and to this proposition the British minister agreed.

The fourth article of this treaty, as finally signed, was as follows:*

> Whereas it is uncertain whether the river Mississippi extends so far to the northward as to be intersected by a line to be drawn due west from the Lake of the Woods, in the manner mentioned in the treaty of peace between His Majesty and the United States: it is agreed that measures shall be taken in concert between His Majesty's Government in America and the Government of the United States, for making a joint survey of the said river from one degree of latitude below the Falls of St. Anthony, to the principal source or sources of the said river, and also of the parts adjacent thereto; and that if, on the result of such survey, it should appear that the said river would not be intersected by such a line as is above mentioned, the two parties will thereupon proceed, by amicable negotiation, to regulate the boundary line in that quarter, as well as all other points to be adjusted between the said parties, according to justice and mutual convenience, and in conformity to the intent of said treaty.

This survey was never made, as it was not long afterward that the astronomer David Thompson, in 1798, visited the most northern sources of the Mississippi and proved that they lie nearly two degrees south of the northern end of the Lake of the Woods. The reliability of his observations was questioned by no one, and accordingly the survey was considered unnecessary.

Nevertheless, the clause requiring the two parties to "proceed, by amicable negotiation, to regulate the boundary line in that quarter," was not neglected.

*Treaties and Conventions concluded between the United States of America and other Powers since July 4, 1776, (Washington, 1889, printed as Sen. Ex. Doc., Second Session, 48th Congress, vol. I., Part 2), p. 382.

IV.

UNRATIFIED CONVENTION OF 1803.

Mr. Madison, Secretary of State, on the 8th of June, 1802, wrote* to Rufus King, minister at London, directing him to reopen negotiations on the unsettled portion of the boundaries between Great Britain and the United States. In his communication he pointed out that the second article of the treaty of 1783 was rendered void by reason of the impossibility of running a line due west from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi river, and suggested another one in place of it, which was:

> . . . a line running from that source of the Mississippi which is nearest to the Lake of the Woods, and striking it, westwardly, as a tangent, and, from the point touched, along the water-mark of the lake, to its most northwestern point, at which it will meet the line running through the lake.

Mr. King was not in London when this letter arrived, and the matter thus passed into the hands of the chargé d'affaires, Christopher Gore, who was afterward commissioned from Washington to carry on the negotiations. On September 28, 1802, Mr. Gore had an interview with Lord Hawksbury, the British Commissioner, and, after explaining the anomaly which it was proposed to straighten out, he continued:†

> Supposing the most northern branch of the source of the Mississippi to be south of the Lake of the Woods, as seems now to be understood, it is suggested, as consistent with justice and the mutual convenience of the parties, to establish the boundary of the United States in this quarter, by a line running from that source of the Mississippi which is nearest to the Lake of the Woods, and striking it westwardly, as a tangent, and from the point touched along the watermark of the lake to its most northwestern point, at which it will meet the line running through the lake.
>
> Commissioners might be appointed to ascertain the local relation of the Mississippi to the Lake of the Woods, and, if as was supposed by the treaty of peace, to run the line there agreed on. But if the relative position of these two waters be as now believed, to establish the boundary by running a line as above described.

*American State Papers, Foreign Relations, vol. II., p. 585.
†Ibid., p. 589.

On October 6, in a report to the Secretary of State, Mr. Gore said in reference to Lord Hawksbury's views:*

On that part of the boundary which is to connect the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods with the Mississippi, he observed that it was evidently the intention of the treaty of peace that both nations should have access to, and enjoy the free use of that river; and he doubtless meant that this access should be to each nation through their own territories. He remarked, that commissions, which I had proposed for . . . running the line . . . might establish such a boundary as would secure to each nation this object. To the remark I made nó reply, other than by observing that the line suggested was what naturally seemed to be demanded by just interpretation, . . . but this I did, however, chiefly with a view of not assenting to his proposal, and in a manner rather declining than courting the discussion. It will probably be persisted in; and I much doubt if this Government will be inclined to adjust any boundary in this quarter, that has not the right desired for its basis.

After receiving this news from Mr. Gore, Mr. Madison wrote to Rufus King, under date of December 16, 1802:†

It appears that the proposition for adjusting the boundary in the northwest corner of the United States is not relished by the British Government. The proposition was considered by the President as a liberal one, inasmuch as the more obvious remedy for the error of the treaty would have been by a line running due north from the most northern source of the Mississippi, and intersecting the line running due west from the Lake of the Woods; and inasmuch as the branch leading nearest the Lake of the Woods may not be the longest or most navigable one, and may, consequently, favor the wish of the British Government to have access to the latter.

This reasoning clearly proceeds on the assumption that the British possessions westward of the Mississippi reached south at least as far as to the sources of that river; and yet within two months exactly the opposite view was strenuously and successfully maintained by the Americans. The change was probably brought about by a study of the "possibilities" of the Louisiana purchase. Mr. Madison continued:

The proposition, for these reasons, would not have been made but from a desire to take advantage of the present friendly dispositions of the parties for the purpose of settling all questions of boundary between them. As it is not probable, however, that the settlement of this particular boundary will for some time be material, and as the

*American State Papers, vol. II., p. 587.
†Ibid., p. 589.

adjustment proposed is not viewed by the British Government in the same light as by the President, it is thought proper that it should not for the present be pursued; and that the other questions of boundary should be adjusted with as little delay as possible. In the mean time, further information with respect to the head waters of the Mississippi, and the country connected with them, may be sought by both parties; it being understood that the United States will be as free to be guided by the result of such inquiries, in any future negotiation, as if the proposition above referred to had never been made by them. Should it be most agreeable to the British Government to have an early survey instituted, with a view to a proper boundary in this case, the President authorizes you to concur in such an arrangement.

The British Government proved to be more yielding than Mr. Madison expected and the convention, as drawn up by Mr. King, was finally signed on the 12th of May, 1803. In his letter of transmittal accompanying the document, which was sent the next day, Mr. King said:*

The convention does not vary in any thing material from the tenor of my instructions. . . . . The source of the Mississippi nearest to the Lake of the Woods, according to McKenzie's report, will be found about twenty-nine miles to the westward of any part of that lake, which is represented to be nearly circular. Hence a direct line between the northwesternmost part of the lake, and the nearest source of the Mississippi, which is preferred by this Government, has appeared to me equally advantageous with the lines we had proposed.

The terms of this convention relating to the part of the boundary adjoining Minnesota were as follows:†

ART. 5. Whereas it is uncertain whether the river Mississippi extends so far to the northward as to be intersected by a line drawn due west from the Lake of the Woods, in the manner mentioned in the treaty of peace between His Majesty and the United States, it is agreed that, instead of the said line, the boundary of the United States in this quarter shall, and is hereby declared to be the shortest line which can be drawn between the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods and the nearest source of the river Mississippi: and for the purpose of ascertaining and determining the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods and the source of the river Mississippi that may be nearest to the said northwest point, as well as for the purpose of running and marking the said boundary line between the same, three commissioners, upon the demand of either Government, shall be appointed, and authorized, upon their oaths, to act; . . . and the decisions and proceedings of the said commissioners, or of a majority of them, made and had pursuant to this convention, shall be final and conclusive.

*American State Papers, vol. II., p. 590.
†Ibid., p. 584.

But twelve days before the signing of this convention, and entirely without the knowledge of these negotiators, Louisiana, recently acquired by France, was sold by Napoleon to the United States, and our Senate feared that this fifth article might limit the rights of this country concerning the boundary of the newly acquired territory. They consequently ratified the convention with the exception of the fifth article. The British would not agree to this partial ratification, and so the convention failed entirely.

V.

NEGOTIATIONS OF 1807.

On the very last day of 1806 American and British commissioners signed a treaty in London, mainly concerning commerce and navigation. It contained no article concerning impressments, and for this reason the President did not send it to the Senate. Thus for the lack of one good feature an otherwise excellent treaty died an untimely death. But the commissioners were still at work on additional articles, and "after many intermissions and much discussion, the British commissioners at length presented" a proposition, the fifth article of which ran as follows:*

ART. 5. It is agreed that a line drawn due west from the Lake of the Woods along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude shall be the *line of demarcation* [division line] between His Majesty's territories and those of the United States to the westward of the said lake, *as far as the territories of the United States extend in that quarter;* and that said line shall, *to that extent*, form the southern boundary of His Majesty's said territories, and the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States; provided that nothing in the present article shall be construed to extend to the northwest coast of America, or to the territories belonging to or claimed by either party, on the continent of America, to the westward of the Stony mountains.

The American commissioners objected that the line should be drawn due north or south from the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods, until it intersected the forty-ninth parallel, and thence west. This was agreed to by the British.

After considerable discussion as to the westward extension of the line and the free navigation of the Mississippi by the

*American State Papers, vol. III., p. 164.

British, the American commissioners proposed that the fifth article should read:*

> It is agreed that a line drawn due north or south (as the case may require) from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, until it shall intersect the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection, due west, along and with said parallel, shall be the dividing line between His Majesty's territories and those of the United States to the westward of the said lake; and that the said line, to and along and with the said parallel, shall form the southern boundary of His Majesty's said territories, and the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States. . . .

The article being submitted to the British commissioners in this form, they agreed to it with the exception that they wanted to add after the words, "to the westward of the said lake," the following: "as far as their said respective territories extend in that quarter; and that the said line shall, to that extent, form the southern boundary," etc.

Secretary Madison, writing† July 30th, 1807, to the commissioners, authorized them to agree to this addition if they could not secure their own wording. But at this point the negotiations were broken off; for, on account of a change of ministry in England, the commissioners were recalled, and the subject was never again resumed.

VI.

TREATY OF GHENT, 1814.

The War of 1812 was the cause of the next negotiations, which resulted in the Treaty of Ghent in 1814. The Secretary of State, writing to the commissioners‡ on June 23, 1813, said that, if a restitution of territory should be agreed upon, provision should be made for settling the boundary line between the two powers from the St. Lawrence to the Lake of the Woods, on account of the valuable islands in the rivers and lakes claimed by both parties, and suggested that commissioners be appointed on each side, with full powers to adjust this boundary on fair and equitable considerations.

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*Ibid., p. 165.
†Ibid., p. 185.
‡American State Papers, vol. III., p. 700.

The American commissioners at Ghent, writing to Mr. Monroe on August 19th, 1814, presented the wishes of the British, as follows:*

> 2d. The boundary line west of Lake Superior, and thence to the Mississippi, to be revised; and the treaty-right of Great Britain to the navigation of the Mississippi to be continued. When asked, whether they did not mean the line from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi? the British commissioners repeated, that they meant the line from Lake Superior to that river.

Five days later the American commissioners wrote† to the British that they perceived that Great Britain proposed, "without purpose specifically alleged, to draw the boundary line westward, not from the Lake of the Woods, as it now is, but from Lake Superior;" and they objected to that intention as demanding a cession of territory.

To this the British made a spirited reply, as follows:‡ "As the necessity for fixing some boundary for the northwestern frontier has been mutually acknowledged, a proposal for a discussion on that subject cannot be considered as a demand for a cession of territory, unless the United States are prepared to assert that there is no limit to their territories in that direction, and, that availing themselves of the geographical error upon which that part of the treaty of 1783 was formed, they will acknowledge no boundary whatever; then, unquestionably, any proposition to fix one, be it what it may, must be considered as demanding a large cession of territory from the United States," etc. Were the American commissioners prepared to assert such unlimited right? Or were the plenipotentiaries willing to acknowledge the boundary from the Lake of the Woods agreed to, but not ratified, in 1803? The British commissioners would be contented to accept favorably such a proposition, or to discuss any other line of boundary which might be submitted for consideration.

After some further sparring on paper, the American commissioners submitted the draft of several articles for the treaty.§ The sixth article provided that the part of the boundary from Lake Huron to the Lake of the Woods should be fixed and determined by commissioners. The eighth article was the same as the fifth of the unfinished treaty of 1807, in

*Ibid., p. 709.
†Ibid., p. 712.
‡Ibid., p. 714.
§Ibid., pp. 735-740.

the form agreed to by the British at that time. But the British plenipotentiaries of this negotiation substituted for it the original British article of 1807, and added a clause which gave to British subjects free access to the Mississippi river and the enjoyment of its free navigation. After considerable discussion the negotiators concluded that they could not agree as to the eighth article, and so decided to leave it out altogether.

That part of this treaty in which we are especially interested is contained in its seventh article, as follows:*

> It is further agreed that the said two last-mentioned Commissioners, after they shall have executed the duties assigned to them in the preceding article, shall be, and they are hereby, authorized upon their oaths impartially to fix and determine, according to the true intent of the said treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, that part of the boundary between the dominions of the two Powers which extends from the water communication between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, to the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, to decide to which of the two parties the several islands lying in the lakes, water communications and rivers, forming the said boundary, do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three; and to cause such parts of said boundary as require it to be surveyed and marked. The said Commissioners shall, by a report or declaration under their hands and seals, designate the boundary aforesaid, state their decision on the points thus referred to them, and particularize the latitude and longitude of the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, and of such other parts of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And in the event of the said two Commissioners differing, or both or either of them refusing, declining or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or State shall be made in all respects as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

This article is given thus at length because the commissioners did disagree and made separate reports. The fourth article, mentioned in the quotation, provided, in very explicit terms, for arbitration under these conditions by some friendly foreign power, whose decision, based on the evidence submitted by the disagreeing commissioners, should be accepted as final and conclusive.

*Treaties and Conventions, Senate Ex. Doc., Second Session, 48th Congress, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 403.

VII.

CONVENTION OF 1818.

Within a year from the date of this treaty, overtures were made toward a further convention especially to treat of subjects of commerce and navigation. On May 22, 1818, the Secretary of State, Mr. John Quincy Adams, wrote to the American commissioners, giving them various instructions. Among other things he informed them that the British Government wanted to refer some of the subjects to commissioners, like those authorized by the Treaty of Ghent. One of these subjects was noted as follows:*

> . . . the boundary line from the northwest corner of the Lake of the Woods westward, which you remember was all but agreed upon, and went off upon a collateral incident at Ghent. . . .
> . . . As to the line from the Lake of the Woods, as some dissatisfaction has already been excited here by the expense occasioned by the two commissions already employed in settling the boundary, another commission, to draw a line through the depth of the deserts, and to an indefinite extent, would be still more liable to censure; besides, the apprehension which it might raise, that the issue of the commission would be to bring the British territory again in contact with the Mississippi.

On the 28th of July a more elaborate set of instructions was sent by the Secretary to the plenipotentiaries. The third heading was:† "3. Boundary, from the Lake of the Woods, westward." Under this title, a full history of all the previous diplomatic negotiations was given; then, continuing, Adams wrote:

> From the earnestness with which the British Government now return to the object of fixing this boundary, there is reason to believe that they have some other purpose connected with it, which they do not avow, but which in their estimation, gives it an importance not belonging to it, considered in itself. An attempt was at first made by them, at the negotiation of Ghent, to draw the boundary line from Lake Superior to the Mississippi.

It is not surprising that Mr. Adams suspected the motives of the British in seeking to settle this boundary, since he thought it was to go "through the depth of the deserts." The British seem to have been better informed.

*American State Papers, Vol. IV, p. 372.
†Ibid., p. 376.

The commissioners, in their letter accompanying the completed treaty, said* that the British had made an attempt to insert an article allowing them free access to, and navigation of, the Mississippi river; but that they would not consent to the article and the British abandoned it.

The article in this convention referring to the northwestern boundary is as follows:†

> Art. 2. It is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection, due west, along and with the said parallel, shall be the line of demarcation between the territories of the United States and those of His Britannic Majesty, and that the said line shall form the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territories of His Britannic Majesty, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony mountains.

It may as well be remarked here that the forty-ninth parallel, thus chosen, was supposed to have been laid down by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 as a boundary of Canada. This is erroneous. At that time this line was claimed by the Hudson Bay Company as its southern boundary; and certain matters concerning the boundaries in the New World were left to commissioners who met at Paris in 1719, and who were supposed to have agreed to boundaries. That is the only basis for the idea, which is made all the more vague and unfounded by the fact that the commissioners never agreed and never reported.

After this convention of 1818 we have for the first time the northern boundary of Minnesota completely defined; but it was only on paper, and partly in a very unsatisfactory way.

VIII.

WORK OF THE COMMISSION UNDER THE TREATY OF GHENT.

The commissioners appointed under the sixth and seventh articles of the Treaty of Ghent were Peter B. Porter for the United States and Anthony Barclay for the British govern-

*Ibid., p. 380.
†Ibid., p. 406.

ment. The sixth article referred to the boundary from the intersection of the St. Lawrence with the forty-fifth parallel to the head of Lake Huron. They made their decision and report on this part of the line on June 18th, 1822, and the expense of this part of their work was, in round numbers, one hundred thousand dollars ($100,000).* This it was which caused dissatisfaction and prompted Mr. Adams' caution to the plenipotentiaries of 1818 to appoint no more commissions.

The work being so far done, the commissioners proceeded to the execution of their duties under the seventh article. The treaty of 1783 said the line was to pass through Lake Superior northward of Isles Royale and Phelipeaux, and through Long lake to the most northwest point of the Lake of the Woods. The instructions of the commissioners were to determine and mark this line; but the difficulty lay in determining the actual location of Isle Phelipeaux and of Long lake. The American commissioner proposed† that the latter be determined at once, and suggested that it was the Pigeon river. The British commissioner objected on the ground that it could better be decided later, and proposed a survey of the route from the Pigeon river to the Lake of the Woods. The agents of the commissioners, with their surveyor and astronomers, were accordingly directed to proceed up the Pigeon river by joint order of the commissioners. The approach of winter interrupted their work and forced them to return. Thereupon Col. Delafield, the American agent, offered evidence to show that the Pigeon river was the "Long lake" mentioned in the treaty; and the American commissioner, Gen. Porter, again urged that it be thus decided. But the British commissioner refused a second time to settle the matter, and the next spring the surveyors, astronomers (of whom David Thompson was one), agents, and the secretary of the commission, Dr. John J. Bigsby, were sent out again with instructions to certainly finish the survey that season. This forced them to do their work rather hurriedly; but, nevertheless, no maps have yet been published which are so accurate as those then prepared. Such instructions were given, undoubtedly, because the House of Representatives had censured the great cost of the work so far, and urged an early completion. The

*American State Papers, Vol. V., pp. 50, 242.
†House Ex. Doc., 25th Cong., Second Session, Doc. No. 451.

British commissioner now announced that he was of the opinion that the bay and river St. Louis formed the true Long lake and proposed a survey of that route. Gen. Porter was surprised by this move, and promptly refused his sanction for the order for a survey of the St. Louis river. The British commissioner nevertheless gave the order in his own name alone. Gen. Porter thereupon affirmed that he had only offered the Pigeon river route as a compromise and that the proper route was by the Kaministiquia river, and in his turn ordered a survey of that water course.

The commissioners had previously disagreed over the possession of St. George's island in the Sault* rapids between lakes Huron and Superior. They now proceeded to run those portions of the line upon which they agreed, namely, from the head of Sault rapids through lake Superior to a point a short distance north and east of Isle Royale; and, later, when the surveyors had returned and reported, that part of the line extending from the Chaudière falls through Rainy lake and the Rainy river and thence through the Lake of the Woods to the most northwest point of the same. The American commissioner now brought forward his evidence in favor of locating Long lake on the Kaministiquia river as a lake sometimes called Dog lake. And he presented a pretty strong case, too. He brought forward a series of ten distinct maps, several of them being official, and all of them showing Long lake on the Kaministiquia river. These maps were all published from three months to a few years after the conclusion of the treaty of 1783, and some of them expressly stated that they gave the boundaries as decided upon in the recent treaty. He argued from the phrase "northward of the Isles Royal and Phelipeaux" that it would be unreasonable to go so far out of the way, if the line were then to turn abruptly southward, merely to give a few small and unimportant islands to the United States.

The British commissioner also presented a good case. He showed that the bay and estuary of the St. Louis river were the only waters anywhere near the western shore of Lake Superior which could properly from their shape be called "Long lake," and he brought forward two maps upon which

*Now commonly pronounced and spelled "Soo."

they were denominated "The Long Lake." Other lakes, he said, might occasionally be called "Long lake," but no other was distinctively known as "The Long Lake." By this route, as on the others, there was only one short divide—and that the Height of Land—between the waters of Lake Superior and those of the Lake of the Woods. Moreover, the portages were fewer, showing a better water communication.

There seemed to be no chance of an agreement until Gen. Porter, "notwithstanding the clear right of the Americans," for the sake of securing a decision offered to adopt the Pigeon river *water* course, provided the British commissioner would concede the American right to St. George's island and agree to the compromise.

The British commissioner made a counter proposal, as follows: He would compromise on the Pigeon river *portage* route, beginning at Grand Portage, and following the course taken by the traders across numerous portages, all of them going southerly, provided the American commissioner would yield St. George's island to the British.

Gen. Porter would not yield so much, and the British commissioner finally offered to begin the line at the Pigeon river, if the free and unrestricted use of the Grand Portage could be secured to subjects of both Powers on equal footing. Gen. Porter replied that, though the differences now were not material enough to defeat an agreement, yet he could not grant the use of the Grand Portage as proposed, since it was beyond his powers.

As neither commissioner would compromise any further, both made their reports, setting forth each one his own case. The actual facts as to the reports of these commissioners seem to be very generally unknown. In the notes* of the "Treaties and Conventions of the United States," it is stated that the line from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods was marked by the commissioners, but that "the line as marked was changed in part by the provisions of the second article of the Treaty of 1842." Now we know that this line was not marked, and was not even agreed upon, and therefore could not have been "changed in part."

*Treaties and Conventions, p. 1329.

But this idea that the commissioners did mark the line is very common!* And so people have wondered why the American commissioner allowed himself so often to be led off south from the true water course to the portage route. Some have even gone so far as to say that the British got the American commissioner drunk "at the portage south of Hunter's Island and carried him across."† This is, of course, sheer nonsense, as the commissioners never went over the routes, but sent their agents; and, moreover, the lines by the water course and the portage route were perfectly well known to both commissioners and were made the subject of controversy between them. It may be noted as an instance of the growth of legends, and, incidentally, of their unreliability.

IX.

WEBSTER-ASHBURTON TREATY OF 1842.

The Treaty of Ghent required that the reports of these commissioners be referred to some friendly sovereign or state as a final umpire, but this was never done.‡ On the contrary, the matter was allowed to hang fire for nearly twenty years, until Sir Robert Peel, the English prime minister, sent Lord Ashburton to this country to enter into negotiations, particularly on the boundaries, with Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State. The resulting treaty was avowedly a "give and take" transaction. It was not attempted to settle each question on its own merits, but one party yielded one point in return for a supposedly equivalent gain somewhere else. And thus it happened that, when the commissioners met, Lord Ashburton offered to yield St. George's island to the United States, provided Webster would agree that the boundary should follow the portage route westward from Lake Superior instead of the water courses. The formal propositions made seem to show that the Englishman was rather the more wily of the two; and, in this instance, at least, Mr. Webster agreed to His Lordship's first proposal practically without alteration.

Lord Ashburton, under date of July 16, 1842, wrote§ a short résumé of the work of the commissioners under the Treaty of

*Minn. Hist. Soc. Collections. Vol. VIII., p. 2.
†Hon. W. W. Pendergast, Minnesota State Superintendent of Public Instruction, told me this on the authority of Gen. Lewis E. Baker, State Tree and Forest Commissioner.
‡House Journal, 1823-4, p. 11.
§House Ex. Doc., 27th Congress, Second Session, Doc. No. 2.

Ghent, according to which there were, at that time, two points of difference, viz.: 1. As to the ownership of St. George's island. 2. As to the boundary from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods. Ashburton remarked: "The first point I am ready to give up to you, and you are no doubt aware that it is the only object of any real value in this controversy;" but two conditions were afterward tacked on, namely, common navigation of two channels at the time wholly belonging to the United States, one at the head of Lake St. Clair and the other in the St. Lawrence. He continued: "In considering the second point, it really appears of little importance to either party how the line be determined through the wild country between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods; but it is important that some line should be fixed and known." In further negotiations, Ashburton reiterated several times that this question was of very little importance—that the land in question was of no practical value—and Mr. Webster seems to have believed him; indeed, it is possible, though it seems to me improbable,* that he was sincere in belittling the value of the country.

After thus preparing the way for a favorable reception, Lord Ashburton said: "I would propose that the line be taken from a point about six miles south of Pigeon river, where the Grand Portage commences on the lake, and continued along the line of said portage, alternately by land and water, to Lac la Pluie,—the existing route by land and water remaining common to both parties. This line has the advantage of being known, and attended with no doubt or difficulty in running it."

Mr. Webster, in his reply of July 27th, offered to agree to the proposition of Lord Ashburton with the exception that the line is to begin at the mouth of Pigeon river. He defined the proposition quite fully, and his wording is exactly that which was finally adopted. In commenting on this proposition, the great orator said: "There is reason to think that Long lake mentioned in the treaty of 1783 meant merely the estuary of Pigeon river. . . . There is no continuous water communication between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods. . . . The broken and difficult nature of the

*That this country was known to many to be valuable appears in the President's message transmitting this treaty.

water communication . . . renders numerous portages necessary; and it is right that these water communications and these portages should make a common highway, where necessary, for the use of the subjects and citizens of both Governments."

Nothing further was done in the matter till the treaty was signed, as Lord Ashburton readily agreed to what was virtually his own proposition.

The portion of this treaty which concerns the subject before us is as follows:*

ARTICLE II. . . . thence, adopting the line traced on the maps by the Commissioners, thro' the river St. Mary and Lake Superior, to a point north of Ile Royale, in said lake, one hundred yards to the north and east of Ile Chapeau, which last-mentioned island lies near the northeastern point of Ile Royale, where the line marked by the Commissioners terminates; and from the last-mentioned point, southwesterly, through the middle of the sound between the Ile Royale and the northwestern main land, to the mouth of Pigeon River, and up the said river, to and through the north and south Fowl Lakes, to the lakes of the height of land between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods; thence, along the water communication to Lake Saisaginaga, and through that lake; thence, to and through Cypress Lake, Lac du Bois Blanc, Lac la Croix, Little Vermilion Lake, and Lake Namecan and through the several smaller lakes, straits, or streams, connecting the lakes here mentioned, to that point in Lac la Pluie, or Rainy Lake, at the Chaudière Falls, from which the Commissioners traced the line to the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods; thence, along the said line, to the said most northwestern point, being in latitude 49° 23′ 55″ north, and in longitude 95° 14′ 38″ west from the observatory at Greenwich; thence, according to existing treaties, due south to its intersection with the 49th parallel of north latitude, and along that parallel to the Rocky Mountains. It being understood that all the water communications and all the usual portages along the line from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, and also Grand Portage, from the shore of Lake Superior to the Pigeon River, as now actually used, shall be free and open to the use of the citizens and subjects of both countries.

This again is a mere boundary on paper. How long it would have remained so it is hard to say; but, in 1870, it was incidentally discovered† by a corps of surveying engineers that, at Pembina, the supposed line was really more than 4,600 feet south of the true line, which is, of course, in latitude

*Treaties and Conventions, Sen. Ex. Doc., Second Session, 48th Congress, Vol, I., Part 2, p. 434.

†Congressional Globe, 1870-71, p. 582.

49° north. This brought the fact prominently before the government that the line had never been surveyed or marked, and, after President Grant had twice urged it in his annual messages, Congress authorized the appointment of a commission to survey and mark the line westward from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, in coöperation with a similar British commission. The surveyors set monuments along this line, and prepared maps and accurate descriptions. The monuments are mostly iron pillars, a mile apart, from the Lake of the Woods to the west boundary of Manitoba; and farther west the line is marked by stones and earth mounds. On May 29th, 1876, the maps and protocol were signed at Washington by representatives of both governments.

X.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE BOUNDARY.

Since that date the northern boundary has been considered a closed question of diplomacy; but the newspaper clipping which is quoted at the beginning of this article, as well as the present actual condition of the boundary east of Rainy lake go far to warrant the opinion that serious complications will soon arise, and that skilled diplomacy will then be called upon to mark the boundary line by actual measurements on the ground, so that it will be known to which party the innumerable islands in the boundary waters belong. Think of a boundary line between two great nations which is no more definitely marked or described than would be done by saying it should pass through Lake Minnetonka! And yet our northern boundary from Lake Superior to Rainy lake is scarcely so well defined as that, and is not marked at all!

It is hard to understand why Mr. Webster, in the treaty of 1842, did not insist upon the line through the water courses which was clearly intended by the treaty of 1783.* Although there ought to be only one divide on the whole route, there are actually six. The most eastern is at the headwaters of the Pigeon river, where the route crosses to a lake emptying through the Arrow river, which latter stream, tributary to

*Minn. Hist. Soc. Collections, Vol. VIII., Part I: International Boundary, U. S. Grant, p. 4.

the lower part of the Pigeon river, affords the natural water communication and therefore ought to have been the boundary. The next is the Height of Land, the only divide which ought properly to be on the boundary. The third is at the east end of "Hunter's Island," between Saganaga lake and Cypress lake, and is about a quarter of a mile long. This little neck of land is all that prevents the so-called "Hunter's Island" from being a true island, since the waters of Saganaga lake flow continuously along the north side of the "island" and pass through Lac la Croix, into Namecan and Rainy lakes. The fourth and fifth divides are just south of the west end of Hunter's Island (or peninsula), and this is the only place where the boundary can be corrected to follow the water course and also coincide with all existing treaties.* There is no reason why this should not be done, but, as only about ten square miles would accrue to the United States, there is no probability of a change. The sixth and last divide is southward from the east end of Lac la Croix. It is possible that a little water at the highest stage of the lakes and streams in the spring flows over this divide, but the plain and natural water course is certainly the Namecan river which flows northward from Lac la Croix into Namecan lake.

The whole amount of land thus lost to the United States is slightly over one thousand square miles.† At the time of the Webster-Ashburton treaty, fifty years ago, one thousand square miles in this region was of very little value. But conditions have changed. The eastern end of the Vermilion iron range crosses Hunter's Island, and the timber of this region is fast becoming quite valuable.

At one other place, also, the boundary is probably not located in its proper place, and that is in the Lake of the Woods. The commissioners were in doubt as to what was the real "northwest point"—whether at Rat Portage or the place finally selected. But there is another point which is more properly the "northwest point," than either of these two. It is in a northwestern bay or arm of the Lake of the Woods which is called Lac Plat. The surveyors camped one day near the opening into this bay, but erroneously thought it to be a

*That is, assuming that the commonly accepted, but very doubtful, location of Cypress lake is correct.

†Minn. Hist. Soc. Collections, Vol. VIII., p. 5.

river. This error cost the United States about two hundred square miles of land and nearly as much water surface in the Lake of the Woods. This, however, is of no great value, as the land is reported to be, in general, very swampy.

With the mention of a little complication of boundary lines* this paper will close. The line passing through the Lake of the Woods goes into and along the bay of the Northwest Angle. Near the head of this long bay the line intersects the line surveyed "from the most northwest point due south," and then, abruptly turning north, it crosses the north and south line several times within a quarter of a mile, and finally bends off to the west for nearly half a mile, at the end of which distance it returns to the north and south line just at the northwest point where it ends. To whom do those little patches of swamp between the lines belong?

NOTE. — Subsequent to the completion of this paper and after its acceptance for the present publication, the author had an interview near Koochiching, on the Rainy river, with a party of Canadian surveyors of this boundary, as noted in the following letter:

Koochiching, Minn., July 27, 1896.

. . . The Canadian government has not waited for a joint survey to inform itself concerning the actual condition of the boundary; but it has quietly sent out a party of surveyors at its own expense to trace the line from Pigeon point to the Lake of the Woods. The work was ordered by the Commissioner on International Boundaries, and is in charge of A. J. Brabazon, for the past three years engaged on the Alaskan boundary survey, who is now on the way to Ottawa to report. He is satisfied that the Treaty of Washington is in agreement with the physical features.

ALEXANDER N. WINCHELL.

*See maps in the Surveyor General's Office, St. Paul, Minn.

THE QUESTION OF THE SOURCES OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

BY PROF. E. LEVASSEUR,
MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.

Translation by Col. William P. Clough of the Minnesota Historical Society, from a publication by the Institute of France in its *Bulletin of Historic and Descriptive Geography*, issued by the Committee of Historic and Scientific Researches, sitting in the Ministry of Public Instruction, 1894.

The sources of the Mississippi have been the subject of animated debate for a dozen years. A mission, with which Mr. J. V. Brower was charged in 1889, by the Minnesota Historical Society, and a volume published in 1893 in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, by the Society, containing the memoir of Mr. Brower, have closed the discussion. It is from that interesting volume, entitled *The Mississippi River and its Source: A Narrative and Critical History of the Discovery of the River and its Headwaters, accompanied by the Results of Detailed Hydrographic and Topographic Surveys*, by Hon. J. V. Brower, that we draw the materials for the following sketch.

I.

The region of the sources of the Mississippi is formed by a deposit of glacial drift 100 feet and more in thickness, having numerous depressions, which probably existed in the primitive rock, and which today are so many lakes. One of the frontal moraines, the Itasca, traverses this region. The multiplicity of lakes, great and small, and of the streams that unite them,

the density of the forest that surrounds them, and the leanness of a soil that has failed to attract settlers, have been so many obstacles to the precise determination of the river's sources.

II.

The French were the first Europeans who penetrated this region. They came by way of the Great Lakes. Champlain had not been farther than lake Huron. Nicollet, interpreter of the French Company, advanced, in 1635, westward from the bay of the Puans (Green bay) as far as to the country of the Dakotas. He travelled some three days, as he says, along the course of a great river, by which one could reach Japan. But Nicollet left neither map nor description.

In 1641, the fathers Raymbault and Jogues sailed nine days upon lake Superior, and went among the savage tribes who dwelt on the south side of the lake.

Two traders, Groseilliers and Radisson, made two voyages into that region; the first, presumably, in 1658; they penetrated to the westward of the lakes, a treeless country, where the Indians raised a little corn. It was evidently the prairie. They must, therefore, have crossed the upper Mississippi river; but they merely mentioned, later on, the "Grand river." About that time (Relation of 1667) a Jesuit missionary, the father Allouez, located at the Mission of the Holy Spirit, upon lake Superior, heard mention of a great river named Messipi. It was the first time the name had been pronounced in Europe.

The intendant, Talon, in 1672, sent the Sieur Joliet to explore the Mississippi* (it had then become known by that name), which was supposed to empty into the Gulf of California. Father Marquette accompanied him. They arrived via the Bay of the Puans, at the Wisconsin river, where their guides, frightened by the length of the voyage, deserted them; and they descended to the confluence with the Mississippi (June 15, 1673), "a river," says Marquette, "that takes its source in several northern lakes." Having descended the Mississippi itself, as far as the vicinity of the confluence with the Arkansas, they gained the conviction that the stream, to

*"M. Talon has judged it expedient for the service to despatch the Sieur Joliet to the land of the Maskoutens and the great river called the Mississippi, which is believed to empty into the Gulf of California."—Letter of Frontenac to Colbert, cited by Margry.

which they gave the name Colbert, emptied into the Gulf of Mexico.

La Salle, who, about the same time, had explored the region to the southward from lake Erie (1669-1672) and probably had descended a portion of the Ohio, without reaching the Mississippi, returned to Canada, after a visit to France. He was entrusted by Seignelay with the exploration of the western part of New France. In 1679, he appears to have arrived, in a canoe, by way of lake Michigan, at the mouth of the river of the Miamis (Saint Joseph), and, from there, to have reached the river Teakiki (Kankakee). On January 5, 1680, he was at lake Peoria, on the Illinois river, where he constructed a fort (Fort Creve-Cœur), and a large boat for descending the Mississippi. The Indians tried in vain to terrify him, so as to deter him from his project.

A Recollet, Father Hennepin, accompanied by two men, separated from La Salle's expedition, passed down the Illinois, and afterward ascended the Mississippi (March, 1680). Captured by the Sioux, near the Des Moines river, the voyageurs were carried off, by way of the Mississippi, and afterward by land, as far as to Mille Lacs. Released, they (Father Hennepin and one of his companions) saw grand cascades that they named the Falls of Saint Anthony. Some time afterward, they met the Sieur Du Luth, sent to find them, and, together with him, returned to Canada by way of the lakes.*

La Salle, who by dint of his energy, had maintained his position in his fort, and had even revisited Canada, found himself in readiness to set out, in 1682, with Tonti, a Recollet father, twenty-four French, eighteen Indian men, and seven Indian women. He descended the Illinois (December, 1682); afterward the Mississippi as far as the sea; and took possession,† in the name of the French king, of the country which he named *Louisiane*, and which comprised the whole region drained by the tributary waters of the river, "from its sources, in the country of the Sioux, or Nadoussioux," down to its mouth, confident that they were the first Europeans who had descended or ascended the "Colbert."

*[Here appears, in the original pamphlet, Fig. 1, being part of the map of "The New Discoveries to the West of New France," based upon memoirs of Delisle, 1750.]

†An official account states that there was planted a cross, and underneath it a leaden plate, whereon were inscribed these words: "In the name of Louis XIV., King of France and Navarre, April 9, 1682."

The river had been discovered; but, in spite of some voyages made subsequent to that of Marquette into the Sioux country, its source was not precisely known at the date of the loss of Canada by France. Only this was known; that it originated in the little lakes west of lake Superior. Mr. Brower gives, in his account, a fragment of a map of the "New Discoveries to the West of New France," based upon the memoirs of Delisle (1750). The Mississippi is there laid down as heading in a small lake lying to the south of another lake, which, discharging into lake Superior, is perhaps the Lake of the Woods.

III.

The English having become masters of Canada, one of their explorers, Carver, ascended the Mississippi (1766-1769); going no higher up, however, than a little beyond the river Saint Croix.

An American, William Morrison, who frequented that region, saw, in 1804, as he says in a letter written long afterward, at lake La Biche, "the source of the great river Mississippi." He thus was the first European who had seen that source, or at least the first whose presence in the locality is attested by written evidence. But whence came the French names cited by Morrison himself? Lac de La Biche, which has become, in English, Elk lake; lac Travers, lac La Folie? It must be believed, that French hunters or traders, or possibly mixed-bloods speaking French, had preceded him; and that, if they had not visited the very source, they had, from the natives, learned of it with sufficient precision to give originally, or by translation of Indian words, the French names to these lakes.

After the cession of Louisiana, the United States Government commissioned Lieutenant Pike to examine the sources of the Mississippi; but he went no farther than a lake called Red Cedar, which is none other than the Cass lake of the present day. He wrote (1806): "This may be called the upper source of the Mississippi river." It was far from it. Fourteen years later (1820), General Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan, directed to the same end an expedition that set out from the head of lake Superior and proceeded as far as the lake later

named Cass; but, having learned from the Indians that the source of the river was farther west, in the lake La Biche, and that the streams were not navigable, it went no farther.

In 1824, an Italian adventurer, Beltrami, published, in New Orleans, a work entitled *The Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi.* In reality, he had reached Red lake in a canoe, and, from there, a region studded with lakes. From the height of land, he stated that he saw the waters flowing toward the four points of the horizon. Upon the most elevated plateau was a lake which he named Julia and proclaimed it as the true source of the Mississippi. It was probably Turtle lake, which lies at the northerly rim of the Mississippi basin.

IV.

As yet, there had been no scientific exploration of the region of the sources. The first is due to Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, who had accompanied General Cass in his expedition of 1820. Schoolcraft, appointed in 1830 Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Michigan, was charged by the War Department to make such an exploration. He set out with a missionary, the Rev. Mr. Boutwell, in 1832, and, with Lieut. James Allen, gained Cass lake; and, guided by the Chippewa Indian chief, Ozawindib, ascended in a bark canoe the eastern branch of the Mississippi. Subsequently, by a portage, he reached the easterly arm of the lake visited by him. He regarded this lake as the river's source, and called it *Itasca.** Thence he returned to Cass lake.

Upon the very hastily drawn map that accompanies the account of Schoolcraft's expedition, the river springs in two branches which unite in lake Travers.† The eastern branch is that which he ascended. The western branch heads in lake Itasca by a brook, "which is," writes Lieutenant Allen, "20 feet broad, and 2 feet deep."

*The origin of this name is fantastic. Schoolcraft had asked Boutwell to tell him how the true source of a stream would be designated in Latin or in Greek. Boutwell, remembering his Latin imperfectly, only recalled the words *veritas* and *caput.* "All right," answered Schoolcraft, "I will use the end of the first word and the beginning of the second. Itas-ca shall be the name of the source of the Mississippi." (The Mississippi River, p. 145.)

†[Here appears in the original pamphlet, Fig. 2, a sketch of the sources of the Mississippi, intended to illustrate the visit of Schoolcraft to Lake Itasca in 1832.]

In 1836, a Frenchman who had been professor of mathematics at the Academy Louis-le-Grand, and whom circumstances had thrown to America, J. N. Nicollet, was employed to prepare a topographical map of the sources of the Mississippi. He started from Fort Snelling, and bivouacked at Saint Anthony Falls, where the Indians robbed him of his canoe and outfit. Re-supplied by the Indian Agent at the Saint Anthony post, and attended by a Frenchman, Désiré Frouchet, and by several mixed-bloods and Indians, he reached Leech lake, added to his party another Frenchman, Brunel, and a Chippewa guide, and, equipped with geodetic instruments, penetrated to lake Itasca, whose affluents he examined with care. "The waters," he says, "which run down the northward slope of the Height of Land [that part of the Height of Land now known as the *Itasca moraine*] lying to the south of lake Itasca, give rise to five brooks. These waters I regard as the original sources of the Mississippi." He has had the merit of determining the true basin of these sources. That is why Mr. Brower has given his name to several localities in that region. His map confirms the assertions of Schoolcraft; but it is much more detailed and precise. [Reference is here made to Fig. 3 of the original pamphlet, reproducing a part of Nicollet's map.] The westerly fork, which he names the *Mississippi*, springs from a small lake that he has distinguished by the name *Sources of the Mississippi*,* and it runs through two small lakes, in a marshy valley, before falling into lake Itasca, whence it flows to join the eastern branch, near its entrance into lake Travers.

In 1872, a journalist of the *New York Herald*, Chambers, proceeded to lake Itasca, and afterward descended the river, in a canoe, to its mouth. In exploring the lake, he found, at the southern end of the western arm, a narrow creek by which he reached a small lake, to which he gave the name of his canoe, *Dolly Varden*. "Here, then, is the source of the longest river in the world, in a small lake," he exclaimed. This small lake, which was perhaps not yet separate from lake Itasca at the period of Schoolcraft's exploration, but which has now become so, has definitely received the name of *Elk lake*, from

*The west fork, at its head, had a breadth of from 15 to 20 feet, and a depth of 2 to 3 feet, in August, 1836, when Nicollet saw it. Nicollet computed its altitude at 1,680 feet. Mr. Brower gives today, 1,578 feet. Nicollet gave 1,575 feet as the altitude of Lake Itasca.

Brower.* Gen. James H. Baker, Surveyor General of the Minnesota district (1875-1879) caused to be surveyed, by Mr. Edwin S. Hall, in 1875, the region in which the sources are found. The survey, followed by division into townships and sections, was completed in 1876; and upon the plat of township 143, range 36, are marked *lake Itasca*, and, to the south of it, *Elk lake*. Schoolcraft, having given the name Itasca to the lake previously known under the name *La Biche*, Gen. Baker, conforming to the Government rules, restored that name, by applying it to the small lake that Chambers had before differently christened. Moreover, the plat shows, without name, the brook that Nicollet had explored.

The country is broken, thickly timbered, unsettled. It can be traveled only in Indian style, by canoe and portage. Few tourists venture there. A few claim the honor to have visited it since 1836. The expedition of Mr. Siegfried, reporter of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, in 1879, as well as that of Mr. Garrison for geological observations in 1880, contributed no more to topography than did that of Rev. Mr. Gilfillan in 1881. The first civilized settler who inhabited that region was Mr. Peter Turnbull. He located, in 1883, near the east bank of Itasca lake, and stayed there two years with his family. A few other settlers followed his example, and the beginning of a route into the forest was opened. But the land was ungrateful. Mr. Turnbull quit it at the end of two years. The rest followed his example, and the country relapsed into a wilderness.

V.

Such was the state of information, when an American by the name of Glazier, assuming the title of "Captain," announced in the *American Meteorological Journal*, of Detroit (1884), and in a letter to the Geographical Society of London, published in the number for January, 1885, under the heading, *Discovery of the true source of the Mississippi, by Captain Willard Glazier* (*U. S.*), and accompanied by a map, that he had found the sources of the Mississippi. He had been guided by an Indian, who had drawn for him a rough sketch of the lakes,

*[Here appears, in the original pamphlet, Fig. 3, a reduction of the topographical map of the sources of the Mississippi, and of the Red River of the North, prepared from astronomic observations made, and levels taken, in 1836-37, by J. N. Nicollet.]

and had arrived at Lake Itasca in a canoe, through the string of small lakes that extend westward from Leech lake, and by the east branch of the Mississippi. In passing up the west arm of Lake Itasca, he had penetrated, July 22, 1881, into another lake, which he declared to be of large area, and which he put upon his map sent to the Geographical Society, with the name Lake Glazier.

"We were rewarded," he says in his letter, "by the discovery of another lake of considerable size, which proves to be, without the shadow of a doubt, the true source of the Mississippi, in lat. 47° 13′ 25″."

Now, this lake was none other than *Elk lake*, which, for a long time, had been known and carried upon the maps.* Mr. Glazier pushed his investigations no further, but descended the entire course of the Mississippi in his canoe. Later, he published, besides his letters, an account of the trip, "Down the Great River," in which he borrowed extensively from Schoolcraft's work, without crediting him.

Glazier's unjustifiable pretentions stirred up people in Minnesota. Upon report of Gen. Baker, the Minnesota Historical Society vigorously protested; accused Mr. Glazier of falsification; and demanded that official names, especially that of *Elk lake*, should not be changed. At the Congress of Geographic Science, held in Berne, in 1891, Mr. Hurlbut, Librarian of the American Geographic Society, procured the formation of a committee to examine the question; and, in its report, the committee has clearly established the facts, and exposed Mr. Glazier's fraud.

The press agitated the question; and even publishers of text books, not wishing to put in their manuals that Lake Glazier was the true source, sent out Mr. Hopewell Clarke, whose report (December, 1886) and map were unfavorable to Mr. Glazier.†

The Minnesota Legislature, to which the Historical Society had appealed, likewise intervened. By an act of April 24, 1889, it forbade giving upon school maps, to Elk Lake, any other name; and by another act (1891), it constituted the re-

*Among other maps, the *Military Map* published in 1855-6, under direction of Lieut. G. K. Warren. *Elk Lake* appears upon the map in Stieler's Atlas.

†Mr. Brower cites Mr. Hopewell Clarke as the fifth explorer having made authentic discoveries of the region of the sources: 1. Schoolcraft; 2. Nicollet; 3. Chambers; 4. Hall; 5. Hopewell Clarke. Mr. Brower himself is the sixth.

gion of the sources a state park, *The Itasca State Park*, with an area of 35 square miles.

The same year the Historical Society enlisted Mr. J. V. Brower, who had begun, in 1888, an extended and elaborate amateur exploration in the region of the sources and a discussion of the subject with Mr. Glazier through the press, to prepare a detailed topographic and hydrographic map of the Itasca basin. The Governor appointed Mr. Brower superintendent of the park.

The study of the district occupied several expeditions: one in October and November, 1888; three in 1889; three in 1891; in all consuming more than five months. The report of Mr. Brower, presented in 1892 and printed in 1893, with photographic views and maps, is the result of that study. It carries these conclusions, among others:

7. *Elk lake* is not the source of the Mississippi.

9. The true source, today, is the *Greater Ultimate Reservoir*, the grand uppermost reservoir, from which springs the greater part of the waters that feed lake Itasca.

It is according to this report, that we describe the region of the sources.

VI.

Time was, when the entire space designated by Mr. Brower under the name Itasca Basin, was a single lake. It is a depression in the earth's crust, eight kilometers broad, and about eleven kilometers long from south to north, limited on the south by an ancient moraine, and bounded along the sides by the *Heights of Land*. The waters have worn a channel toward the north, and the basin, of which the bottom slopes much toward the north, has partly emptied itself, leaving the small lakes in the lowest spots.*

The prime reservoirs of the river are at the southwesterly extremity of this basin, in the western valley, designated *Nicollet's Valley*, which is wooded and marshy.

At an altitude of 1,558 feet, are found, in the first little basin, the lake *Hernando de Soto*, 20 feet deep, situated in 47°

*Attention is here directed to a reproduction, inserted in the original pamphlet, of the map which accompanies Mr. Brower's report, and which bears the title: *Detailed hydrographic and topographic chart of the Itasca State Park at the Source of the Mississippi River, State of Minnesota, U. S. A., prepared under authority of an Act of the Legislature, approved April 20th 1891; by J. V. Brower, Commissioner*, 1892.

8′ 50″ north latitude, and 95° 12′ 48″ longitude west from Greenwich (geographical position of *Brower's Island* in this lake), and, immediately to the north, the small *Lake Morrison*, 40 feet deep. Both lakes have very winding banks. The heights of land envelop them, and at the south side rise above them by about 200 feet. The summit of the height of land rises to an elevation of 1,750 feet. The surface is wooded with pines, and the brush is almost impenetrable. Some other very small lakes keep them company, *Mikenna Lake*, *Little Elk lake*, etc. The *Triplet lakes*, so called because they number three, lie to the north of Morrison Lake, at one to two feet lower level, in one of the two narrow ravines that lead from the first basin into the second.

The second little basin is that of the small *Lake Whipple* and of *Floating Moss lake*, the altitudes of which are 1,551 and 1,548 feet, respectively, and which communicate by a brook broken by a fall.

These two basins are together three miles in length, from south to north. They are isolated; but their waters filter through their sandy beds, unmistakably feeding the Mississippi.

In a ravine, situated toward the northwest, and hardly 250 meters from Floating Moss lake, there springs from a bog, at an altitude of 1,535 feet, a brook, which, about one kilometer farther on, swiftly discharges into a very small lake, very nearly circular in shape, *Upper Nicollet lake*, the highest one of a series on Nicollet's map, lying at an altitude of 1,496 feet. This again is a small isolated basin.

From the foot of the parapet of earth retaining this lake on its westerly side, and which borders a deep ravine, rise several springs, named *Nicollet Springs*, starting from which, flows, above ground and uninterruptedly, the water course which is the origin of the great river. The water of these springs, lying at an altitude of 1,476 feet, flows almost immediately into *Nicollet's Middle lake*, 25 feet deep, small and oval. From the westerly bank of this lake runs a brook 9 feet wide, which passes through the small *Nicollet's Lower lake*. Thence, increased by several other springs and brooks (*Demaray creek*, 5,950 feet long, *Howard creek*, 3,739 feet long, etc.), it winds along a flat and wet bottom land, in the midst of a pine forest,

until it reaches the southern extremity of the western arm of Lake Itasca, where it loses itself. Nicollet discovered this stream, the most considerable of those flowing into lake Itasca.

This last lake lies at an altitude of 1,457 feet (443 meters), being 30 meters lower than lake Hernando de Soto. From Nicollet Springs to the lake, the distance is barely more than one mile.

At a half mile to the northeast from the entrance of the Mississippi, the lake receives, through a narrow channel, called *Chambers' creek* (from the name of the American who first explored it, in 1872), the water of Elk lake. The altitude of this lake is 1,458 feet, and its area 294 acres. It is fed by five small brooks, and by some apparently isolated lakes, *Deer Park lake*, *Clarke lake*, *Allen lake*, etc., but whose basin, completely covered by thick woods, does not extend as far southward as that of lakes Hernando de Soto and Morrison. To two other small isolated lakes, south of this small basin, the Americans have given the French names *Groseilliers* and *Radisson*. The whole forms the Central, or *Elk lake* valley.

The eastern arm of lake Itasca likewise receives the waters of a long valley parallel to that in which flow the waters of the Mississippi; it is named *Mary Valley*. At the south, in nearly the same latitude as the Triplet lakes, and at an elevation of 1,515 feet, are *Josephine lake*, and, lower down, *Danger lake*, the upper reservoirs of that branch. They have no apparent outlets, nor have the *Twin lakes*, small lakes lying a little farther north. It is only by a small creek flowing into *Mary lake* (altitude 1,488 feet) that the continuous course of this stream begins, which, from Mary lake, empties into the eastern arm of lake Itasca.

Lake Itasca, whose area is 1,130 acres, is composed of three arms, at whose junction is found the small *Schoolcraft island* (geographical position, lat. 47° 13′ 10″; long. west from Greenwich, 95° 12′). Its greatest length is about six kilometers; and the mean breadth of its arms is about 500 meters. All around it stretch forests of white, red, and jack pines, cedar, oak, maple, and a profusion of willows. The whole region, upon the elevations, as well as in the valleys or ravines, is also covered with woods. It is everywhere rough and savage, marshy in the depressions. The cold is severe. The mean

temperature of the year is no higher than 40° Fahrenheit. In winter, it drops to 40° below zero.

The Mississippi flows out of the end of the northern arm of lake Itasca. It is there a stream fifty feet broad and three or four feet deep, with low and muddy banks.

Starting from this point, its course has long been known with sufficient exactness. The Mississippi flows northward, winding along the foot of the height of land that separates it from the basin of the Red river of the North. Then it turns east, and flows through or forms lakes *Bemidji*, *Cass*, *Winnibigoshish*, each larger than the preceding.

A little before entering lake Bemidji, it receives from the south the *Yellow Head river*, which brings to it the tribute of several small lakes. Into Cass lake empties the *Turtle river*, which comes from the north, also carrying the tribute of several lakes, notably that of *Turtle lake*, which almost touches a small lake tributary to the Red river, and which has sometimes been mistaken for the source of that river, because it lies at the northwest extremity of the basin. Beyond lake Winnibigoshish the Mississippi receives, by the *Leech Lake river*, the waters of that lake, the largest of the region, and begins to bend toward the south. Beginning at *Grand Rapids*, and particularly at the confluence of the *Swan river*, at 1,290 feet above the sea, the general course of the Mississippi river is southward. We need not follow farther the stream, to which Mr. Brower ascribes, from the south bank of lake Hernando de Soto to the Gulf of Mexico, a total length of 2,555 miles.

The number of lakes in the upper basin, up to and including Itasca, shown upon Mr. Brower's map, is about seventy. From the head waters down to Grand Rapids, several hundreds are scattered upon a surface of about 8,500 square kilometers.

VII.

The railway now penetrates only to the entrance to this region.* When it shall cross the region, the traveller will probably have views similar to those which I have enjoyed, in going from Winnipeg to Fort William. When the *Itasca State Park*, which has a length of seven miles and a breadth

*The Duluth & Winnipeg Railroad runs to Lake Winnibigoshish.

of about five miles, shall be a little more improved, with roads cut through the woods, boats upon the lakes, and hotels upon their banks, tourists will go there to breathe the bracing air of the pine forest, to canoe, and to fish. Without presenting such grand views as the Yellowstone Park or the Colorado, the sources of the Mississippi, still wild and solitary, will become a pleasure spot, and will be reckoned among the renowned summer resorts of America.

As to scientific debate, it is terminated. The exploration of Mr. Brower leaves no further room for controversy. Mr. Glazier's adventure will have had the merit of hastening the conclusion, and of giving to geography a definite map of the cradle of one of the great rivers of the world. In this respect, the social sciences may envy the natural sciences. Would it not be a happy condition, if they could, in the same way, close discussions, and clear up public opinion by actual evidence, without leaving obscure corners, where error may survive, and whence it may sally forth to resume the offensive?

THE SOURCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

BY PROF. N. H. WINCHELL.

The true source of a river like the Mississippi is a question of great geographic importance. For fifty years after the naming of Itasca lake, by Schoolcraft, in 1832, the source of this great river was accepted as Itasca lake. In 1881 Willard Glazier, an American who had served in the United States Army in the late war of the Rebellion, visited Itasca lake, and proclaimed in bombastic style that he had discovered another lake still higher up the valley, whose outlet ran into Itasca lake, and which should, therefore, be considered the source of the Mississippi. By reason of the style of the publication, and owing to the various flagrant errors and misrepresentations which were embodied in the volume, this claim was discredited from the first. Glazier was, however, industrious in spreading his new discovery in all parts of the world. Several Geographical Societies and reputable publishers accepted his representations, and "Lake Glazier" was installed in the honorable dignity of source of the great river.

The Minnesota Historical Society instituted a thorough survey of the head waters of the Mississippi, with a view to learn the exact topographic and hydrographic conditions, and also an inquiry into the history of exploration. The object of this was to settle definitely the actual source, as well as the actual discoverer. This work was done by Mr. J. V. Brower, and his exhaustive report, with maps, is published as the seventh volume of the Society's "Collections." The result of this survey was to set aside entirely the claim of Glazier. While recognizing the lake (known as Elk lake formerly)

which Glazier "discovered," and which is really a lake of considerable size and is above lake Itasca, the Society's report shows that another stream, known as Nicollet creek, rises still farther up the valley; that this creek, with its several lakes, was fully described and mapped by J. N. Nicollet, in 1840; and that the lake "discovered" by Glazier had been surveyed and reported to the United States Government in 1875, under the name of Elk lake.

In 1891, Captain Glazier made a second expedition to the region. The result of this expedition is recently published in a handsomely illustrated volume ("Headwaters of the Mississippi," Rand & McNally, Chicago, and New York, 1894), which reviews all previous explorations and publications bearing on the source of the Mississippi. This work repeats and strongly maintains Glazier's former claim, and in a very able and plausible treatment sets forth lake Glazier as the actual source of the Mississippi.

To those who have not kept in touch with this investigation, the showing which Glazier makes may appear convincing and conclusive. He has, however, chosen to present such facts as are favorable, and to omit some which are unfavorable or fatal to his "discovery." The volume contains a profusion of asseveration, republications of opinions of his friends and companions, and quotations from newspapers which have sustained his pretensions. There is but little that is new in the work, and his report, so far as it bore on the leading question, had been already published in various places. It is necessary to compare it with the exhaustive discussion by Mr. Brower in order to reach a legitimate conclusion. It will be seen that he does not deny any of the statements of fact presented by Mr. Brower. He either ignores them, or belittles them. It may be profitable to reduce the dispute to its lowest terms, and to look at the facts when relieved of all fustian and multiplication.

Nicollet described a stream entering Itasca lake from the south. He did not claim that it should be considered the source of the Mississippi, in contravention of Schoolcraft's discovery. He said he only served, as a successor, to define a little more fully the discovery of Schoolcraft. This stream

passes through several small lakes, and in one of these it becomes lost, reappearing again as springs at a lower level. According to Nicollet, this is the "infant Mississippi," the "cradled Hercules," whose power at maturity was sufficient to cause the continent to tremble, or to smile. Both he and Schoolcraft failed to observe another stream whose entrance into Itasca lake is constantly hid by rushes, but which leads to Elk lake. This stream was entered by Glazier. If the actual source of the Mississippi be pursued to higher levels than lake Itasca, the competition for the honor lies between these two streams. The essential facts are now well established by surveys. The Nicollet valley has been accepted as the chief tributary above Itasca lake by Nicollet and Brower, the latter being the surveyor who examined the whole region and reported, with maps and full data of all kinds, to the Minnesota Historical Society. The Elk lake valley, with its chief stream, Excelsior creek, is represented by Glazier as the principal tributary above Itasca lake.

The question may be relieved of all side issues and narrowed down to two propositions:

1. Which is the larger and longer valley?
2. Who discovered these valleys and water courses?

It is a singular fact, as appears from the representations of Glazier, that Elk lake was not seen either by Schoolcraft or by Nicollet, although they were both in pursuit of the source of the Mississippi under the guidance of the Indians, a fact which indicates the estimate put by the Indians on the relative importance of these streams. The actual measurement of these streams has been made at their mouths, by several persons. The Nicollet stream, which is in the continuation of the main valley of Itasca lake to the southwest, according to Glazier has a width of ten feet and a depth of two and a half feet. The Elk lake stream has a width, by the same authority, of seven feet, and a depth of three feet. The channels are, therefore, in point of capacity, as the numbers 25 to 21. If the velocity of the streams be considered the same, the Nicollet creek would carry nearly 20 per cent. more water than the Elk lake stream. But according to the descriptions, the Nicol-

let creek is more rapid than the Elk lake creek, and may be estimated to carry twice as much water as the Elk lake stream.

In point of view of the length of the two valleys, or, more correctly, of the two streams, Nicollet and Brower trace Nicollet creek to a distance of several miles above Itasca lake, but Glazier allows this stream only a length of a mile and three-eighths. The valley which is drained by Excelsior creek, the chief tributary of Elk lake, Mr. Glazier followed to a distance beyond Itasca lake of 14,106 feet. From these data he decides that the length of "running water" is much greater in the Elk lake valley. There are, however, several facts bearing on the length of Nicollet creek which Mr. Glazier does not mention. He traces it up to a great spring. He is willing to suppose that a stream whose depth is two and a half feet, with a width of ten feet, may have its gathering area all embraced within a mile and three-eighths from its debouchure. Had an explorer, intent on finding the source of a stream, found it issuing apparently from the ground with such a volume, his own judgment would have driven him to search further up the valley, as Nicollet, Clarke and Brower did. He would there have found the same stream reappearing, and again disappearing. Sometimes in lakes, or in marshes, lost to sight as running water, like a "bashful maiden," as described by Nicollet, finally plunging under a screen of vegetable debris, bogs, peat, and floating driftwood, much overgrown with small trees, only to come to the light of day again at the "great spring," 7,307 feet from Itasca lake.

The length of this water course, thus included, is considerably more than the farthest traceable limit of Excelsior creek. It may not be in lake Hernando de Soto, as supposed by Brower, that the highest actual water of Nicollet creek can be identified, but it is certainly several thousand feet above the point adopted by Mr. Glazier. In northern Minnesota, where vegetation is rank and the materials in which it grows are loose, like the sandy soils about Itasca lake, it is no uncommon occurrence to find small streams blocked by such obstructions. They spread out, disappear in marshes, plunge under floating bogs or driftwood, and issue at lower levels. The St. Louis river, the principal stream entering at the head

of lake Superior, was permanently invisible for the distance of nearly a mile, near Cloquet, until within a few years. It flowed under a mass of floating driftwood on which grew small birches and aspens. Lumbermen finally cut the driftwood away for the purpose of floating logs to lower points. The celebrated raft of the Red river in Arkansas is a parallel case. The principle is the same as with the obstructions of Nicollet creek. Such interruptions of "running water" are not limitations of the valleys, nor of the streams that drain them. They are non-essential accidents, and cannot be considered as having any important bearing on the true size and length of Nicollet creek.

This important omission of an essential fact in the investigation conducted by Glazier, seems to be fatal to the claims of Elk lake and Excelsior creek.

We next ask: Who discovered Elk lake, which has now been named "Glazier lake" by the recent travellers? It was thought, at one time, that Julius Chambers entered it in 1872, but Mr. Glazier shows that his description applies rather to one of the lakes of the Nicollet valley. Mr. Glazier found it in 1881. He hastily promulgated it as a new discovery, announcing this at various points on his way to the mouth of the Mississippi. In 1875, however, this region had been surveyed by the officers of the United States Land Survey, under Gen. James H. Baker. This lake was platted and reported, in the regular manner, to the Government at Washington, under the name which it seems to have borne among the Indians and early explorers, *Elk Lake.* As such it has gone into the official records. The Minnesota Historical Society has approved this nomenclature, and finally the Minnesota Legislature has passed a law declaring that in the public schools of the state no geography shall be used by the pupils which gives this lake any other name. The fact of the earlier naming of this lake is not disputed by Glazier. He claims priority on the ground that the business of the land surveyors was not to discover the source of the Mississippi, that they did not trace out its feeders, and that they did not make wide publication of their discovery. If these be considered fatal defects in the governmental discovery of this lake, it is probable that there will be no objection to admitting the priority of Glazier.

When a careful and dispassionate examination is made of the essential facts, as now known, the conclusion is forced that Mr. Glazier fails to substantiate his claim. A hasty examination of his last work, without a full knowledge of the facts brought out by the Minnesota Historical Society's survey, would lead to the favorable consideration of his claim, since he evades the adverse facts and dwells on the repeated assertions of his friends and followers, and on the favorable showing which he is able to make in respect to the lake which he found in 1881. History and geography cannot be promoted by such partial and interested advocacy.

If Itasca be not allowed to stand as the source of the Mississippi, the competition lies between Nicollet and Excelsior creeks, and the former has the greater length and volume. If it is necessary to choose a lake as its source, then some of the upper lakes of the Nicollet valley must be accepted. If, finally, it be necessary to accept Elk lake, that lake was first discovered and mapped by the United States Surveyors in 1875. Mr. Glazier's claims, in every respect and in any case, are thus annulled, on the basis of facts which, if he does not himself publish, he does not call in question.

PREHISTORIC MAN AT THE HEADWATERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.*

BY HON. J. V. BROWER.

I.

PRELIMINARY REFERENCES.

At pages 123 and 124, Vol. VII., Minnesota Historical Collections, prepared and submitted by me in 1889-93, the following appears:

Concerning the presumable fact, that, antedating the first known visit of white men at Lac La Biche, French voyageurs may have reached the basin, no reliable statement in writing is known to exist describing such visit. In the absence of any known record as to the movements of the French fur traders and voyageurs who first established themselves in lines of trade and traffic with the Indians across the northern portion of the territory which now constitutes the State of Minnesota, no definite record can be found concerning a mere probability that they may have reached Elk lake. To the writers of the future must be left the task of discovering the record of the manner in which "Lac La Biche" first became known to the French and of any visits they may have made to the locality, if any such record exists, which now seems doubtful. Certain it is that Mr. Morrison's letter is the only record of the first visit to the source of the Mississippi of which we have any knowledge.

Upon page 16 of my report to his Excellency the Governor of Minnesota, for the two years ending Dec. 1, 1894, the following tabulated historical record of the descent of title by possession appears:

*Abridged extract from the Journal of the Manchester (Eng.) Geographical Society, vol. XI., pp. 1-80, 1895; to which is appended an addendum, relating to the early visits of Mr. Julius Chambers and Rev. J. A. Gilfillan to Itasca lake, prepared for the Minnesota Historical Society by Mr. Brower.

Briefly stated, the actual possession of the Itasca basin may be approximately given as follows:

Preglacial ages	Possibly palæolithic man.
The Glacial period	Possibly an Esquimaux occupancy.
Postglacial period	The Mound-Builders.
The succeeding occupancy	The Sioux Indians.
The Columbian period	The Spanish.
Post-Columbian period	The French and English.
The seventeenth or eighteenth century	The Ojibway Indians.
The eighteenth century	The Federal Republic.
Feb. 22, 1855	Ceded, by treaty between the United States and the Ojibway Indians.
1876-1891	Surveyed by the government and opened to pioneer settlement; Peter Turnbull and family and others.
1891	Set apart by law and dedicated as a public park forever.

Before describing the manner in which a recent discovery of the unmistakable remains of an extinct village of Mound-Builders was made near the geographical center of North America, a few preliminary references may be presented.

The writer disclaims any special or exhaustive knowledge in the field of archæological research, and presents the results of a very interesting and instructive discovery from the standpoint of a general desire to formulate ascertained facts for the benefit of those who cherish the advancement of scientific knowledge. It is impossible for the meditative explorer, grasping after a larger and more extended information, not to consider, so far as visible indications will permit, the existence, appearance, condition and habits of a people long since extinct, with whose relics, remnants, shell heaps, workshops, mounds, pottery and remains he has been brought into immediate contact while prosecuting geographical explorations.

The years gone by placed me between two fiercely contending tribes of North American Indians, at savage and bloodthirsty warfare, when tomahawks at the belt, paint, feathers and the scalplock braided from the top of the head constituted important preliminaries to the fierce struggles between wily warriors of the Sioux and Ojibway races.

Later on, during the Sioux outbreak of 1862 and the Indian war that followed, with my companions-at-arms, when we met the fierce Dakotas face to face, for supremacy or extermination,[1] the actual observance and participation then had accentuates an opinion now entertained, that probably the prehistoric race of men who occupied the upper waters of the Mississippi river basin were not extraordinarily different from the nations and tribes now receding before the enlightened encroachments of the English-speaking people. Time has brought its exorbitant and remarkable changes, and, making due allowance for the doubts engendered by the lapse of past ages, the cautious explorer, with some knowledge of aboriginal tribes, can intelligently study the relics and remains described in the following pages, written only because we now first certainly know that prehistoric man penetrated the wilderness of North America to the limit of the great continental watershed whence flow the precipitated waters, returning to the Atlantic through the delta of the Mississippi, the Gulf of the St. Lawrence and the Bay of Hudson; debouchures separated by distances not comparable with any other of a like hydrographic reference or geographical importance in the western hemisphere, if, indeed, in the whole world.

II.

THE DICKENSON MOUNDS.

Archæologists and historians have quite fully made known the existence of man in the Valley of the Mississippi at a very early and unknown date.

Mounds situated at St. Paul, Minn., and along many branches of the Upper Mississippi have long been known and fully described. Prof. T. H. Lewis has prosecuted investigations farther to the northward in the valley of the main river than perhaps any other professional archæologist. In all these well-known writings I fail to find any mention or description of the Dickenson mounds or earthworks, situated at

[1]General Sibley's expedition in 1863 from Fort Ridgely, on the Minnesota river, to Fort Abercrombie (recently abandoned), on the Red River of the North, about thirty miles south from the city of Fargo, N. D., thence to the Missouri river, where the city of Bismarck, capital of North Dakota, is now located. This expedition drove the Sioux across the Missouri, above the mouth of Apple creek, one of the results of the Sioux warfare against the white inhabitants of Minnesota in 1862.

Park Rapids, Minn., about twenty miles southeastwardly from Itasca lake. I had the pleasure of excavating a mound of this group in July, 1894, with the assistance of Dr. P. D. Winship. The unmistakable signs of the hand of man are visible in their construction, but our cursory examination did not develop nor determine their true character unless they were one time a work for defense or for a place of burial, and a further and more extended examination is necessary to determine the true origin of these twenty-two mounds of different sizes and heights. Persistent denudation with the plough and harrow upon Mr. Dickenson's farm has made little progress toward an intended annihilation of this group. We were unable to discover any prehistoric relics or the remains of the dead.

III.

A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER FROM ITASCA LAKE.

At the time the Dickenson mounds were examined arrangements had been completed with Rev. T. M. Shanafelt, D. D., of South Dakota, and Rev. S. Hall Young of Iowa, for a voyage from Itasca lake to St. Paul, down the channel of the Mississippi, a distance of nearly six hundred miles. We remained at Itasca lake during the first week of August, in the full enjoyment of the superb and picturesque landscape scenery, then portaged six miles to the northward by team to avoid the Ka-ka-bi-kons rapids,[2] and launching our klinker-built boat, with a commissary supply in a convenient lighter, we sped on our way with unvarying success through the magnificent scenery, camping at the bluffs and enjoying the evergreens, extensive savannas[3] and tributary streams and lakes, until we encamped a week later at the remote and picturesque Lake Bemidji, called by the native Ojibway, Bem-e-jig-u-mag, meaning "The current of the river crosses the lake." Here we were suddenly made aware of geographical subdivisions of the upper basin of the Mississippi, for out from Bemidji lake the waters of the river soon plunge over a series of rapids,

[2]The first rapids on the Mississippi river north of Itasca lake, five or six miles distant by the channel of the river.
[3]Remarkable meadows of grass.

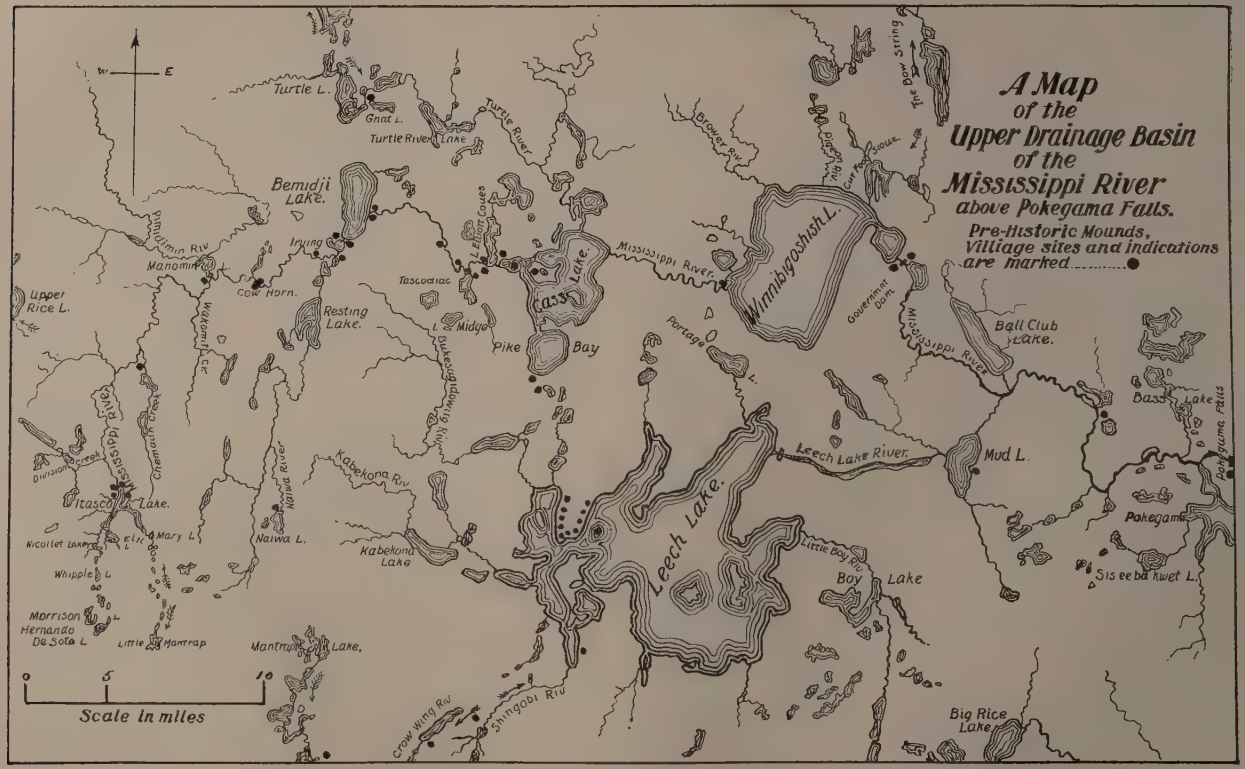
formed by glacial boulders, for a distance of twelve miles. So we know now, in addition to our Itasca basin, we also have a Bemidji basin, and lower down the main river, the Winnibigoshish and Cass lake basin, also the basin above the Pokegama;[4] these last two distinct basins constituting a division at the Winnibigoshish reservoir dam,[5] an artificial separation of the waters of that region. Speedily approaching the magnificent and island-dotted body of water named after Gen. Lewis Cass, the statesman and ambassador, we encamped at the old Northwest company trading post of a hundred years ago, at the mouth of Turtle river. There is not a vestige of this old post left, save only decaying emblems of disappearing and abandoned graves. That was a proper place for a painted and inscribed historical tablet, and we made it of oak.

A beautiful body of water next west from Cass lake, through the south end of which the Mississippi takes its course, I have designated Lake Elliott Coues, in honor of the distinguished gentleman whose scientific labors, with others, gave to the world the "Century Dictionary." Meeting him on the turbulent waters of Winnibigoshish lake, he stemmed the currents of the rapids and river to its source, and I gave his name to the lake, a simple tribute to persistent labors in the field of scientific research. Then we camped for a Sabbath rest at the Winnibigoshish reservoir dam, after having made numerous and friendly acquaintances among the different bands of Ojibway Indians residing along the course of our voyage.

In plate IV. this upper drainage basin of the Mississippi river is mapped, with designations of the localities where mounds, village sites, and other indications of the Mound-Builders have been found.

[4]The Falls of Pokegama, where the river plunges over a ledge of rock in place, as it issues out from the upper or headwater basin of the Mississippi which has been geographically known for many years and which contains about five thousand square miles and a thousand rivers and lakes of different sizes. This extensive headwater basin is hydrographically divided in the manner stated in the text. Leech lake on the south and Turtle lake on the north side of the main basin contribute a perennial flowage through streams bearing the same designations as the two lakes named.

[5]Constructed by the government of the United States for a reserve supply of water during the navigable season of the year, from St. Paul to the mouth of the Mississippi. This dam, and other similar ones in remote localities, are used to hold back precipitated waters in artificial reservoirs until about the 1st of August of each year, when the gates are raised and the flood of water replenishes the navigable channel of the river several feet in depth for hundreds of miles.



MAP OF THE MISSISSIPPI BASIN ABOVE POKEGAMA FALLS.

IV.

THE MOUND-BUILDERS' HOME AT WINNIBIGOSHISH NEAR THE CUT FOOT SIOUX AND AT ITASCA LAKE.

Near our camp at the Winnibigoshish dam the ancient landmarks of prehistoric man appeared in abundance. Their burial mounds are situated on either side of the Mississippi at the lower extremity of the lake, which is near the peculiar waters of the Cut Foot Sioux, from which, by a portage of scarcely one mile, the waters of the Bow String, at the head of the Big Fork river, are reached. These last named waters flow to the Lake of the Woods, and, as it is known that prehistoric evidences of man exist on the banks of the Big Fork river, it is reasonable to presume that the portage from the Cut Foot Sioux to the Bow String and Big Fork was known and probably discovered by the Mound-Builders centuries before the aggressive Ojibway drove out the Sioux. The death and scalp of a Sioux warrior, killed in battle, who had lost a part of both feet, gave the unique name of "Cut Foot Sioux." A careful examination near the Winnibigoshish mounds brought to light the evidences of a former village site in that immediate neighborhood. The construction of the reservoir dam by the United States government had nearly obliterated one large mound, and the remaining sands, without great effort, gave forth very interesting translucent jasper and quartz spear heads, arrow-points, mouldering skulls and bones, and quite a double handful of human teeth in a fair state of preservation could have been collected. A half mile up the western shore, near other mounds, I gathered numerous specimens of broken pottery of different moulds and colors. All the indications point to this place as being formerly a permanent rendezvous of these lost people.

Proceeding upon our very interesting and instructive voyage, other relics of the Mound-Builders were examined, notably those at Sandy lake, where copper spears and other useful and ornamental articles have been found many feet below the present natural surface of the earth. These are the waters so extensively used by the French and English, and later by the Americans, in portaging from the waters of the Great

Lakes to the waters of the Mississippi.[6] It may well be considered as more than probable that the Mound-Builders were the first to discover and utilize this great portage from the basin of the St. Lawrence to the basin of the Mississippi, and the Ojibways came after them in their encroachments, which finally drove out the Sioux, who were the succeeding race of men after the disappearance of the mound-building people.

On the south shore of Sandy lake are visible the old landmarks of the trading post and station of a hundred years ago which Lieut. Z. M. Pike so carefully described in his report of the voyage of 1805-6 up the Mississippi, during the administration of President Jefferson.[7] It is now an abandoned waste, soon to be obliterated farther by the flood from the government reservoir dam about to be completed. Two miles away we found the site of the post and station occupied by the Americans upon the acquirement of Louisiana from Napoleon Bonaparte, with the acquiescence of the English government. This old post and stockade was situated upon the east bank of the Mississippi, and the well-preserved extremities of the timbers used can be excavated from below the surface of the earth, silent, inanimate reminders of the activities of the eighteenth century in maintaining traffic facilities with the tribes in the then Far West.[8]

After having been joined by Dr. G. R. Metcalf and his son at Winnibigoshish (most agreeable companions), our voyage was continued down the river and brought to an end.

Soon afterward a return overland journey to the source of the Mississippi was accomplished. On my return to Itasca lake, I was firmly of the opinion that it had been discovered by prehistoric man; yet years of casual examinations, from time to time, since and including 1888, had failed to bring to

[6]This great portage was accomplished by passing up the St. Louis river to the Dalles, thence by land to one of the several rivers, a few miles to the westward, flowing into Sandy lake, which is scarcely a half mile east of the Mississippi river, and connected therewith by a channel of unusual depth. The St. Louis river is the most central and direct upper branch of the St. Lawrence river, the main stream of a hydrographic system which includes the great fresh-water seas of North America.

[7]Dr. Coues will, in his new "Pike," soon to be issued and published by Francis P. Harper of New York, describe very fully the cause and results of the Pike expedition up the Mississippi.

[8]Ojibways, Sioux, Mandans, Assiniboines, and other tribes and bands occupying the plains and territory from the Upper Mississippi west to the base of the Rocky Mountains.

light any of the relics or landmarks of these lost people in that locality. These casual examinations had been made at the request of a distinguished geographical and historic writer, the late Mr. Alfred J. Hill, with no success whatever. It was now determined to commence a studied and careful exploration of the shores of Itasca lake for evidences of the existence there of man in the past ages. All the conveniences necessary for a two months' sojourn were provided, and the protection of the interests of the commonwealth against marauders at the state park gave the coveted opportunity to search thoroughly for some clue to proceed by and follow up. The success of this determination and the results which followed were surprising. The hydrographic and topographic surveys made on behalf of the State of Minnesota and its State Historical Society had been conducted under my personal supervision and direction, and I knew the locality better, probably, than any person of the present generation. At the time the final state park chart of 1892 was completed the words, "Earliest probable occupants, prehistoric," had been placed as a footnote in the legendary description, for it was at that time surmised that some day the opinion then entertained, which was the only basis for this legendary information, would prove to be well founded.

The night of the 26th day of October, 1894, the little animal, locally known as the pocket-gopher, which never sees the light of day except while throwing up in its peculiar way the surplus earth from its burrowings in little miniature mounds above the surface, made several of these well-known and peculiar mound markings a few feet above the surface of the water in Itasca lake on the east shore of the north arm, half way between McMullen's cabin, where I was encamped, and Patterson's old cabin, a quarter of a mile to the northwestward towards the outlet of the lake. On the morning of the 27th I discovered an unmistakable pottery remnant, which had been thrown up by this little pocket-gopher. This remnant of pottery bore several of the well-known markings of prehistoric man, peculiar to his residence in the Valley of the Mississippi. Thus the little mound-builder with his pouches, one on either side of the neck, extending from near the jaw down to near the shoulder, which we here designate

by the very correct descriptive appellation of pocket-gopher, unconsciously brought to light the existence of the ancient mound-builder of more formidable portentousness, and who preceded this particular one by many centuries at the source of the Mississippi.

Now commenced a careful examination of the whole locality for further evidences, if such existed. First, a grooved stone hammer was found, then several additional pieces of pottery came to light in the stratum of the cultivated field belonging to Mr. McMullen, and on the 1st day of November Mr. F. J. Steinmetz came to my assistance and we prosecuted the search in earnest. A very old flint arrow-head came to light from the stratum near Patterson's old cabin; then two stone knives with well-defined and symmetrically chipped edges were unearthed in the immediate vicinity, and numerous pieces of broken pottery, of various unique and characteristic moulds, thrown up by the plough, hoe and spade, were added to our collection; then, not the least, by any means, a copper disk rewarded our patient search, soon after which followed a discovery of the unmistakable signs of a workshop, where were gathered the translucent and crypto-crystalline spalls struck from the prehistoric spear and arrow heads as they were made upon the shores of Itasca lake, and further over towards the outlet the white earth and decaying remnants of a shell-heap, long since covered by the mould and debris of ages, was definitely located on a point of ground above the surface of the lake. The ploughshare had thrown some of these decayed shells to the surface. After a systematic examination, it was concluded that a former village of Mound-Builders, nearly or quite one-half a mile in length, had been established and maintained in the Itascan region, in north latitude 47° 14′ 15″, longitude 95° 11′ 41″ west from Greenwich. From all indications it would appear that the cacique occupied the southeastern limit of the village, the better members, or head men, the center, and the lesser or poorer class the west end and flats there situated. This good guess, it is hoped, is very near the facts, for all of the better specimens and finer moulded articles appear at this supposed cacique's end of the village, the substantial mementoes came from the middle ground, and every piece or relic found at the westerly end was rough, poorly marked

and of undoubtedly a skimp manner of making, indicating mediocre ability to finely mould. The chert and quartz and the copper unfold a remarkable and wonderful narrative of the geographical ability of these lost people. That they were geographers of no mean ability, courageous and mentally competent and able, can easily be surmised from these unmistakable evidences of their having penetrated to the heart of an unknown continent, without any subsistence, presumably, save only the results of their own ability to gain from a massive, unknown and dense wilderness. It was nearly three hundred years from the time the Mississippi river was known to exist by Europeans until Schoolcraft, in 1832, discovered and named Itasca lake. This lost village upon this spot was maintained at a time since which the sands of the earth and the mould of ages, with varying winds and storms and seasons, have accumulated over these deposited relics several inches, from no other than natural causes and at the summit of sloping ground. A forest of heavy timber has long since disappeared, leaving only the distinguishable evidences of where massive pines once stood. The copper, quartz and chert were undoubtedly obtained from the neighborhood of Lake Superior and other remote localities. Nothing whatever except the imperishable relics and the skeletons of this lost race of men remain, and they had only their hands and their wits by which to maintain themselves and their families in this solitude. I for one take the greatest interest in these remarkable people, who first penetrated to, and probably originally discovered, the source of the Mississippi. That they knew every hill and valley, lake and stream, at the Itasca basin, is shown by this extinct settlement of the dead, maintained previous to the origin of the North American Indian as found by European voyageurs.

Snow and ice put a stop to these explorations by the middle of November, but the collection of relics induces considerations and imaginations concerning these ancient people and their ability which can and will be augmented by a continuation of this fruitful and interesting search for more of these extant and imperishable evidences. Much remains to be unearthed. The whole course of the Mississippi river was occupied by these or similar tribes of men of ancient times.

The name by which they knew this great river, their language, religious ideas, marital habits, color, origin, much of their manners and taste, and the true appearance and construction of their lodges in this northern region, the mode of communication with other and distant villages, the habits of the chase, and all those personal characteristics necessarily peculiar to this race of men, must forever remain unknown, except in so far as we may be able to draw inferences, form opinions, and arrive at conclusions, after this whole western country shall have been searched for a more complete knowledge concerning these lost people, and then much must necessarily remain in the darkness of oblivion. Whence did they depart and what became of them? Who came after them and whence are these later people disappearing? The answer of this last question is nearer a solution than can possibly be claimed for the former.

V.

THE DAKOTAS AND THE OJIBWAYS.

M. Groseilliers and M. Radisson, two Frenchmen of energetic habits but apparently illiterate minds, about two hundred and thirty-four years ago, passing west from Lake Superior, came in contact with the Sioux or Dakotas, and as it is quite certain that these two first Europeans reached and crossed the Mississippi some thirty or forty miles above the present site of the city of St. Paul,[9] the gradual retirement of the Sioux before the aggressive Ojibway can be fairly traced from the happenings subsequent to that time. There is little doubt but that the two Frenchmen named, who at one time carried on their explorations under British auspices, were the first Europeans who came in contact with the Sioux tribes. They then lived in great numbers in the territory which afterward fell into the hands of their mortal enemies. While the full facts are not known, it is probable that the Sioux then occupied the entire waters of the Mississippi, from the region of the St. Croix to the source of the river, a distance of more than six hundred miles, with the adjacent country literally swarming with buffalo, elk, deer, bear and beaver, upon which

[9]Thirteen miles, by the channel of the Mississippi, below the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua, discovered and named by Hennepin.

they subsisted in comparative comfort. They do not know their own origin, and their legends scarcely indicate the facts of their migration to the source of the Mississippi. Whether they were the first to follow the Mound-Builders seems to remain a mystery. However, they came into possession of the country west from the extremity of Lake Superior, and remained there until they were, by force of arms, driven out by the Ojibways.

These later Indians considered themselves "spontaneous man" (An-ish-in-aub-ag). Their traditions, according to a learned writer of their own people, Hon. Wm. W. Warren, a mixed-blood, indicate that the meaning of the word is "Ojib," to pucker up, and "Ub-way," to roast. "To roast till puckered up." This seems to come from the manner in which they roasted their enemies until they puckered up. Another interpretation is the manner in which they pucker up their moccasins in seams below the instep. Mr. Warren intimates that they may have descended from one of the lost tribes of Israel, suggesting Hebrew extraction, and their first known residence was not far from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, on the coast of the Atlantic. Their migration westward necessarily covered centuries, for, tarrying a long time in the neighborhood of the outlet of Lake Superior, they afterward resided upon the Island of La Pointe for over a hundred years, near the Bay of Sha-ga-waum-ik-oug (Chaquamegon Bay, Lake Superior). Here their extensive rendezvous, located upon an island to escape the onslaught of their warring enemies, at a time when firearms were unknown to them, was broken up by cannibalism among themselves, and the numerous clans of the tribe scattered in different directions. Coming into the use of firearms, they pressed their warfare against the Sioux until they came into possession by force of arms of the entire upper waters of the Mississippi north of the mouth of Watab river, immediately above Sauk Rapids, Minn., and a large area in the valley of the Red river of the North. This war of unknown duration almost transformed certain habits of the Sioux, for they departed permanently from the timbered localities near Mille Lacs, Sandy and Leech lakes, and soon became a people of the treeless plains, reaching from the valley of the Minnesota river to and across the basin of the Missouri in South and North

Dakota, using ponies for transportation purposes,[10] while the Ojibways made use of the bark canoe and pack-strap until very recent years. This remarkable history of the Sioux and Ojibways, if given in detail, would fill volumes. The last war party between these contending tribes of which I remember was of the Sioux in 1860, from the valley of the Minnesota river to Crow Wing river. For considerations of vital importance, a full description of which is dispensable in an article of this kind, these Indians of both tribes are disappearing

[10]While preparing for a desultory march, the Sioux Indians, who occupied the treeless plains for so long a period, fastened two long lodge poles to either side of a mustang pony with long bushy tail, one end of the pole resting against the shoulder of the animal and the other on the ground, from six to eight feet in the rear of the pony. These poles were fastened by broad straps made from buffalo or elk skin used as breast straps, and crosswise at the rear end of the lodge poles were fastened two shorter poles, forming a square frame. To this frame would be fastened the skin of a buffalo, usually in rawhide form, which completed a unique, ingenious means of transportation, impossible to upset in the rugged passages of the wild west. Loading dried meat, pemican, cooking vessels, blankets, papooses, etc., on this square frame of poles and rawhide fastened to an unruly pony, without bridle, driver or harness, the whole was turned loose as being ready for the march. The women of the band, invariably designated by the euphonious appellation of "squaw," attended these ponies on foot. As a rule they were poorly dressed, wearing moccasins without stockings, short garments, leggins of cloth or leather made from skins, bareheaded, with long black braids of coarse hair reaching down the back, usually a calico waist and short skirt, and during inclement weather a square blanket for a wrap and hood, which, when thrown over the head and wrapped around the arms and body, would leave only the face and feet protruding. These women were the laborers and servants of their husbands and masters. An Indian seldom pitches camp, loads the pony, cuts fuel or carries water, when the squaw, wife and mother accompanies the moving band. With a painted feather in his hair for each scalp taken, the best pony of the herd, with skin saddle, decorated with colored beads, stirrups of rawhide or thongs, and a bridle made from elk skin; bowie knife, scabbard, gun, pipe and kinnikinic—the pipe of stone, the kinnikinic gathered from the bark of the red willow, held in a beaded tobacco pouch—with punk and the accompanying flint and steel with which to strike fire (the steel in the right hand and the flint and punk held tightly with the forefinger and thumb of the left hand, when in use); a calico shirt; no hat or cap; leggins fastened from above the knee to the belt, which carries the knife, tomahawk, etc.; a breech-clout, over which loosely hangs the calico shirt; beaded moccasins and a blanket (usually white or green in color); and a miscellaneous outfit of trappings, ammunition for the chase, painted face, vermilion on the hair where it is parted in the middle, gaudy ornaments of a cheap variety, braided hair, no beard, a skin that is nearer black than it is red; thus mounted he marches a prince of the plains, ready for war, the dance, the hunt, the leisurely smoke, his daily decorations, but never the degrading, despicable labor of the camp. The striking appearance of a band of Sioux Indians, marching in the manner described, can only be adequately understood and appreciated by those who have witnessed these actual scenes in the years gone by; for now these Dakotas are no longer roaming nomads, but are housed on reservations in the Missouri valley and fed by the government.

The Ojibways are but little different, save only that they were a people of the woods, using birch-bark canoes, traversing the numerous water courses, portaging by the use of the pack-strap, made from the thick heavy skin from the leg of the moose, by which means, his bark canoe, bottom up, balanced over the top of his head, with the bow of the canoe sufficiently elevated to permit him to look forward under it, was carried from lake to lake and from river to river. The squaws, by the same kind of pack-strap, carried upon their backs, balanced from the top of the head, the camping outfit, cooking utensils and paraphernalia, with the papoose strapped on top of the whole, face to the rear, in a frame to which it is tightly bound. The canoe carried by the braves weighed about fifty pounds, while the load carried by the women often weighed three hundred pounds. Their portages were never very long, but in the winter season their marches upon snow-shoes were often a hundred miles or more. Of recent years these Indians are housed upon reservations, and have teams and wagons furnished by the government. The former appearance of the Ojibways on their marches was no less striking, though different from the Sioux in the manner described in this brief note.

A CANOE AND OJIBWAYS.

VOYAGING ACROSS LEECH LAKE.

OJIBWAY GRAVES, AT LEECH LAKE.

from the face of the earth. Warfare, immoral habits, smallpox, the inebriate's weakness, consumption and miscellaneous degenerating influences have depleted their ranks to an extent which makes the final result concisely rapid and silently sure. There are reasons why they should still continue to regard the white man as a mortal enemy.

There are two known destinies: the disappearance of the Mound-Builders and the disappearing Indian tribes of the upper basin of the Mississippi, for the second and third race of man[11] known to occupy and inhabit the upper basin of the Great River are following in the footprints of their one known predecessor in an assured disappearance, unless all signs fail; and the pale-faces—"Not Frenchmen, nor English, but white Indians"[12]—are now the active, ambitious, energetic occupants of the entire basin of the greatest river system of the world, with the simple exception of isolated reservations,[13] and most of these will soon be possessed by a hardy pioneer people.[14]

[11]The Sioux and the Ojibway tribes, distinctly separate, but probably of nearly or quite the same very remote origin.

[12]Lieut. Z. M. Pike and his soldiers, in 1806, were designated by the Ojibways "White Indians," because they were neither Frenchmen nor Englishmen, as was usual in those days, but of that American nation of men to whose existence the attention of the Ojibways had not been directed prior to Pike's visit to them.

[13]All Indian reservations in northern Minnesota are Ojibway, and all in the Dakota states are Sioux, excepting the Turtle Mountain reserve. Several of the Ojibway reservations have been transferred to the public domain by congressional enactment, and the Indians ordered removed to the White Earth reservation as a permanent place of abode. The former policy of the government of the United States in dealing with these Indians was by formal treaty, but recently a change has been inaugurated, suggested, I think, by the late Gen. B. F. Butler, whereby the authorities of the United States no longer consider the Indians a proper people to treat with.

[14]Citizens of the United States, among whom are a considerable number of Scandinavian, Danish, Finnish, German, Polish, and other people, emigrants from the shores of Europe, a well-to-do class as a whole, honest, industrious, and capable of exercising the rights of freemen under a government in the temperate zone, the brightest and ablest men of which were born and reared in log cabins. By a reference to any chart showing correct geographical positions, comparable with statistical results, it will be noticed that the central intensity of the north temperate zone encircles the earth immediately in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes in the western hemisphere, where ample elevation above the sea level, pure air and water, wholesome food, and the consequent activity and development of the mind and body, produce a race of men as yet unsurpassed. These climatic and hygienic influences soon transform the languid emigrant into an energetic citizen. To this same influence I attribute the success of prehistoric man in this same locality (the basin of the Mississippi), in energetically pushing forward for a more extended geographical knowledge, until he built and maintained a town at the very source of the river, in the exercise of the laws of existence, showing a knowledge of latitude and departure, exceeded only by the use of scientific instruments of a more modern advantage. There is little or no doubt in my mind that the remarkable progress of the American people and the wonderful strides made by them toward a revolution in scientific research and invention come from this intensity of the temperate zone in its capacity to enlarge, expand, enhance and characterize brain formation at geographical positions where the greatest power of the sun's rays is intensified by other and consequent subsidiary influences; for certain it is that the arctic and the tropic zones have produced no such transformation in the world's history as has the federal republic in this temperate hemisphere in but little more than a century of time. Then it is reasonable to presume that the Mound-Builders, in their physical and mental capacity, were intensified by the same climatic influences which gave them the energy to discover the source of the Mississippi, of which fact we are now made aware, as a result of this recent and very interesting exploration.

VI.

RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION OF 1895.

The close of the year 1894 witnessed the new discoveries related in the preceding pages of this communication. The relics and remains of the Mound-Builders at Winnibigoshish and at Itasca lakes, apparently deposited at about the same period of time, left no doubt of a more extended occupancy between the two points named, adjacent to the numerous lakes and streams which extend throughout the upper watershed of the Mississippi.

It was toward a solution of this latter problem that I gave my attention at the beginning of the present year. In the month of February last the late Mr. Alfred J. Hill again became my associate, preparatory to a more extended and systematic exploration of the different positions between and adjacent to the localities named, a distance by the channel of the river of a little more than one hundred and thirteen miles.

All preparations necessary for this third voyage of discovery were made by myself, and Mr. Hill delegated his portion of the work to the able hands of Prof. T. H. Lewis, who became an equal party to these new explorations at our joint request, Mr. Hill himself having determined that he could not personally accompany me. The movements of the party during the time occupied are here given in a narrative description of the explorations and discoveries made. There seems to be no necessity for any distinction between the particular facts discovered by Professor Lewis or myself, for upon every hand we jointly or separately brought to light a most remarkable and deeply interesting list of discoveries connected with and bearing upon the occupation of the entire upper basin of the Mississippi by prehistoric man.

The expedition proceeded to Park Rapids, Minn., with a very complete supply of surveying instruments, maps, charts, camera, government plats, one boat and lighter, and all necessary provisions and apparel for a two month's voyage in the northern wilderness. It was on the 27th day of April, 1895, that a further and rather cursory examination was made of the Dickenson mounds, situated upon the south side of section 14, township 140, range 35, one mile north of Park Rapids, Minn.

We counted in this group twenty-two various mounds and embankments, of different sizes and heights. These ancient works are situated southwestwardly from the outlet of Fish-hook lake, and less than one mile distant therefrom. There are slight indications of a village site of Mound-Builders on the south side of the lake near these mounds, and at the farm-house of Mr. Phipps are two other mounds, near the west end of the lake. Chipped spear-heads and arrow-points of stone were exhibited by Mr. Phipps, a collection gathered in his field, which discloses to a certainty that the mounds near Fish-hook lake and the Dickenson mounds and earthworks were constructed by the prehistoric mound-building race. No detailed survey of these earthworks has been made. On the evening of the 28th of April the members of this expedition established an encampment at McMullen's, on the north end of Itasca lake, and until the 5th of May explored, from day to day, the entire surroundings of the prehistoric village site discovered by me the previous October. Numerous arrow-points of stone, pottery shards, spalls and chipped stone implements were found on both sides of the Mississippi and along the east shore of the north arm of Itasca lake, indicating that the former ancient occupancy was more extensive and of greater age than was at first apparent. Our next discovery was the site of an old trading station of former years, date unknown, situated upon Schoolcraft Island. This old station, unmentioned by any of the earliest explorers, was probably a trading post of the French in early times, and I have referred the matter for some further inquiry to Professor Levasseur of the Department of Public Instruction for France.

A group of ten burial mounds was discovered upon the fractional east half of the south-west quarter of section 35, township 144, range 36, which I have properly named in honor of my discovering companion. A more detailed description of these mounds, mapped in plate VI., follows herewith:

THE LEWIS MOUNDS.

1. Diameter eighteen feet, height one foot.
2. Length eighty-three feet, width sixteen feet at the east end, twenty-one feet at the west end, height two and one-half feet.
3. An elliptical mound, length thirty-eight feet, width twenty-four feet, height three feet.
4. Diameter seventeen feet, height one and one-half feet.

5. Length forty-three feet, width sixteen feet at the west end, twenty-four feet at the east end, height two feet, about the shape of an egg cut in two lengthwise, and the half shell turned down.

6. Diameter twenty-six feet, height three feet.

7. Diameter twenty-two feet, height three feet.

8. An elliptical mound, length twenty-eight feet, height two and one-half feet.

9. Diameter sixteen feet, height two and one-half feet.

10. An embankment, forty-four feet in length, eighteen feet in width and two and one-half feet in height.

FIG. 1. SKETCH MAP OF SCHOOLCRAFT ISLAND, ITASCA LAKE.

MAP OF THE LEWIS MOUNDS AND PREHISTORIC VILLAGE SITE AT THE NORTH END OF ITASCA LAKE.

With the assistance of Messrs. Wegmann and Sauer, whom we engaged for the occasion, several of this interesting group of mounds were excavated, with the following results:

EXCAVATIONS.

Mound No. 1 was composed of sandy loam. The remains of one or two interments in this mound were fragmentary and useless for scientific comparison.

Mound No. 2 was not excavated.

Mound No. 3. Composed principally of black sandy loam. At the west side of the center the loam of the original surface had been removed. Resting upon the natural gravel below this excavated loam was a quantity of calcined human bones. Five skulls were recognizable and the fragments of probably as many more were intermixed in this heap of charred remnants. At the north edge of the calcined remains was a well-preserved skull. Just above this calcined mass of human remains and almost resting upon it were six skulls and various bones, more or less decomposed and broken. Still above these last described remains and near the upper surface of the mound appeared the remains of an intrusive burial of doubtful identity; but since a well-defined covering of birch bark appeared, this latter interment was undoubtedly by Sioux or Ojibway Indians, probably the latter. The remains of this last interment were very much blackened and decomposed, while on the other hand the skulls lower down in this place of burial were natural in color; a comparison in the mode of burial which presents a wide difference. At the east end of the excavation there had been buried the remains of seven persons, but throughout the extent of the excavation there was wanting any evidence of regularity in the mode of burial. In different sections of the mound two small beds of gravelly sand and two of charcoal and ashes were noticed, but no certainly defined existence of fire at the time of burial could be traced. A portion of the bones were calcined.

Mound No. 4 was composed of black sandy loam, and contained the disappearing remains of but one person near the bottom of the mound.

Mound No. 5. Composed of a light sandy loam. Near the east end a small pit, five feet in diameter, had been excavated

below the original surface about one and one-half feet. From this artificial pit there were taken three skulls and a few bones, very much decayed and broken. At the east end appeared a quantity of debris, consisting in part of broken bones, pottery shards, charcoal and ashes, but the bones were not of human origin.

Mound No. 6 was composed of sandy loam, and contained, apparently, the fragments of two decayed skeletons.

Mound No. 7. Composed of sandy loam. Only one pottery shard was found in this mound.

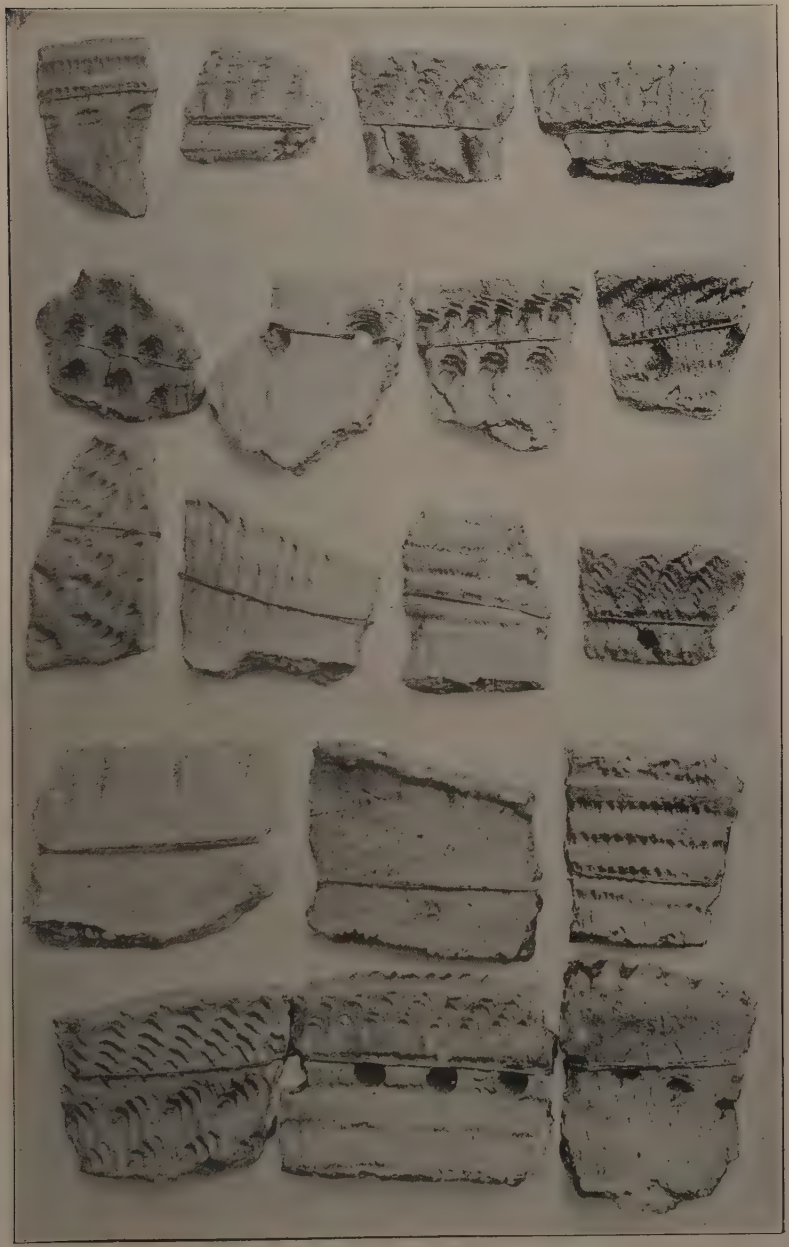
Mound No. 8. Composed of sand and sandy loam. Two small ash heaps and a few fragments of human remains only were found in this outlying place of burial.

Mound No. 9. Composed of sandy loam. Near the surface were two intrusive burials, male and female, and the same considerations apply to these which appear concerning the upper burials in Mound No. 3. I am of the opinion, however, that these are the remains of Ojibway Indians, buried near the surface, in the flesh, and not, therefore, prepared for a continuous preservation as were the calcined remains of the dead Mound-Builders, interred so long ago in the mound referred to. The other remains in this mound had long since crumbled to dust.

Mound No. 10. Composed in part of a sandy clay and sandy loam. Near the center of this mound were two skulls and parts of three skeletons. Beyond a trench, about twenty-eight feet in length, run through the upper part of this place of burial, nothing of interest appeared. The interments were original.

Commencing at the site of the central portion of the Lewis group, and extending to the Mississippi river on the west and to Itasca lake on the south, there appeared numerous stone spalls and pottery shards, indicating beyond doubt a more defined outline of the village site maintained there during the centuries long since passed.

At Point Hill, Itasca lake, named by Dr. Coues in honor of my late distinguished associate, there was discovered one mound twenty-four feet in diameter and two feet in height, which contained fragments of bone and mussel shell. At the summit of the south end of Point Hill, a remarkable bone heap was excavated, about twenty feet above the surface of



EIGHTEEN SPECIMENS OF POTTERY SHARDS FROM ITASCA LAKE.

the water in the lake. I noticed bones of the moose, bear, deer, wolf, beaver, and fox; and intermixed therewith were fragments of pottery, stone spalls, hearthstones, and triangular arrow-points, indicating the former existence of a small village of Mound-Builders, probably at about the same time that the extensive village on the north end of Itasca lake was maintained. Taking advantage of our sojourn at McMullen's, a large collection of relics was made, illustrated partly in plates VII. and VIII.

On the eighth day after our arrival at Itasca lake, we departed northward by team and boat and camped for the night of the 6th at the Shanafelt Bluffs at section 30, township 145, range 35. On the morning of the 7th our course of departure was down the Mississippi in our comfortable klinker. Upon arriving at the mouth of Chemaun creek, an examination of the surrounding country was made and the existence of pottery shards at lot 12, section 19, township 145, range 35, was noted. There was also found on the east side of the creek a very old pipe of red pipestone, the identity of which is uncertain. We camped for the night at my former camp (Trouble), at lot 9, section 5, township 145, range 35. Proceeding on our voyage we camped for the night of May 8th about two miles above the mouth of the Piniddiwin river. The following morning a very cursory examination of the hills bordering upon Manomin lake, through which the Piniddiwin takes its course, revealed meager signs only of the migratory pathway of the Mound-Builders, but enough to satisfy us that they had formerly occupied the premises.

Continuing down the river, which meanders through the extensive meadows to the eastward, we passed to the first plateau below the mouth of Cow Horn creek and landed for a noonday lunch at the fractional northwest quarter of section 28, township 146, range 34, Beltrami county. Here we discovered the evidences of a former large village site of the Mound-Builders on both sides of the Mississippi. Numerous pottery shards, spalls, and one stone scraper were found. A search for the mounds of the locality being unsuccessful, we proceeded on our way and camped for the night on the north bank of the river, at lot 1, section 27, township 146, range 34. Proceeding upon our voyage, we discovered numerous evidences

at the extensive sand-bank upon section 13, and afterward it was learned that there was a large mound in the same neighborhood.

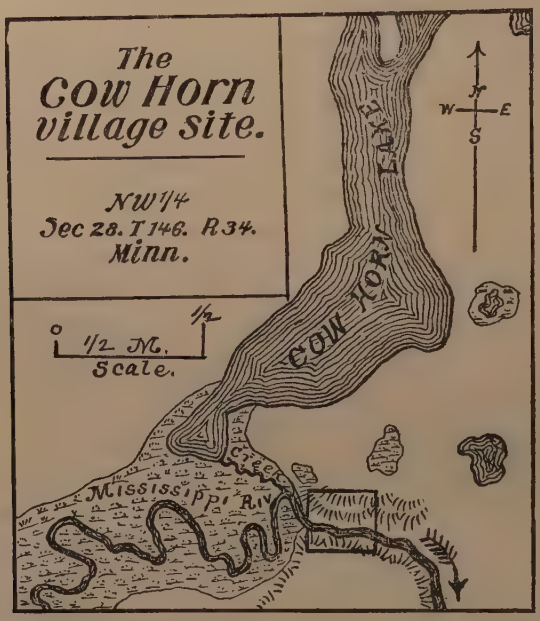
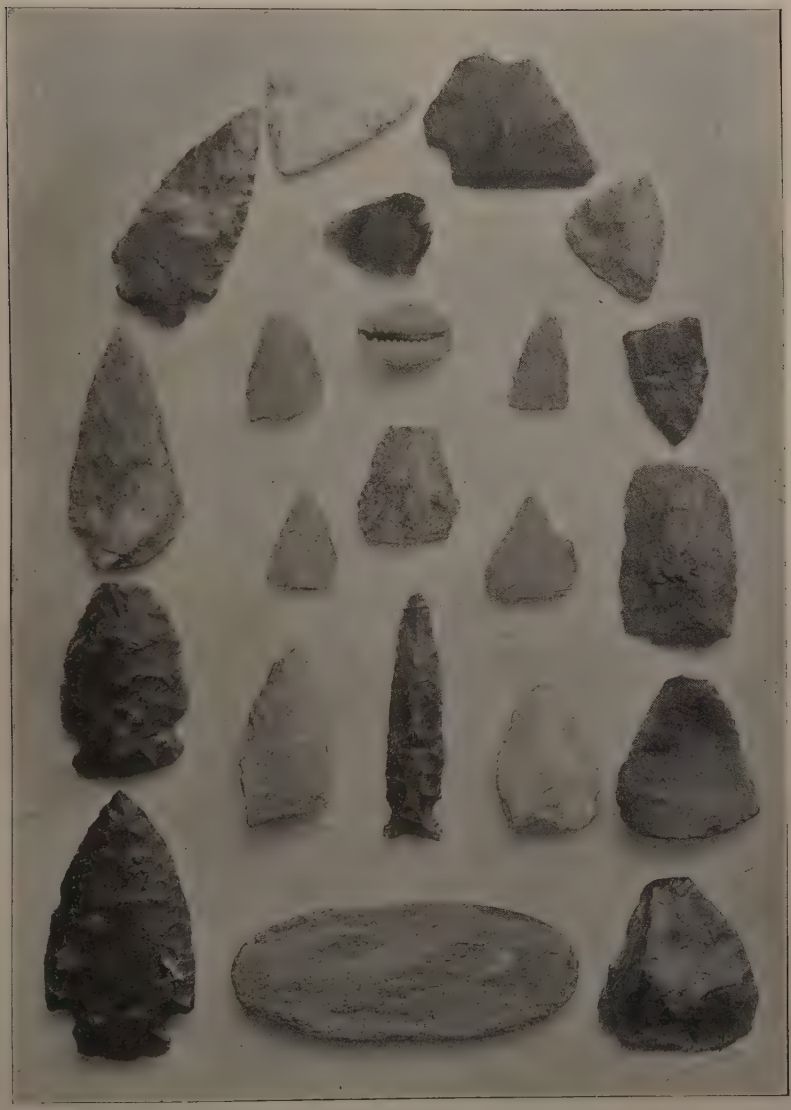


FIG. 2.

At Carr's field, at the mouth of Naiwa river, where the same unites with the Mississippi, at the fractional south-east quarter of section 20, township 146, range 33, numerous evidences of a large prehistoric village site were selected from the upturned earth in the cultivated field there situated. We voyaged up Naiwa river through the first lake and camped on the east shore of the second handsome body of water, first north from the picturesque Plantagenet, which is the Resting lake of Allen's map. The confusion of names which Dr. Coues so strikingly illustrates for his new "Pike," in a valuable historico-geographical chart, an advance copy of which is open before me at this writing, admonishes me not to undertake the task of unraveling the classified nomenclature of this locality during a consideration of this present subject.



SPECIMENS OF RELICS COLLECTED AT ITASCA, BEMIDJI, TASCODIAC, COUES, CASS, AND LEECH LAKES.

On May 11th, with varying winds, we reached an encampment at Bemidji lake, on the east bank of the Mississippi, at its entrance into this magnificent body of water. Our encampment was the site of the encampment of prehistoric man,

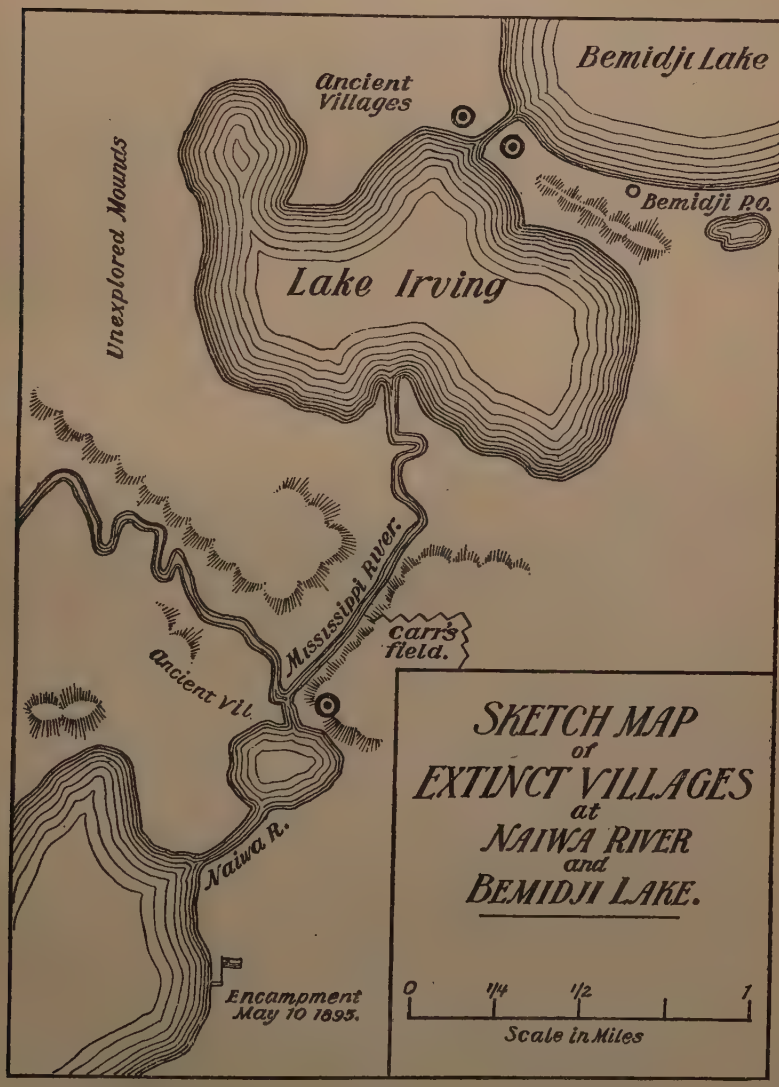


FIG. 3.

for on every hand and on either side of the river we gathered promiscuously the relics and remnants of the mound-building race of men, including a perforated cowry shell (Cypraea annulus). We learned that the mounds of this locality were

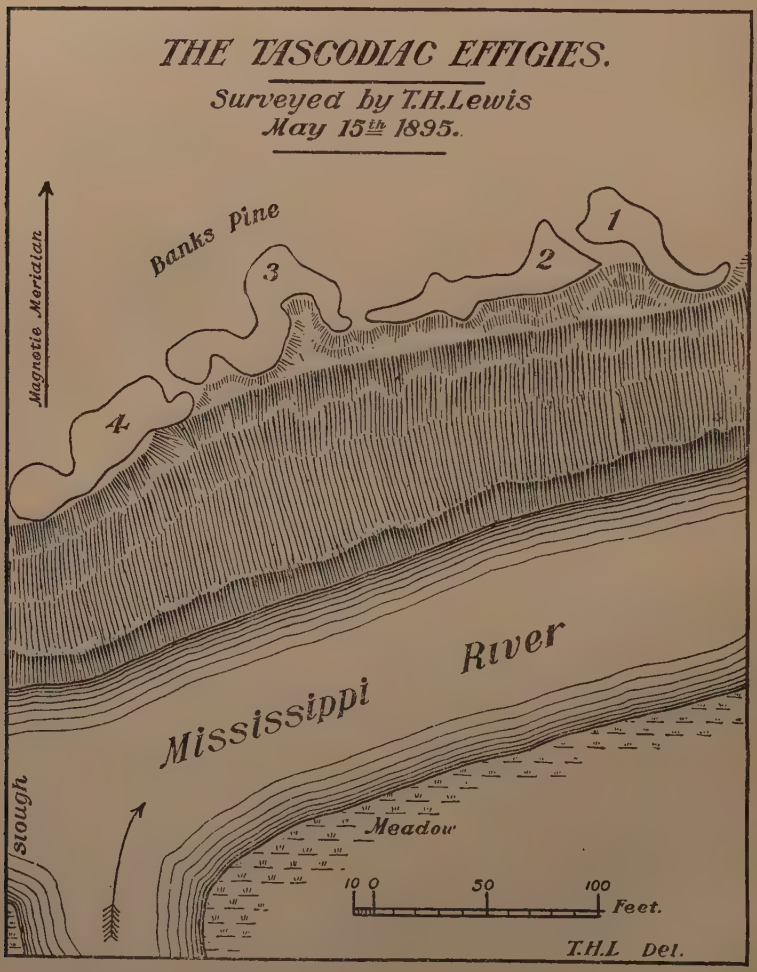


FIG. 4.

NOTE.—Immediately in the rear of Mounds 3 and 4 is a very considerable depression, several feet in depth, from which, it is possible, the earth was excavated for the construction of these interesting Tascodiac effigies.

situated at an eminence west of Lake Irving. I explored the unique geological ridge between lakes Irving and Bemidji, and entertain some reasons for believing that modified mounds are to be found on this ridge, which has been variously occupied by the Ojibways for a hundred years or more. At the outlet of Bemidji lake, on both sides of the Mississippi, relics of the Mound-Builders were picked up, and a large mound was discovered immediately at the outlet on the north bank of the river and east shore of the lake, near the base of a very old oak tree. This mound was partially excavated and found to be of black sandy loam, containing the remains of original interments, only one of which was removed, in a fair state of preservation.

In passing down the river, the most northerly course of the Mississippi at my camp of the year previous, known as Camp Boutwell, was reached and passed, and the fair stage of water in the river gave us great pleasure in voyaging over and down the numerous rapids extending from the Bemidji outlet to the locality of the Tascodiac. Here I take issue with Dr. Coues, who in "The Annals of Iowa" for April last, deplores the low water and impassable rapids of this portion of his voyage of 1894. That was a season of drouth, and now this particular portion of the Mississippi is the most romantic and picturesque of the entire upper basin of the river, easy to navigate and interesting to explore.

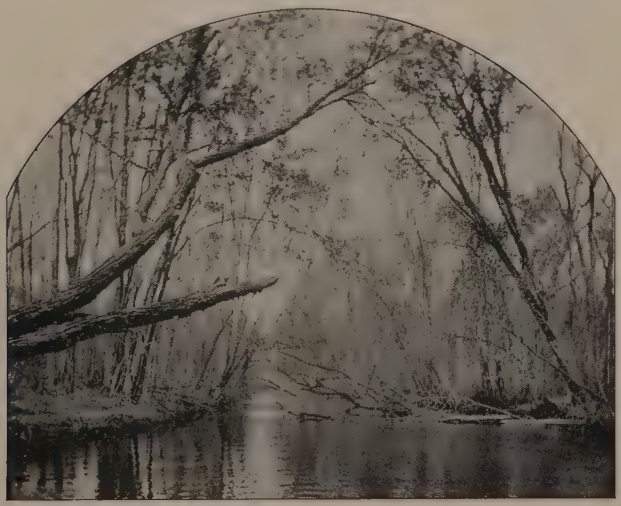
The night of May 13th found us encamped at a limited plateau on the west bank of the river, opposite a small grassy island, about three miles above Tascodiac lake. Pottery shards were found at our landing place. Proceeding on the morning of the 14th, we soon went into camp, on account of rain, at the edge of the Tascodiac meadows and within sight of the lake. Having discovered four extensive effigy mounds, at the summit of the bluff on the north bank of the river, the 15th of May was the time allotted to survey and excavate this curious group. Dr. Young, Dr. Shanafelt and myself had explored this locality on Monday, August 13, 1894, ascending to the summit of each of these mounds. They seem to have been constructed for some unknown purpose, out of pure sand, and the group contains over one hundred tons of earth. An excavation of the most southerly mound of the group, to the original surface, brought nothing to light bearing upon the

question of purpose in the construction of these old earthy effigies.

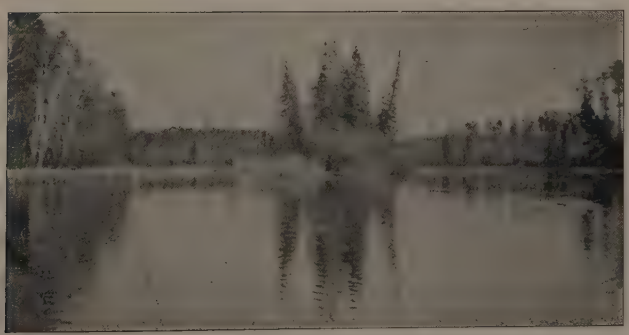
Subsequently the village sites and mounds of prehistoric Tascodiac man were located on both sides of the Mississippi

FIG. 5.

at the outlet of the lake, about a mile distant from and in full view of the Tascodiac effigies. Toward these village sites and mounds we extended a particular investigation. Stone and



THE MISSISSIPPI ABOVE THE MOUTH OF THE NAIWA RIVER.



THE MOST NORTHERN ISLAND IN THE MISSISSIPPI, BETWEEN BEMIDJI AND TASCODIAC LAKES

pottery remnants are promiscuously scattered about, along the sandy beach of the lake, upon lots 6 and 9, section 25, township 146, range 32, at the western boundary line of the Ojibway reservation. Two large burial mounds are central at the principal village site, on the point of land nearly encompassed by the lake and river, and on the south side several small low mounds appear at the summit of a hillock near an old trail leading from Leech to Red lake. The most southerly mound on the north side of the river was excavated, and disclosed a very interesting state of facts. This mound is forty feet in diameter, three and one-half feet in height, with an approach about two feet in height and thirty-six feet in length extending northwestwardly from the base of the mound. We here exhumed the skulls of twenty persons and portions of twelve others, which, with three additional ones noted at the side of the excavation, made in all thirty-five within a space dug down through the center of the mound scarcely seven feet in diameter. Other portions of these skeletons appeared in such a promiscuous manner, intermixed in such different and irregular order, that it leaves the cause and manner of this wholesale burial in doubt. Several large boulders were taken from this excavation, placed there by design for some purpose, usually above one or more skulls. That there were probably upwards of one hundred remains laid to rest in this particular mound seems possible, and the manner of burial with accompanying pottery shards and other prehistoric evidences leaves no room for conjecture as to the identity of the contents of these mounds. They were the builders of the Tascodiac effigies. There are many reasons for determining that they were. Some two hundred and fifty yards northwesterly appears another mound, nearly the same size and circular in form. The use of the steel probe indicated that this mound, like the first, is filled with human remains, but for want of time it was not excavated. Between, around and outside of these mounds were the remnants and debris of a former extensive village. Burned stones, chert, quartz, hornstone and jasper spalls and a few chipped implements were found, and pottery shards variously composed of stone and clay, sand and clay, and shell and clay, lie scattered along the sandy beach of the lake, which is modified somewhat, like the river bank above, by the action of water.

After a night's rest at our encampment on the south side of the river, a mile below Tascodiac lake, we proceeded down the stream to the Elliott Coues and Cass lake locality. Ojibway villages and settlements are variously scattered along

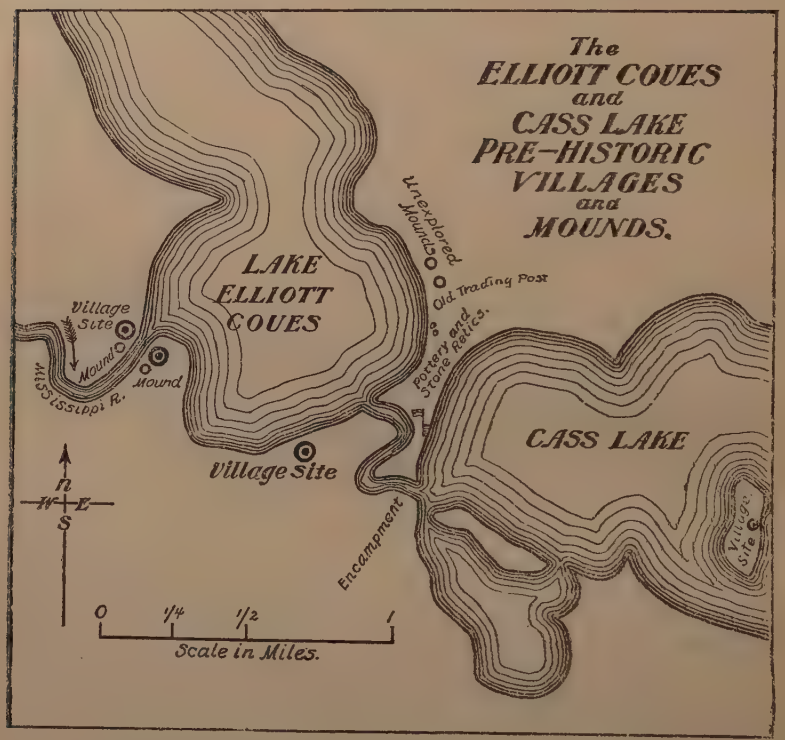


FIG. 6.

NOTE.—Indications point with an unerring certainty to a probability, that the mound-building population occupied many localities at and in the neighborhood of Cass lake and the rivers and portages leading to and from it, which would require a considerable length of time to explore and survey. An important village site was discovered at the southern extremity of Pike bay, seven miles south of the islands shown in the above sketch map. Leading south from the Pike bay village site is a prehistoric trail or portage, along which were collected several relics. This trail or portage leads to the north shore of Leech lake, at one of the great central village sites of the ancient occupancy at Mound point.

the route from the entrance of the Mississippi into Lake Elliott Coues, along the north shore of Cass and Winnibigoshish lakes, to the mouth of the Cut Foot Sioux, something more than thirty miles. At the very inception of our route through

and past these villages and settlements unmistakable evidences of the former mound-building population maintaining a permanent occupancy were observable on every hand; and the little cultivated fields established by the Indians proved what we had suspected, for everywhere were found the pottery shards, stone spalls and chipped implements of the prehistoric age. The Ojibway cemetery at the first Indian village reached, on the left bank of the river, situated upon lot 1, section 30, township 146, range 31, includes intrusive burials in one or more mounds; and on the opposite bank of the river, a little farther up stream, is a single mound about fifty feet in length and three feet high. There are also indications of artificial earthworks at the summit of a sharp declivity on the opposite side of the lake, north of our place of encampment, which we effected at the west extremity of Cass lake. At and immediately north from this encampment are the indications of the occupancy by man in succeeding ages for at least a thousand years, and possibly a much longer time. Ample evidences of a mound-building population were noticed; the Sioux Indians resided here; and a very old trading post was maintained, the fallen stone fireplaces only remaining at excavations which mark the spot upon lots 2 and 3, section 29, township 146, range 31. The ruins of an old mission are situated on the north shore opposite the island of Ozawindib, named after Schoolcraft's guide. The Ojibway population know no date connected with the coming of their forefathers, when the Sioux retired from this most central location of the upper basin, unable to withstand the onslaughts of their advancing enemies. The islands in Cass lake also plainly reveal a former occupancy by a prehistoric race, for there likewise can be found in abundance the same imperishable relics of pottery and chipped stone which exist at the other points along our route.

Owing to stormy weather we concluded to change our plans somewhat, and turned toward the portage from Pike bay to Leech lake. At the southern extremity of Pike bay, where we were encamped for a day, an extensive prehistoric village existed along the plateau there situated, and the stone spalls and pottery shards collected along the old trail from this point to the north shore of Leech lake yielded an abundant

and interesting budget of information concerning the discovery and use of these old portages long centuries before Lieutenant Pike or the Ojibway Indians traversed the locality situated between the two points named.

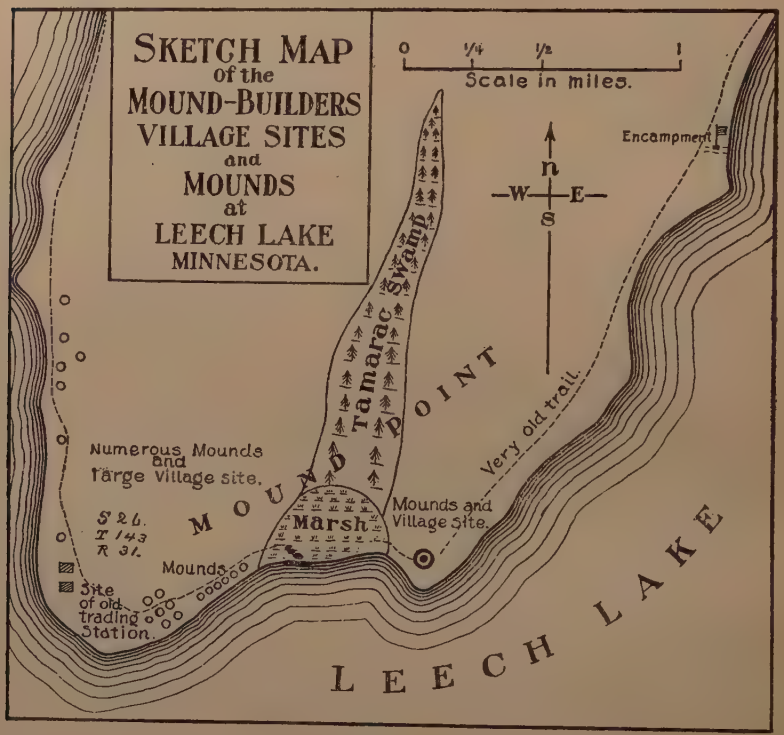


FIG. 7.

NOTE.—There is probably about one hundred miles of shore line at Leech lake, of which extension less than five miles was explored, creating the reasonable supposition, that, adopting Mound point as a criterion, there are nearly or quite two hundred mounds at and near this lake and the rivers flowing into it, which would require more than a month's time to properly explore and survey. The principal streams flowing into Leech lake are Little Boy, Shingobi, Ka-be-ko-na, and Bukesagidowag (or Steamboat) rivers, and numerous smaller lakes and streams are found in all directions. After the retirement of the Sioux Indians this locality was selected by the Ojibways, as one of several permanent places of abode, where they still reside, subsisting principally upon game and fish and the annuities paid by the United States under treaty stipulations, or according to congressional enactments.

Our investigations at Leech lake revealed the former existence of a great central village of Mound-Builders, situated for miles along the north shore, upon that broad point of land immediately east of the most northwesterly arm of the lake.

It may be safe to determine that the most central portion of this ancient town was situated upon sections 23 and 26, township 143, range 31. My accommodating Indian guide led the way to an innumerable line of burial mounds of different forms and sizes, some in groups, others scattered about, and some variously modified by intrusive burials. At one point I noticed modifications which suggested the possibility that they had been used as rice-pits by the native population. A handsome collection of relics at this locality rewarded our search. At one point the former existence of an old trading station was noticed, the old stone fireplaces marking the spot. Finding no name for this broad and extensive point of land heretofore applied, I have called it Mound point. The Ottertail point of Dr. Coues' chart of 1895 should be east of Goose island, where we also found ample evidences of the existence of a former mound-building population.

An unfortunate misunderstanding having occurred between my companion and some native Indians, who object to surveying operations upon their reservation, we removed from this interesting locality to the southwest arm of the lake and thence to the mouth of the Shingobi river, where we were storm-bound; and this change of base was made without a coveted exploration of the Ka-be-ko-na lake and river, at the west side of Leech lake, where a prehistoric occupancy existed, probably quite as extensive as that of Mound point. This information we gained from our Indian neighbors.

The ascent of Shingobi river was to me an important event, for, reaching the portage to the Crow Wing lakes and river, which crosses the Itasca moraine, I followed the deep trail to the east shore of a small lake, across which, the next day, we discovered a well-defined prehistoric village site and mounds, away from which led, toward the westward, the same trail to the Crow Wing river. This old village site and mounds are located about halfway between the Shingobi and Crow Wing rivers, but upon what particular section we did not determine. It will be remembered that Mr. Schoolcraft and Lieutenant Allen passed over this identical portage in 1832, and it was also the portage traversed by Morrison previous to that time, when he wintered at the eastern end of Fishhook lake, missing a meeting with Lieutenant Pike, which would have proved an historical event.

Continuing our voyage, evidences of an ancient occupancy were discovered in the valley of the Crow Wing, notably at the Eleventh lake and at the eastern extremity of Colonel Martin's Elbow lake. During the continuance of our voyage we gathered from the natives and others all possible information concerning the well-known imperishable signs of the Mound-Builders, which, coupled with our own observations, proves beyond question that prehistoric man migrated to and occupied the entire upper water-shed of the Mississippi, from Itasca lake to the mouth of Leech Lake river, and downward from there to the Sandy lake locality; that all the portages from lake to lake and from river to river, so extensively used even to the present time, were not discovered and opened by the Sioux or Ojibway Indians, but are prehistoric in character; and that the tribes named came after the Mound-Builders in the use of this entire system of portage communication. The mound-building population, whosoever they may have been, first traversed the Cut Foot Sioux portage, the portage from Beltrami's Julian source to Red lake, the portage from Pike bay to Leech lake, and the Shingobi portage, occupying for an unknown period of time the whole extent of territory drained by the upper branches of the Mississippi, residing usually upon the shores of lakes near the outlet or inlet, or both, in villages, subsisting principally upon game and fish, and using extensively pottery vessels made of pounded stone and clay, sand and clay, or pulverized mussel-shells and clay, stone implements, the bow and arrow, stone spears, copper implements, and either skin, bark or log canoes. The size of these people was undoubtedly from five feet six or eight inches, to six feet one or two inches, in height, as evidenced by the exhumed remains examined. The regular and symmetrical formation of the skulls examined indicates a high order of tact and sagacity on the part of this lost race; and it seems reasonable to presume, as I believe, that the effigy mounds near Tascodiac lake constituted a place of worship or celebration of some significance, for this mound-building people. That the flesh was removed from the bones previous to burial seems certain, but in what manner is doubtful; and the purpose was apparently to preserve the remaining bones by a process almost a hermetical sealing in character. I no-

ticed no evidences of cannibalism. The war-arrow point, triangular and without notched base, seems to have been commonly used.

Whence came these people, and how and when did they depart? are questions that I do not believe can be correctly answered. Concerning the date of their occupancy of this remote and ultimate reservoir system of the Mississippi basin a final determination may be formulated from one of two propositions: First, that there may have been a large number of people there for a comparatively short period of time, or, second, a limited number for a much longer period. The preference would be for the latter suggestion, for a portion of that which remains after them appears of great age and of a remote antiquity; and scientists, to whose acute judgment I am perfectly willing to yield, will not surprise me in entertaining an opinion that the locality examined was occupied by a mound-building race of men more than twelve hundred years ago. All that I claim for the few months' labor I have devoted to this subject, entirely at my own personal expense (with the exception of the amount paid by the late Mr. Hill), can be embodied in a few words. It can now be correctly represented that a mound-building people formerly occupied the entire extent of the basin of the Mississippi from Itasca lake to the Falls of Pokegama; that the principal portages throughout that locality are the portages formerly discovered and opened at an unknown date by the same people, and that they were a race of men superior to the Ojibway population now occupying the locality, as evidenced by facts which have now come to light; and that those facts can be augmented very materially by a detailed survey and examination of the village sites, mounds and portages now known to exist there. There is no reason why statements should be accepted as true, unless there is first the most convincing and indisputable proof offered to substantiate a fact stated, and these facts now stated for the first time are to me as indisputable as they are interesting and instructive. Among the seventy-five or eighty remains exhumed, the Itasca and the Tascodiac skulls show a remarkable perfection of the human brain at that early period, as regular in symmetrical outlines and formation as the white population of the present time.

ADDENDUM.

LETTERS OF MR. JULIUS CHAMBERS AND REV. J. A. GILFILLAN ON THEIR EARLY VISITS TO ITASCA LAKE.

The preliminary references of this paper (page 233) describe certain possessions, by right of occupancy or otherwise, at the Source of the Mississippi. The first edition of the paper, published under the auspices of the author, referred to the Mound-Builders, and, upon its title page, to "The Succeeding Races of Humanity."

The opportunity at present available to preserve the contents of several historical letters, now first published, descriptive of certain occurrences at the source of the Mississippi, is the occasion for extending the scope of these articles, at this time.

The first of the letters mentioned was written by Mr. Julius Chambers, who, in his canoe, "Dolly Varden," visited and explored Elk lake in 1872. The explorations mentioned have been strenuously denied by the individuals who, in later years, visited the identical spot so explored, in an endeavor to detract from the work accomplished by Chambers, that their own unholy war upon correct geographical distinctions might supplant, surreptitiously, the work of all the earlier explorers.

A map of the hydrographic distinctions, extant at the Itasca Basin, was forwarded to Mr. Chambers, with the request that he mark upon the map in red ink his route of travel while at the source of the Mississippi.

He marked the map, as requested, and returned the same with the following letter:

Washington, D. C., Feb. 8th, 1896.

Mr. J. V. Brower,
St. Paul, Minn.,

Dear Sir: Your favor reached me a few days ago, after following me all over this country for several weeks. I send you the map, marked as you request. The dates are right, but I wish I had my original Log Book with me here. It is, unfortunately, in New York and in a storehouse.

There are some things about the map that do not look familiar. I did not detect any rocky shoal between the island (Schoolcraft island) and the mainland south of it. It was in the midst of the rainy season, however, and a rise of a few inches in the lake's surface might have hidden the shoal. I am also under the impression that I found

a small stream on the eastern shore of Itasca. One of my most important letters, mailed at Aitkin on my arrival there, was lost in the mail.

I have been too busy a man, during every day of the twenty-odd years that have followed the trip, to give the matter the attention I was warranted in giving it. I thank you for sending me the map, and I would be very glad to have the report you so kindly offer to send me.

With great respect, I beg to remain,

Truly yours,

JULIUS CHAMBERS,
Washington Correspondent, New York Journal.

LEGEND WRITTEN ON THE MAP IN RED INK BY MR. CHAMBERS.

The red lines indicate my tour of Lakes Itasca and Elk in June, 1872, compiled from my note books and sketch map.

Julius Chambers.

Washington, D. C., Feb. 8th, 1896.

To the Mississippi by the Ah-see-wa-see-taquen portage. Camp, June 8th, 9th and 10th, 1872.

Opposite the word "camp" is an × in red ink, showing the location of the camp, on the west bank of the Mississippi river, about one-eighth of a mile below the outlet of Itasca lake. Mr. Chambers then marks on the map to what points he proceeded with his boat, to wit: An arrow on the line indicates that he proceeded to localities now known as Floating Bog bay in Itasca lake, thence to the East arm, thence to the mouth of Mary creek, thence to Turnbull point, thence to Schoolcraft island, thence to Ozawindib point, thence to the mouth of Chambers creek, thence up that creek to Elk lake, thence to the mouth of Elk creek, thence up that creek and return, thence to Chambers bay in Elk lake, thence to Clarke pool, thence to the east shore of Elk lake, thence to the outlet of Elk lake, thence down Chambers creek to Itasca lake, thence to the mouth of Nicollet's Infant Mississippi, thence to Schoolcraft island, and thence to the outlet of Itasca lake and to his camp.

The map marked by Mr. Chambers is on file with the Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, attached to the preceding and the following letter:

Washington, D. C., Feb. 14th, 1896.

Mr. J. V. Brower, St. Paul, Minn.,

My Dear Sir: I have to thank you very much for the valuable copy of your report that you have sent me. I have not had time to more than glance over it, for it came last evening, but it seems to be written

with perfect fairness. I am in no wise annoyed that you should accord to Nicollet's High Mississippi a preference over Elk lake. I had studied all the reports in the Congressional Library here before I went to Minnesota [1872], and did not bother exploring Nicollet's creek because it was so fully laid down on his charts. The narrow channel connecting Elk lake with Itasca was clearly defined in June, 1872, and I candidly see little ground for your assumption that the two lakes were one body of water in 1832 or 1836. Knowing the lay of the land as I do, I have very serious doubts, likewise, whether Morrison lake or Hernando de Soto lake drain into the Mississippi. However, of that you have satisfied yourself, no doubt. I am satisfied that no Mary lake was in existence in 1872, emptying into the east arm of Itasca. I am inclined to think that I was either at Clarke pool or Hall lake; but the first seems too small and the latter too large—relying simply on my memory of nearly twenty-four years ago. I thank you very much for the kindness you have shown for the work of a very young man, just out of college and equipped to make no really accurate survey of the two lakes. I am glad to see, however, that my estimate as to the size of the Dolly Varden [Elk] lake (which, by the way, in one of my letters I took the liberty of christening Lake Lincoln), should be nearly accurate. I would call your attention to an article of mine entitled the "Timber Cruiser," in the *Century Magazine* of March, 1894. As a poetical license, I have taken some liberties with the relative distances, and the geography, but I think that you will appreciate the impressions of the horrors of the Itasca's forests.

I shall read your report with care and thoroughness; and I thank you again for your great courtesy in sending the volume to me.

With great admiration for your earnest work in this very important field, I beg to remain,

Yours very truly,

JULIUS CHAMBERS.

Thus the absurd story of Glazier, that Chambers did not explore Elk lake, confirms the published accounts of Dr. Elliott Coues that a "Pirate Crew" had endeavored to rob the earliest explorers of well earned laurels.

REV. J. A. GILFILLAN'S FIRST SERMON AT THE SOURCE.

Still another historical fact, in the same category, remains confirmed, but the particulars are, until now, unpublished.

Reference is had to the voyage of Rev. J. A. Gilfillan to Elk lake in May, 1881, where at the foot of Morrison hill he celebrated the first religious service known to have been conducted at or near the Source of the Mississippi.

More than ten years later and within two hundred feet from where Dr. Gilfillan conducted Divine worship, another

service was held at Morrison hill, which is the rise of ground constituting the division between Itasca and Elk lakes. This was conducted by Mr. J. C. Crane. Whether he was or is a minister of the gospel, I do not know, yet it is claimed and widely heralded that Mr. Crane was the first to conduct religious services at that place.

Accordingly a map was sent to Dr. Gilfillan, than whom no more worthy and conscientious divine ever sacrificed his life's comforts to the conversion of savages, with a request that he also mark on the map the spot where his sermon was preached; requesting also, that he describe the occurrence in writing.

That description, a historical letter of unswerving accuracy, is as follows:

White Earth, Minn.,
November 15th, 1895.

Dear Captain Brower:

In reply to your favor of the 9th inst., just now read—I have been absent—I would say that I have drawn a line in ink on your enclosed map giving our line of advance on Lake Itasca, and marked the spot at the foot of Morrison hill, as near as I can, where the first service was held.

We came by Whipple lake; and Southern Ground [Ojibway guide] called my attention to the fact that the little stream flowing out of it went north into Lake Itasca. I supposed it was the Infant Mississippi and also supposed that the lake which we had just passed—Whipple lake—was where the first drop of water in the Mississippi came from, as I saw no stream running into Whipple lake. I therefore supposed we had stumbled on to the ultimate source of the Mississippi.

I remember my companion, Prof. Cooke, whipping out his foot rule from his pocket as we stepped across the infant stream and remarking that it was 18 inches wide.

We proceeded until we came to Elk lake, as indicated by my line drawn [on the map], and saw an American eagle flying over it.

The service was the usual service of the Episcopal church, and was held half in English and half in Ojibway, to accommodate the congregation, constituted of one Massachusetts Yankee [Prof. Cooke] and one Ojibway Indian [Southern Ground].

My reasons for naming Elk lake, Breck, were these: The first lake I named Whipple, because that lake and Bishop Whipple were the highest ultimate source of the stream which makes glad the cities of God, the Church of God; that river which, flowing down through the ages, sweetens, refreshes and purifies the world through which it flows, and on the banks of which, watered by that glorious river grow all manner of precious fruits. Bishop Whipple, especially since he is the

Bishop of Minnesota, is the reservoir, the head whence this great stream flows. The church is in him and comes from him; he appoints the two inferior orders of the ministry and everything flows from him, and therefore the ultimate source of the Mississippi was properly named from him. Breck was certainly the next to the Bishop in the great work he was permitted by Providence to perform, in the vast influence on succeeding ages that he is exercising and will exercise, and in the loftiness and nobility of his character, in the real manhood of the man, surpassing all others. Whenever Minnesota or the source of its river is looked at he will stand out as the most prominent object, more and more, as time rolls on. He was also the first missionary of the church, not only to the whites living near the source of the Mississippi, as at St. Paul, St. Anthony, Stillwater and Watab, but to the Indians there, at Gull, Leech and Otter Tail lakes, and he did more for them than all other missionaries. Whipple and Breck were also associated in their work. Therefore it was that the next lake to the source, of distinct prominence in the landscape, was properly named Lake Breck.

As to the day in May of 1881, on which the service was held by me, it was Tuesday, but unless my little article in the *Minnesota Missionary* gives the week, I fear I could not now tell which it was.*

It was not the Red River trail which we left, as stated in your article, on that trip, but the Government road from White Earth to Leech lake. Prof. Cooke and I left White Earth on Monday morning, riding in the saddle or walking some thirty-two miles to a settler's house where we remained for the night; walked north the next morning twenty-two miles to Lake Itasca, and Southern Ground and I walked back in the afternoon, in all about forty-four miles that day. My guide was tired; I was not. Prof. Cooke gave out and was brought home by a wagon from somewhere south of Lake Itasca.

So far as I remember we were at the source two or three hours, and I remember working my way along the shore [of Itasca] as far I think as Ozawindib Point.

I will write to Professor Cooke to learn if he knows what day we were there.

Very respectfully yours,

J. A. GILFILLAN.

Mr. Gilfillan's tracing on the map showing the route of travel is as follows: The line crosses the Itasca moraine west from Hernando de Soto lake, thence northerly past Morrison lake, thence to Whipple lake, thence across the outlet of the last named lake, thence to the west shore of Elk lake, thence

*[The Minnesota Missionary for July, 1881, on its third page, gives a detailed description of this visit to lake Itasca, and of the religious services held there, the date being stated twice as May 19th. That day, however, is found by other records to have been Thursday. W. U.]

to Morrison hill and Itasca lake. The spot marked as the distinct locality where the first religious service was celebrated is at the base of Morrison hill between Itasca and Elk lakes. At that spot a memorial tablet has been placed. The reading thereon is as follows:

FIRST SERMON AT THE SOURCE.

FROM "THEN HAD THY PEACE BEEN AS A RIVER."

BY

REV. J. A. GILFILLAN.

MAY, 1881.

The inscription is given from memory and while it may not be verbatim, the substance is not changed.

In 1891, in August, I think, Mr. Crane at the base of the same hill, so it was claimed, delivered a discourse upon religious topics.

In writing, Mr. Crane was requested to award to Dr. Gilfillan the honors justly due him as the divine first to celebrate with surplice and stole, religious services at the Source of the Mississippi, or near there.

The letter refusing to do so was discourteous, and is deemed to be unfit for publication in connection with these statements of historic fact.

The sermon of 1881 was delivered at Morrison hill; the discourse by Crane was also, in 1891, delivered at Morrison hill. The difference in time was ten years and three months.

Those who desire to do so, can examine the charts with the Secretary of the Historical Society. This somewhat extended notice has been prepared in the interest of fairness, and to commemorate the unselfish services to society, performed by Julius Chambers and Dr. Gilfillan, under circumstances which did not require any detraction from the recognition justly due their predecessors at the Itasca Basin.

This consideration has proved that Mr. Chambers discovered and explored Elk lake and its feeders in 1872, and that Dr. Gilfillan celebrated the first religious service there in 1881.

NOTE.

Part 1 of this Volume VIII., pages 1-40, with plate I. (a map of northern Minnesota), comprised the papers presented at the Annual Meeting of this Society, January 21, 1895. This part was published in April, 1895.

Part 2, pages 41-270, with plates II-IX., here completed, comprises the papers presented at the Annual Meeting, January 13, 1896, and at meetings of the Executive Council from February to May, 1896, with other papers accepted by the Publication Committee in its meetings to July, 1896. Its date of publication is December 1, 1896.

The third and concluding part, to be published in 1897, will contain papers presented at the Council meetings and Annual Meeting during the time from September, 1896, to May, 1897. It will include an index of the whole volume.

W. U.

CHARTER MEMBERS OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND ITS WORK IN 1896.*

BY THE PRESIDENT, HON. ALEX. RAMSEY.

It is now very nearly fifty years since the organization of the Minnesota Historical Society. I presume very few states of the Union can say as much of an organization of this kind, made so early in its history.

Notwithstanding the healthfulness of our climate and that the pioneers of those early days were emphatically men who thought all men mortal but themselves, yet every one of the organizers of this society, to whom its charter was granted by the Territorial Legislature, October 20, 1849, has disappeared from active life. I will recall their names; and many here will no doubt recognize them, although so many years have elapsed.

There was Charles K. Smith, who was the first Secretary of the Territory and the first Secretary of the Historical Society. He came, I think, from the town of Hamilton in the state of Ohio. He was with us on the day that the territorial government completed its organization, but left us, for some reason, in about eighteen months.

David Olmsted, who was the first Mayor of the city of St. Paul.

H. H. Sibley, you all of course knew.

Aaron Goodrich, who was the first Chief Justice of the Territory of Minnesota.

David Cooper, who was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Minnesota.

B. B. Meeker, who was also a Judge of the Supreme Court.

A. M. Mitchell, who was subsequently Marshal of the Territory.

*An Address at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Jan. 18, 1897.

T. R. Potts, who was a physician in the city of St. Paul.

J. C. Ramsey, whom many of you knew.

H. M. Rice,—of course everyone in Minnesota knew him.

Franklin Steele, of Minneapolis.

Charles W. Borup, one of the most active and prominent traders and bankers of that early day, very largely for a time in the Indian trade, and then settling down in banking business.

D. B. Loomis, of Stillwater.

M. S. Wilkinson, a senator from this state, now deceased.

L. A. Babcock, Attorney General of the Territory.

Henry Jackson, a merchant, inn-keeper, and so on.

W. D. Phillips, a lawyer of St. Paul.

William H. Forbes, a merchant in the Indian trade, afterwards a quartermaster, I think, in the Union army.

Martin McLeod, who came here from Canada a few years earlier. His half brother is still living within the state.

Now, although this Society was of such comparatively recent organization, everyone of its original members has disappeared and gone from us, except that Mr. Loomis, at the Soldiers' Home, is still living, though unfortunately his mind is gone. They have all disappeared, every one of them. The same statement can almost be made of the members of the first territorial government,—all have disappeared, except Henry L. Moss, the first United States Attorney for the district of Minnesota, and myself. It is astonishing how rapidly men who were young, active and strong, disappear. The great wisdom of those men at that early day is shown in the saving and collecting of historical data which would be afterward useful in illustrating the history of the state.

Coming forward to the present time, it is exceedingly gratifying to our Society to note the increase of interest in the Library, and the large attendance of the public during the last year. The daily attendance of readers is nearly double that of 1895, and ten times greater than that of 1893. While the reading room is no larger, there are three times as many tables as in 1893; and, even with the additional sittings, many days there are not enough. The public, not only in the Twin Cities, but throughout the state, are learning of the importance and value of the society's large library, now numbering 27,704

bound, and 31,507 unbound volumes, a total of 59,211. The additions for 1896 are 2,374 bound and 300 unbound volumes.

Of bound newspapers, there are 3,338 volumes; these are included in the total number of bound books. The newspapers are counted among the Society's most valuable collections, and are guarded with much care, all being kept in the fireproof vault. Among these newspaper files are a great many that are the only ones in existence, which cannot be replaced at any price. The value of these newspapers consists in the current history and legal notices of the towns and counties in which they are published; and they are in constant requisition, people coming from every part of the state to consult them. The increase in the last four years has been 42 per cent.

Among the readers in the general library, those looking up their ancestral history comprise about two-thirds of the whole. The number of those seeking information on other subjects is rapidly increasing on account of the advantages offered by the large collection of books bearing upon all subjects, many of them not to be found in other libraries.

An opinion has prevailed, to a certain extent, that the rooms of the Historical Society are not open to the general public. There is not an institution of like character that is more free to those searching for knowledge. There are no restrictions except the ordinary rules of libraries, and good behavior. The librarian and assistants are always glad to place before readers all that they may need, and to offer any reasonable assistance consistent with their duties.

The society has been remembered by its friends by generous donations of books (including some that are rare and very valuable), old newspapers, pictures, and articles for the museum. The society has many portraits and photographs of the old pioneers, and views of localities in the olden time; these are particularly valuable, as in many instances there are no others in existence. The society is particularly desirous of obtaining pictures and portraits illustrating the early history of our state and the Northwest, manuscripts, and archæological and ethnological specimens for the Museum. At present the society has not the room and facilities for displaying these fully, but it is collecting and making provision against the time when it will be housed in the new capitol.

The number of individual portraits displayed in the rooms of the society is 213; besides fifteen group pictures, which comprise 486 portraits. Nearly all are of pioneers and founders of Minnesota, or of citizens who in more recent years have had a prominent part in the history and development of the state. There are also seventy-six other pictures, as of ancient buildings, monuments, paintings of historic scenes, etc., and twenty framed documents, including a letter of George Washington, written in 1754, which is in the case holding the Washington chair. This collection is the most interesting part of the society's possessions for visitors who have only a short time to spend in our rooms.

Five large cases are filled with historical relics, illustrative of the conditions of the pioneer settlement of Minnesota, of the Sioux War and the Civil War, of the aboriginal people who built the thousands of prehistoric mounds in this state, and of the Sioux and Ojibways who were living here when the first white men reached the region. It is hoped that, when more space shall be provided for our library and museum, and for the display of portraits, in the new capitol building, all these collections shall be greatly increased.

Seven volumes, and the first and second parts of the eighth volume, of the Society's Historical Collections have been published. They comprise a large amount of valuable matter pertaining to the early history of this state and the Northwest, much of which, without such preservation by this society, would have been lost. It is hoped that Part 3 of Volume VIII. will be printed this year; this will be a particularly valuable volume. The Historical Collections are not for general distribution, but are exchanged for the publications of other societies and institutions. They can be obtained by purchase by those who wish them; but the editions of some of the earlier volumes are nearly exhausted.

HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN MINNESOTA.*

BY JAMES J. HILL.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a particularly pleasant occasion to see together so many of the old faces, and hardly any other occasion would bring so many of them together. I have often thought that the State of Minnesota was fortunate in the character of the men who came here at an early day and into whose hands the forming of the state was committed. To none of those men can we look with more gratitude than to our distinguished fellow-citizen, Gov. Ramsey, who came here in 1849, as the first Governor of the Territory of Minnesota, and has continued in the most active manner through all the trying periods of the growth of the state. I am sure that every one here to-night will feel, as I do, rejoicing that he is with us, so strong and so hearty. And we hope that for many years we shall see him present on occasions like this, when the old settlers are brought together.

I have been asked to speak to you on the agricultural history of Minnesota. The detailed history of agriculture in Minnesota would practically be the history of the state, and would take a great deal more time than you could spare or than I could give. We can, however, go back to the time when it was hardly considered that Minnesota was an agricultural state or that it ever was to be an agricultural state.

I see here my good friend, Gen. Le Duc,—I think you may not all know that Gen. Le Duc, in 1853, partly at his own expense and partly at the expense of the Territory, was charged with demonstrating to the rest of the country that Minnesota was not an utterly barren waste, that it was not a country limited to the raising of a few cranberries and some muskrat skins. I received a note from the General, the other evening,

*An Address at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Jan. 18, 1897.

and accompanying it a history of the first exposition in New York, written by Horace Greeley. Mr. Greeley, through his newspaper, the New York Weekly Tribune (which in its day was a good agricultural authority), had satisfied himself, and tried to satisfy its readers, that Minnesota was not an agricultural territory, that it had not the soil nor the climate requisite, that everything was too near where the late Sir John Franklin met with his great trouble. Gen. Le Duc, to demonstrate that Minnesota was to be an agricultural state, was able to get a few ears of corn from Cottage Grove, possibly a dozen others from the Hon. David Gilman (raised by him, I think, at Sauk Rapids), and a few from the Fort garden at Ft. Ripley. Everything west of the Mississippi at that time was Indian country. As late as 1856, when I came here a boy, it was still considered that Minnesota might be a good country for lumber; we had a few cranberries to sell (probably 150 or 200 barrels a year), and beyond that the fur trade. The dates of payment were made when the logs came down, or at the Indian payment; and a man felt that if he could not pay at that time he could not at any other.

The first wheat that I know to have been shipped from Minnesota was in 1857, and was raised on the Le Sueur prairie. There may have been some small fields of wheat elsewhere in the state, but I have not been able to locate any of them. In 1859 there were a few thousand bushels of wheat raised, principally about Le Sueur and St. Peter. It was shipped to St. Louis by boat; I remember that W. L. Ewing & Co. were the purchasers. There was not enough to fully load a barge, and, to save the cost of transfer, the barge was taken up the Minnesota river and loaded there. The wheat was placed forward, and the balance of the load was made up of hickory hoop-poles from Chaska, so as to fill out the cargo.

In 1859 and 1860, all the grain was handled in seamless sacks; at first they started at 125 bags to a carload; then they got up to 140, and, as long as it moved in sacks, 140 sacks was the limit, a little over eight tons to the carload. Later they did without the sacks by building bulk barges, lined on the inside and with cargo boxes with covers over them to keep the grain dry; and in that way it was transported in bulk. Milwaukee was practically the market for all our grain.

In 1862 (I think I am right in the date), the first flour was shipped from Minneapolis. I remember when Eastman & Gibson commenced exporting flour. It was not considered that Minnesota flour would be accepted as genuine, and to make it genuine it was branded "Muskingum Mills, Troy, Ohio—The Genuine." I had something to do with the brand, for I remember that I cut the first stencil out of the oil-paper that I used in my manifest book as a bill clerk on the levee. By permission of S. T. Raguet (whom many of you remember, Sam Raguet), his name went to market on this first flour shipped from Minnesota. The hickory hoops, to give it the semblance of the round hoop of Ohio, were cut where the other hoops had been supplied, at Chaska, Minnesota. Within about three months after the first shipment, the quality of the flour of the "Muskingum Mills" was so very much better than the other round hoop-pole flour of Ohio that we were compelled to change the brand. Since that time it has dated from Minnesota, and the next brand of flour was "Nicollet." I remember when the form of the brand, the stencilling of the letters, and all that, were matters of great consideration.

I also remember the pleasant afternoon when the railway was just finished from Minneapolis down to the mouth of Trout brook, in St. Paul, near where the roads cross under the Third Street bridge. The railway ran down to the Mississippi river and there was a small freight station, measuring, I think, 14 by 18 or 14 by 22 feet. The first shipment consisted of fifty barrels of flour. There was a great deal of difficulty in getting the drays along the side of the railway grade, because marshy ground was crossed before reaching the end of the track where this station was. Right at the end of the track was a broad sandbar, which prevented steamboats from landing there. Between the shallow water and the hard ground of the railway, the sandbar extended some five or six hundred feet, where a man if he stood still long enough would soon be lost to sight. I remember that we took up the flour and with some cross-ties skidded it down onto the drays, and hauled them back by the gas works and around to either Sibley or Jackson street. (I am not certain that Sibley street ran through; I think it ran up and stopped in the face of the hill.) We hauled it down to the steamboat, and it was upon this occasion of the shipment

of flour that I felt we had sent out more tonnage on one boat than the cranberry crop would have furnished in a month. I remember how proud I was to ride up on the last dray bringing up the procession.

I remember the first corn that was shipped. People did not generally believe that corn would grow in Minnesota, but Gen. Sibley had a corn-field on the bottomland above Mendota and raised some 250 or 260 gunny-bags of corn. It was regarded as of sufficient importance to justify taking the St. Louis steamboat up to Mendota, to load this corn for St. Louis. I thought the General was rather a plucky man in sending out the corn and paying the rate of freight demanded; I think the rate was 35 cents a hundred to St. Louis. Although the shipment today would not be called a large one, the boat could then reasonably well afford to go on from St. Paul to Mendota in order to get 250 or 260 gunny-bags of corn.

I remember the first threshing machine and the first agricultural implements we had here,—the Manny reaper. There were about as many of them sold to Winnipeg people as we used in our own state. At that time Winnipeg was known as Ft. Garry. Settlers came down and they particularly wanted a machine that would cut hay, and used to buy these Manny harvesters or reapers. The first threshing machine that came here, I believe, was run by John Cormack. Now some of you may not know who John Cormack was, but a great many will remember him as a river raft pilot. The Pitts Company of Buffalo came up here to establish an agency, and the house for whom I was working at the time made a contract with them to try to sell three threshing machines, separators, and they asked me if I could go out and set one up. I told them I thought I could, if I could first go and see John Cormack's running. I took an old horse that we used to drive in a dray, went up back of Ft. Snelling, and found Cormack threshing, on what we used to call Eden Prairie. After looking over the machine and noting it carefully, I felt quite competent to set one up in running order, and within a few days a customer came along and I sold him a machine. I had to go a short distance this side of Shakopee to a place called Burnsville,—there was no village there then. I was young and felt a good deal of confidence in my ability to run a threshing machine; but at the

same time, as I did not want anything to go wrong, I decided that a single horse would be safe with one sweep. I tried it with one horse upon the horse-power the evening before I was to commence work, and I got it moving all right and oiled it up and looked brave. There is a great deal in having some nerve. I connected with the little spur wheel and a band on the cylinder, and before dark had the whole thing moving to my own satisfaction, and told them to bring on their men in the morning. I got up and tried the threshing machine all right, and had a man cutting bands and pushing the sheaves through. I was careful not to feed too fast, and I remember how successful I was. I gave the man satisfaction, but told him to be careful not to crowd anything that was hard through it, not to put any stones into it. The old gentleman who bought the machine was named Burns, and he told me, with a good accent, "Thruly its the mosht wonderful invintion." About three days afterwards he came down to tell me that somebody had dropped the monkey-wrench into the cylinder and broken out the concave. They had to get a new concave, and that opened his account for repairs. Some of you gentlemen know what repairs of agricultural implements mean.

I remember the first wheat that came from north of the Minnesota river was from St. Cloud, raised in the neighborhood of St. Joe. It brought the farmer 35 cents a bushel, and was carried by steamboat to Minneapolis and was hauled from there on wagons to the levee in St. Paul. That was about the year 1864. Now we are getting down to more recent dates. I remember going up to St. Cloud, to see that it was carefully stored. There were something like 150 bags of this wheat, and it was stored in Henry Burbank's warehouse, at what was known as the Upper Landing. I do not kow whether you can find the Upper Landing in St. Cloud now, unless you have some old settler to point it out to you. A great many people do not know that there ever was a landing there, but they were very pretentious boats which then ran between Minneapolis and St. Cloud.

The agricultural history of this state is practically the history of the state. We have to look always for our wealth either to the field, the forest, the mine, or the sea. These are the four sources from which all the material wealth of the world

is drawn. Three of them we have in Minnesota, each in as good form, probably, as in any state of the Union.

Our forests are being depleted more or less rapidly, but if we would establish some better system of planting trees, I assure you that a great many hundreds of thousands of acres of land in the state that will not be profitably used for other purposes, might be used for replenishing the loss of our timber that has been so rapidly cut. The trees in Minnesota furnishing saw-timber are practically counted and measured, and the time is not far distant when Minnesota will be like some of the older states. Let us hope, however, that she will be wiser than they and will take some steps to replace the forests which contributed so much to the early wealth and settlement of the country.

Our iron mines are rich, valuable, and the most easily mined in the world. But only comparatively limited districts in Minnesota have natural wealth in either forests or mines. The greater part of the state must support its people chiefly by agriculture.

The soil of our fields is fruitful; our climate is good; we have an abundance of rainfall, and all the conditions that underlie successful farming, in Minnesota. I know of no state in the Union where a great diversity of agricultural employment can more profitably be put into effect than in Minnesota.

We are near, very near, the northernmost limit of the best growth of wheat. I believe it is an established and accepted principle that the nearer the northern limit animal or vegetable growth can be carried on, the better will be the results. The best of the spring wheat variety is grown south of the northern boundary of this state, and I think I may say that, to find it at its best, you will go thirty to fifty miles south of the northern boundary of the state. Beyond that boundary the wheat ripens before it is mature. Now I will explain what I mean when I say that it ripens before it matures. It has not had time to fill out the kernel and to finish the growth. I know that some of the millers of Minneapolis years ago tried wheat from Manitoba, raised at Portage La Prairie; and while it was a good sample, fair to look upon, the quality of the wheat did not compare with that south of the boundary. The better quality of hard wheat cannot be raised, in its best form, south of the Minnesota river. You can take a belt running from here to within

thirty or fifty miles of the northern boundary of the state, and within that belt can be raised the best quality of the hard varieties of spring wheat which bring the highest prices in the market.

We have, as I have said, an excellent climate, one adapted to the growth of all the grains and all the profitable roots and to animal growth. There is no state where better beef, pork and mutton can be raised than in the state of Minnesota. For many years I fed stock on my farm a few miles from here and exhibited the stock in the Fat Stock Show at Chicago. I think for six or seven years I was always able to carry off a full representation of the top prizes; and I think that half the time I carried off the actual first prizes for the animals on foot and for the quality of the meat of the slaughtered animal. I have probably a dozen and a half or two dozen gold medals which I have taken for fat stock fed on my farm about ten miles north of this city, exhibited in Chicago in competition with all the stock feeders and breeders from Kentucky, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio; and I know that I never found it difficult, by sending down a few animals from Minnesota (and when I say a few animals I mean five or six, showing them against six or seven hundred), to carry off either a third or a half or all of the top prizes. I remember on one occasion, when they had pleuro-pneumonia in Chicago, I did not want to send any young stock down there that I would have to bring back, and I had but one steer which I intended to enter for the beef prize. With that steer I took seven first prizes, amounting to some seven or eight hundred dollars; I took three gold medals, and I do not know how many pieces of machinery that were offered as prizes by the machine men. I think I had a patent pump, a corn drill, and a number of other things. I do know that it is perfectly within the reach of any intelligent man to send better beef, better pork, and better mutton, to the market from Minnesota than from any other state in the West. I will not except any; I have met them all, and have never failed to take my full share of premiums. When I say my full share, I took twenty times my share of prizes, although I had to hire men to feed the stock. Many of our farmers are better off than that, they can feed them themselves.

When I speak of feeding, there is the point. You must do your work intelligently. If you send a half-fed animal to market, depend upon it that you are not going to get the top price and that you will have to put up with what the other fellow will give you. Last year I had five or six hundred sheep to feed. I did not like to send them to market unless they were in good condition; I felt that I had a little reputation at stake, and I wanted to send those sheep to market in good order. After feeding them for nearly three months, I think they were as heavy as when I commenced, perhaps a little heavier; but I got out of it as well as I could, I did not ship them, I was not proud of them at all, and thought I would do better next time. Now, five hundred of them cost me about $7.25 a day to feed. This year I am feeding twelve hundred, and they cost me less than twice as much as the five hundred, but I have an intelligent man, and he does not cost me any more than the man I had last year. I think that I got $3.50 for my sheep last year, and I expect to get $5.50 this year. The current price is no higher than it was then, but they will be sent to market in better order.

Minnesota has been called a wheat-field, and our farmers have been told that they can only raise wheat successfully. In the older portions of the state, southern Minnesota, that is an exploded idea; they know better. There was a time when Rochester was the champion wheat market, if not of the world, at least of Minnesota. Later on it traveled up to Red Wing, and that city for a few years was considered the champion wheat market, the largest primary wheat market in the world. Red Wing marketed, I think, in one year, of wheat bought from the farmers on her own streets, something like 1,200,000 bushels. At the present time I might mention twenty-five places whose names you would not recognize as those of important towns, where they exceed that in the Northwest; but the wheat market of Red Wing has passed away, and the farmers there are doing other and better things. The farmers in Minnesota can all give their attention to a greater diversity of interests than playing on one string.

We are glad always that the farmers are able to raise wheat, we are glad they are able to ship large quantities of wheat over our lines of railroad; but unless the raising of wheat is profit-

able to them, the carrying will not be profitable to us. That statement will always hold good. Every one here will recognize that unless the condition of the farmers of Minnesota and the Northwest is prosperous, all other interests will suffer, the banker's, the merchant's, the manufacturer's, the lawyer's, the doctor's,—everybody's. All must therefore feel an absolute interest in the prosperity of the farmer. And when I say prosperity, I mean that they shall be able to live well, educate their children, clothe and feed them, and add something to their worldly belongings year by year. If that is not the case, other interests of the state will be poor, and Minnesota will not give the results to all her citizens, both in the country and in the towns, that she ought to give.

Sometimes people have criticized the management of our railroads. As a representative of one of the large railway systems of the Northwest, I reply that we are quite willing to answer all inquiries on that ground. Everybody has a right to know just what we do. On the other hand, I feel that we have an abiding interest in the condition and progress of agriculture, because our prosperity will be determined by the intelligent use of the land. I may sell out my interests, and any other of my associates may sell out his interests, in the railway; and the farmer may sell his interest in the land; but the railway will be there and the land will be there, and the same laws and conditions that affect them to-day will affect them year after year, and they must either prosper or be poor together. I want my friends who are here to bear in mind that I say, with all good conscience, that their prosperity depends upon the prosperity of the farmer and that they have a deep interest in his welfare, not only in this world's goods but in the intelligent manner in which he cultivates his land and the intelligent manner in which he uses his time.

Years ago the State of Minnesota started an agricultural college. In the course of a few years it became an attachment to the State University and fared very badly for a time as a vote-getter for appropriations, because it was something that the agricultural interests of the state were called upon to support. Now I am very sorry to say anything that would in any way operate against the growth and extension and prosperity of the State University, and I am glad to be able to say that

lately, within the past two or three years, the State of Minnesota is taking a forward rank, through its State Experimental Farm, among the different states of the Union, and, I may say, among the experimental farms of the world. It is doing a good work, and, if it is supported by the State as it deserves to be, it will do a great deal more and a great deal better work than it has done in the past.

A year ago this winter there were some immigration meetings held through the state of Minnesota. In addressing a few of them and in thinking what I could say and what I could do, I always ran up against the question as to how far short our farmers came of doing their work under the best and most favorable conditions and how far they came short of doing themselves justice. In order that they might come and see what intelligent farming would do, I invited different counties to send a delegation of forty or fifty each, to visit the State Experimental Farm, and told them we would carry them here and back free on our railway. Now I felt that in doing this we did a wise thing, in helping them to help us. I hope that the Legislature this year will make some provision for the Experimental Farm to take care of these people when they come. They have at least to get a luncheon there, because, when they get out to the farm at ten o'clock in the morning, the day is soon gone, and it would take half the time to go and come from where they would be able to get something to eat. Last year I believe that over five thousand delegates visited the State Experimental Farm, and at twenty-five cents apiece it would take a considerable amount to give them a good wholesome luncheon.

Before I close, I would like to say a few words to the Historical Society concerning some of the interests that are uppermost in the minds of the people of the state and the most important to them. I tried to get some figures in regard to the acreage and the yield of the various crops; I could get figures partially from some counties, and not from others, up to 1894. I got what figures I could, but I will not impose them upon you, as I know they are not complete and not correct. Now think of a state like Minnesota, and an interest so important as its agriculture, with nobody anywhere in the state to gather together the statistics or figures showing what

has been done or what is being done. That is what I found. There was a time when the State, in its early and poorer days, struggling along, could and did afford a State Statistician, I think for four or five years, and we had the foundation laid of an excellent system of state statistics. But to-day the system has gone to the four winds.

Now to go back, I will give you some figures from the northern part of the State that will mark the comparative growth of the agricultural interests of northern Minnesota. We keep close statistics as to what we carry, and we report them annually to the Railway and Warehouse Commission. But what we carry comes from other states as well as Minnesota, and it is not divided. When I took the reorganized St. Paul & Pacific Railroad in the midsummer of 1879, the road had just about closed its fiscal year, and it carried 2,000,000 bushels of wheat in 1879. Of the crop of 1895 it carried 67,000,000 bushels of wheat,—thirty-three and a half times as much as sixteen years before.

In 1878, from a few miles beyond Fergus Falls (six or eight miles) we went out—just think, eighteen years ago—we went out of all settlement. Up to that limit, there were a few little houses dotted over the prairie; you might see one house where now you would count fifty. I remember that in the fall of 1878, north of Crookston, a station that will usually ship seven or eight hundred thousand or a million bushels of wheat in a good crop, there was but one house; and that house was a hole in the bank of a stream, dug out, with some poles and marsh hay thrown over the poles. It contained a cook-stove at the back end, board seats supported by little limbs of trees driven into the ground, and a man cooking. You can imagine what opportunities he had to prepare a good meal, and you can imagine what kind of a meal we had after he got it ready.

I remember that in 1878, on the Fourth of July, I crossed the internationl boundary between Manitoba and North Dakota, coming south toward Grand Forks, driving down over the country, locating the line of railway that strikes the boundary at Neche, on the west side of the Red river of the North. I drove forty-two miles from the international boundary, to what is now the town of Grafton. There was not one solitary house in that entire distance, and about four o'clock in the

afternoon, on the endless level prairie, one great sea of waving grass, the young man who was driving lost his nerve and told me that he was lost. He did not know where he was going, did not know whether he was going north or south or east or west, and asked me if I knew. I said, "Yes," and I took the team and kept on, and finally we came to the Park river, with its fringe of woods, where now is the prosperous town of Grafton. There was a settler there, a woman, I remember, who had a little house, probably fifteen feet square, covered with split logs (half of them turned on their backs, with the bark down, and the others laid over them); and she got me something to eat, and I compromised by sleeping beside a log in the grove with a mosquito-bar around me. That was only eighteen years ago. Grafton now is the county seat, and the assessed value of the county to-day is seven or eight millions of dollars, and I am quite sure that they do not owe any money. Certainly, if they do, they have enough to pay it with; and there are a number of such counties.

Now, up north of Devil's Lake, in a new country, settled in 1885, about ten years ago, there are railway stations whose names you would not know or recognize, that last year shipped a million or more bushels of wheat, and these people are comparatively well off. They got their land for nothing. There are men going now and getting homesteads in that country, and some are going farther west; others are buying the farms of the first settlers, the farms of the homesteaders. A great many people of the Society of German Baptists or Dunkards,—Gov. Ramsey, I have no doubt, knows the denomination, because many of them come from Pennsylvania,—good people, are settling in that country, and I am glad to say they are particularly prosperous. They are happy and well, and more will come in this year, I believe, than in any previous year.

Before I close my remarks, there are a few words that I want to impress on those present. With a climate and soil unsurpassed, we have conditions that should make us as prosperous as any other community in the West. By community I mean, in the large sense, the people of a state.

Some months ago I was down in Iowa. Riding about the country, I inquired, as I drove around through the neighborhood of Ft. Dodge, the value of land. I found that farms with

fairly good buildings were held at $40 to $45 an acre. With an ordinary Iowa barn, consisting of some posts and a few poles and occasionally some poorly hung, ramshackle doors, and a few boards to keep the straw from falling in thrown around the building, that kind of improvement did not enhance the value of the farm to make it attractive to the settler from the East who is accustomed to better things and a country home; and those lands were held at $30 to $35 an acre. Now come up to Minnesota, to lands that are equally good, as near market and with a lower rate of transportation, and what are they held at? $15 or $18 an acre!

Possibly someone can tell me why a good farm in Minnesota is worth no more than half the price of an equally good farm in northern Iowa. There is nothing that the Iowa farmer can raise that we cannot raise. Most of the crops that we raise to the best advantage he cannot produce so well.

The farmer in Iowa is plagued with hog cholera,—we are having more of it in this state than we ought to have. Though I for years believed it would never bother us in this state, I now know that it can be carried, even in the clothes of a man, can be carried by a dog, can be carried by sheep and cattle. I brought a carload of cows from northern Iowa last spring (dairy cattle), took them out to my farm, and within three weeks had the first case of hog cholera and lost about eighty little pigs. I quarantined at once, and, with the aid of the State Veterinarian, Dr. Reynolds, was able to stamp it out, but I might have lost my entire herd of pigs.

Now I want some of you gentlemen to tell me why a farm in Minnesota that can raise everything that a farm in Iowa can raise, and that can market it for less money, should not be worth as much in Minnesota as it is there; why land in the Red River Valley, that is richer than anything they have in the State of Iowa or in any other state, is worth only from eight to fifteen dollars an acre, or, if it is well improved, sells at the outside for twenty dollars an acre, while farms south of us sell for twice that.

The State of Minnesota does not raise as much corn as Iowa, but it raises a bigger yield per acre. We do not plant as much. I think our yield per acre is some six bushels greater than theirs. About twenty years ago people thought you could not

raise wheat in the Red River Valley, that the land was too cold and sour and wet, that it might do for grass but would not do for wheat; and, after it was demonstrated that it would raise the most bountiful crops of wheat and oats, it was then settled that it would not raise corn. But, now, for the past two seasons, I have seen corn growing in the Red River Valley, as far north as the Goose river, some forty miles north of Fargo; and I can further tell you that the best field of corn I ever saw was in the Red River Valley and in the Goose river country. It was the strongest, the most even in growth, that I ever saw, and there is no reason why, with intelligent farming, we cannot raise corn as far north as Crookston; I am certain that we can, and possibly as far north as the northern limit of the state. Well, if we can do that, what is there to prevent us from getting as much for our land in the market as the sale value of the land in the states south of us? Is there anything the matter with the land? I have not found it so; the trouble must be in the way it is used.

There are a great many small things that can be done which will help the agricultural interests of the State of Minnesota. I know of none that will help them more than to bring as many farmers as possible (not in the winter, but during the summer, when the crops are growing) to the State Experimental Farm, and to show them what intelligent work will do,—how sixteen sheep can be fed on one acre of ground and cannot eat the product of that acre; or five or six cows on one acre, without eating down the forage on that acre. Yet that is poor land; if you put a spade into it, before the spade is driven home the edge of it is in the sand. I have some of the same kind of land, and with care I know that I can get a crop every year.

I think for the past ten years I have averaged over 800 bushels of rutabaga turnips to an acre, and I plant some twenty or twenty-five acres. An excellent good fodder they make. This year I put sixty acres of corn into ensilage, about 300 tons of ensilage. Perhaps some of you may eat my "silver-plated" butter,—and it's good butter. I had an order the other day from Montana, proposing to take it all at 28 and 30 cents a pound. Any farmer who will be careful and try to do his work intelligently, with diversity of crops, stock-raising, and

dairying, can and will make his land worth as much as it is in the state south of us where there are no nearer markets than here.

Small things change the direction of these larger matters. Small differences in prices and rates of freight turn the scale of profit or loss. When we built the Great Northern Railway to the Pacific coast, we knew that it was necessary to look to Asia for a part of our traffic. I sent a trained statistician to Japan and China and kept him there a year. He brought an abstract, a manifest of every ship that entered or left their open ports for a year, and I was quite delighted at the prospect for trade with Asia. But when I came to get closer to it, closer to the question of sailing ships under our own flag, it looked different. There was a time when the United States did a large portion of the ocean-carrying trade of the world,—but when I came to consider the question of carrying the Asiatic produce under the American flag upon the sea, I found that we could not do it profitably, I found that the little yellow man could do it a great deal cheaper than we could. Therefore we made an arrangement with the general steamship company of Japan to run its steamers to Puget sound, and we had to consider how to give them loading back. There is no trouble about loading this way, for the Japanese export to our country some thirty-five million dollars' worth of their products annually, and they take from us about five million dollars annually, leaving us to pay thirty million dollars to them in gold. They have a silver standard of coinage, but when they stipulated with us that they should receive such and such divisions of through rates, they also stipulated that these should be paid in gold. I asked the gentleman whether they were not silver people; he said, "We *pay* in silver!" They pay their people in silver, but they make other people pay them in gold. We were able to establish a rate on flour to load their ships back that was a low rate comparatively, quite a low one. It was not as low as the rate on the Atlantic ocean, but for the Pacific ocean, compared with the rates charged by the line subsidized heavily by our own government, a much lower rate. Now the result of that was to open a market in Asia for substantially all the wheat raised on the Pacific coast.

You may ask me how that concerns us. Well, I must reply that it concerns us very materially. The whole world, commercially speaking, is not as large as the states of the Union were before the Civil War. It is not so far from anywhere in the world to any other place in the world, considering the time or expense, as it was from Boston to San Francisco before the war. When we can send all the export wheat of the entire Pacific coast to Asia, to be eaten by people who heretofore have lived almost wholly on rice, we have just to that extent helped our farmers in the East. The wheat that heretofore went from San Francisco round the Horn to Europe does not go there now, and it is not competing to the extent of a bushel this year. I think I am safe in saying that there will be more wheat exported this year to Asia and eaten by the Asiatics than the greatly dreaded Argentine Republic will send to Europe; and that alone makes for our people an advance of, say, ten or twelve cents out of the thirty cents that wheat is higher than it was last year. I think it will account for fully one-third of the fact that Walla Walla and California wheat is not competing in Europe.

There are a great many things that could be said in regard to bettering the condition of our agriculture, but, as I remarked in beginning to speak, it would be the history of the state, and I will not take any more of your time to-night. In conclusion, I wish to thank you for your attention, and I hope that I have not wearied you.

HISTORY OF MINING AND QUARRYING IN MINNESOTA.*

BY THE SECRETARY, WARREN UPHAM.

COPPER.

On Isle Royale, in lake Superior within sight of the Minnesota shore, native copper had been mined before the coming of white men. This was the only metal which the aboriginal people of our region had learned to obtain by mining, but only very scanty supplies were derived from their rude shallow excavations, worked with the aid of water-rounded beach cobbles for hammering and breaking up the inclosing rock.† Probably more of the copper in use among the Indians before the advent of European commerce was derived from masses and fragments of native copper found in the glacial drift.

The earliest mining within the area that now is Minnesota was by Le Sueur, who in April, 1701, mined 30,000 pounds of what he supposed to be an ore of copper, from the bank of the Blue Earth river or of the Le Sueur river near their junction, a few miles southwest of Mankato. He sent 4,000 pounds of this material to France.‡ It was probably a peculiar dark green shale, which outcrops beside the Blue Earth river, or an equally remarkable blue earth in the same vicinity, which the Sioux used as a pigment, in either case worthless as a source of copper or any metallic product.

The Keweenawan rock series, from which copper is very profitably mined in the upper peninsula of Michigan, extends

*An address at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Jan. 18, 1897.

†N. H. Winchell, Bulletin of the Minnesota Academy of Natural Sciences, vol. II, pp. 29-34, April, 1881; Popular Science Monthly, vol. XIX, pp. 601-620, Sept., 1881. R. L. Packard, Smithsonian Report, 1892, pp. 175-198 (also in Am. Antiquarian, vol. XV, 1893). In 1892, for the Smithsonian Institution, Prof. W. H. Holmes visited Isle Royale and mapped its shafts and pits of the aboriginal copper mining, finding their number about one thousand.

‡Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. I, p. 337; vol. III, pp. 7-12, Geology of Minnesota, vol. I, pp. 16-18, 59, 71, 428, 435.

also through northern Wisconsin and into northeastern Minnesota, occurring on the St. Croix river at Taylor's Falls, northward on this river and its tributaries, and on a large area north of lake Superior. Traces of native copper and of its ores are frequent in these rocks in Minnesota; but no large bodies of the metal or ore have been discovered by much exploration. Mining has been attempted in many places, but hitherto unsuccessfully, beginning in the year 1864. Prof. C. W. Hall has written a brief history of this copper mining in Minnesota, and doubts that it will ever become a profitable industry.*

GOLD.

In very small quantities gold has been washed from gravel and sand of the glacial drift, and of stream alluvium derived from the drift, in Fillmore, Olmsted, and Wabasha counties of southeastern Minnesota, as noted by Prof. N. H. Winchell in his reports as state geologist; but it is not found in remunerative amount. The gold occurs there as a minute ingredient of the drift, belonging probably to its part gathered from the recently discovered gold-bearing district upon and north of our international boundary. Although a similar proportion of the precious metal is undoubtedly present in the drift on all the intervening region, it will quite surely nowhere pay for placer mining.

The Vermilion Lake district, near the northern boundary of Minnesota, was the scene of a very remarkable excitement for gold mining during the years 1866-68. A report by Henry H. Eames, the state geologist, published in 1866, announced that analyses of quartz from veins in that district yielded gold at the rate of $20 to $30 per ton. A road was laid out seventy-five miles through the forest, from Duluth to Vermilion lake. Numerous companies began mining, and built four stamp mills. A town site, named Winston, was surveyed, and several large buildings were erected. But the enterprise was wholly unremunerative, and was soon abandoned, so that ten years later only one white man was living in the district.† It has since,

*Bulletin of the Minnesota Academy of Natural Sciences, vol. III, pp. 105-111, Oct., 1885.

†N. H. Winchell, Minnesota Geological Survey, Seventh Annual Report, for 1878, pages 23, 24.

however, been found to contain very valuable iron ores, which are now being extensively and profitably mined.

On the northern side of the Lake of the Woods, in Canada, gold ores were discovered in 1878, which have been worked profitably at the Sultana and other mines. In Archæan rocks of similar character, within the limits of Minnesota, gold has been discovered and mined, in 1893 and since that date, on the southern shores and islands of Rainy lake, as well as in the country north of this lake, belonging to Canada. The description, history, and prospects of this gold-producing district are the subject of a report by H. V. Winchell and U. S. Grant,* whose conclusions have been presented in previous pages (8 and 9) of this volume.

IRON.

The prominence of Minnesota as a mining state dates from the development, within the past thirteen years, of rich iron ore deposits north of lake Superior. These are found along two belts of great extent from northeast to southwest, known as the Vermilion range and the Mesabi range.

The iron ores of the Vermilion range were first described in published reports by Eames and Whittlesey in 1866. Nine years later the first blasting on this range was done by George R. Stuntz and John Mallmann, near the present town of Tower. Again nine years passed before the Duluth and Iron Range railroad was opened from Two Harbors on lake Superior to Tower, when, in 1884, the earliest exportation of ore took place, the product shipped that year being 62,124 tons. In 1886 the mines at Ely, about twenty miles farther east on this range, were opened, the railroad being extended there.

On the Mesabi range, approximately parallel with the foregoing and fifteen to twenty miles south from it, iron ores were earliest noted by Norwood in 1850, and by Eames in 1866. The discoveries of its great deposits of very cheaply workable ore have all been made, however, within the past seven years, chiefly in 1890 to 1893, and were due in large measure to persistent exploration by the Merritt brothers, of Duluth. The Mountain Iron deposit was found in November, 1890, and the deposits at Biwabik and in its vicinity less than a year later.

*Minnesota Geological Survey, Twenty-third Annual Report, for 1894, pages 36-105, with map and sections.

Within the next three years the production of iron ore from this range, to which two railroads were built in 1892, in addition to the previously developed mining of the Vermilion range, placed Minnesota in the front rank of the iron-producing states of the Union.*

COAL.

Because of the lack of coal in the rock formations of Minnesota, the iron ores so abundantly mined here have been carried by lake steamships to other states, chiefly to Cleveland and other Ohio ports, for manufacturing into iron and steel where coal is cheaply obtained from neighboring coal-mining districts. It will doubtless be found practicable, however, to establish iron furnaces on remunerative conditions in Duluth and Two Harbors, Minn., and in West Superior, Wis., the ports of lading of the Minnesota iron ores, so that an important part of the ore product shall be smelted at home, with coal brought very cheaply as return cargo by the ore-carrying steamers.

Coal of the inferior quality named lignite, in strata of Cretaceous age, probably no more than a third as old as the coal of the eastern United States, is found in a few localities of Minnesota in thin seams, rarely more than a foot thick and therefore impossible to be profitably mined. Such lignite layers have been exploited near Richmond, Stearns county, about the year 1865, and in 1871, and since then; on the Cottonwood river nearly thirty miles west of New Ulm, in 1865; and at several places in the bluffs of the Minnesota valley and its tributary ravines in Redwood county and near Fort Ridgely, in 1871 and later. Within recent years much search for lignite has been made in northern Minnesota, where too its fragments occur in the glacial drift; but nothing of value has

*The history of iron-mining in this state, to the end of the year 1894, is summarized in an earlier paper of this volume (pages 25-40, with map) by the state geologist, Prof. N. H. Winchell. More fully this history, up to the year 1891, is stated by the same author and his son, Horace V. Winchell, in their report, "The Iron Ores of Minnesota" (pages 430, with a geological map, 26 figures, and 44 plates, 1891), being Bulletin No. 6 of the State Geological Survey publications; by J. E. Spurr, in "The Iron-Bearing Rocks of the Mesabi Range" (pages 268, with 22 figures in the text, and 12 plates, 1894), being Bulletin No. 10 of this Survey; and by H. V. Winchell in his papers, "The Mesabi Iron Range," Twentieth Annual Report of this Survey, for 1891 (pp. 111-180, with sections), and "Historical Sketch of the Discovery of Mineral Deposits in the Lake Superior Region," Twenty-third Annual Report, for 1894 (pp. 116-155). The first of these reports includes a very complete bibliography of iron ores and their mining; and the last has a bibliography of the history of mining in the region of lake Superior.

been discovered, nor indeed probably exists in this state. The thin lignite beds here mentioned are nearly of the same quality as the lignite mined on the Missouri and Mouse rivers and westward in North Dakota, suitable for many uses as fuel, but illy adapted for smelting or manufacturing purposes.

GRANITE AND GNEISS.

Minnesota has excellent building stones, which are much quarried, including granite (with gneiss), sandstone (with quartzite), and limestone.* The following are brief notes of the dates of their earliest quarrying, and of buildings in which they have been used.

In the vicinity of Sauk Rapids and St. Cloud, granite quarrying was begun in 1867. Numerous varieties of granite are there quarried, and have been much used as the trimmings of large buildings in Minneapolis and St. Paul, for the masonry of the Northern Pacific railroad bridge over the Missouri river at Bismarck, and in many other structures in Minnesota and adjoining states and in Manitoba.

Gneiss, differing from granite in its foliated texture, has been extensively quarried during the past ten years near Ortonville, being used chiefly for the Minneapolis and Hennepin County public building.

QUARTZITE AND SANDSTONE.

Quartzite, which is a very hard and crystalline sandstone, was quarried slightly in its outcrops on the northeast side of the Minnesota valley, opposite to New Ulm, in 1859. It forms a great ridge in the north part of Cottonwood county, and has plentiful outcrops in Pipestone and Rock counties, there inclosing the thin layer of pipestone (catlinite), and rising prominently in "The Mound," near Luverne. It has been slightly quarried in these counties, but more, during the past twenty years or longer, at the city of Sioux Falls, in South Dakota, where it is considerably used for building and is to some extent exported, under the name of "jasper," for ornamental uses.

* "The Building Stones of Minnesota," by N. H. Winchell, Minn. Geol. Survey, Final Report, vol. I, 1884, pp. 142-203, with eight plates, and a table giving results of tests of the qualities of these stones.

Sandstone quarrying was begun at Hinckley in 1878, and several years later at Sandstone on the Kettle river. These quarries have yielded large supplies for buildings, bridge masonry, and harbor improvements, employing hundreds of men throughout the year.

The red sandstone at Fond du Lac, a favorite stone for building churches and residences, was first quarried in 1870.

At Dresbach, in Winona county, good quarries of a white sandstone were first worked in 1881, being opened in accordance with the advice of the state geologist. A similar stone had been quarried at Jordan, in the Minnesota valley, in 1858, and especially in 1878-79, being used for the erection of the Jordan flouring mills.

Lower in the Minnesota valley, near its mouth, the St. Peter sandstone, in a locality where it is indurated by iron rust, was first quarried in 1869, and in 1878 yielded the stone of the tall piers of the Fort Snelling highway bridge.

LIMESTONE.

The earliest quarrying in Minnesota was in the Trenton limestone, which forms the upper part of the Mississippi river bluffs at St. Paul and thence up the river to Fort Snelling and the Falls of St. Anthony. It was quarried in 1820-21 for building Fort Snelling, and in 1836 for Gen. Sibley's house at Mendota, the first residence built of stone in this state.

The extensive quarrying of this limestone in St. Paul was begun in 1856, nearly on the site of the present capitol building; and on the river bluffs in West St. Paul quarries were opened in 1858. It is the stone of the old post-office and custom house in this city, as also of the Catholic Cathedral, the German Catholic church, the Fire and Marine Insurance Building, and many other business blocks, churches, and residences.

In St. Anthony (now the east part of Minneapolis) this limestone was first quarried in 1856, and in 1857 the earliest part of the old main building of the State University was constructed of it. On the west side of the river there its quarrying began in 1864, and on Nicollet island in 1865. The Church of the Redeemer and most of the flouring mills of Minneapolis are built of this stone.

Southeastward in this state, the Trenton limestone is quarried in many places, as at Dundas, supplying the stone of some of the buildings of Carleton College, Northfield; near Faribault, being used for many buildings there; and near Fountain, in Fillmore county.

The nearly related Galena limestone has been largely quarried at Mantorville, first in 1856, supplying much stone for southern Minnesota before the building of our first railroads.

The Shakopee and St. Lawrence limestones, of lower stratigraphic position than the foregoing, are also much quarried southeastward, in the bluffs of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers and their tributaries, as at Stillwater, in the St. Croix valley; at Red Wing, Frontenac, Winona, Stockton, and many other places, along and near the Mississippi valley; at Lanesboro, on the Root river; and at Shakopee, Kasota, Mankato, and St. Lawrence, in the Minnesota valley.

The earliest Stillwater quarry was opened by Dr. Christopher Carli in 1847, at the top of the bluff near the northern limits of the city. Other quarries were opened in 1854, and have been extensively worked, from which many public buildings and residences in Stillwater have been erected.

Quarrying was begun at Red Wing in 1865; at Frontenac and Florence, about 1855; at Winona, in 1854; and near Stockton, at the large quarries of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, in 1876. From the Winona quarries are built the State Normal School, and the Congregational and Episcopal churches, in that city.

Kasota, from quarries first worked in 1868, supplies buff-colored limestone, very desirable for fronts of buildings and for trimmings, which is shipped to Minneapolis, St. Paul, Chicago, Winnipeg, and many other cities throughout the Northwest. The First Baptist Church in St. Paul, and the Kasota Block in Minneapolis, are of this stone.

In Mankato, quarrying was begun in 1853. During the past twenty-five years these quarries have supplied most of the stone used for bridge masonry along the Chicago and Northwestern railway and its branches westward through this state and in South Dakota. The same magnesian limestone is also largely burned for lime in this city, and at Ottawa and Shako-

pee; and during the last fifteen years it has been extensively used at Mankato in the manufacture of hydraulic cement.

Much lime is produced from this formation likewise in the Mississippi valley, especially at Red Wing and Winona.

CLAY.

The great demand for bricks as a building material has caused brickmaking to become an important industry in or near several of our cities and towns, as Red Wing, Minneapolis, Chaska, Mankato, Brainerd, Moorhead, and Crookston. The clay used is a part of the modified drift which was deposited in the river valleys during the closing part of the Ice Age, being supplied from the melting continental ice-sheet. The prevailing light cream color of the bricks made in Minnesota, like those of Milwaukee and of most brickyards in Wisconsin and North Dakota, is due to the calcareous and magnesian ingredients of the glacial clays in this region. These ingredients, derived mostly from magnesian limestone formations, unite with the iron ingredient of the clay to form a light-colored silicate, instead of the ferric oxide which in other regions destitute of magnesian limestone gives to bricks their usual red color.

At Red Wing, brickmaking was begun in 1855; at Minneapolis, about the same date; in Chaska it was begun about the year 1868; in Mankato, about 1873; and at Moorhead, in 1874. In Red Wing and its vicinity, exceptionally for this state, the bricks are red.

The manufacture of stoneware, from Cretaceous clay found in Goodhue county, was begun at Red Wing in 1877, and has become a very large and prosperous business; and within the last five years several kilns have been built there for making sewer pipe.

In the Minnesota valley, at New Ulm and Mankato, firebricks and pottery have been made during the past twenty-five years, or longer, from clay or soft shale beds of Cretaceous age, dug in the vicinity of New Ulm.

GEOLOGIC HISTORY OF MINNESOTA.

Attempting to trace very briefly the origin and sequence of the rock formations of this state, especially those which yield

ores, building stone, and pottery and brick clays, we may begin with our earliest rocks, belonging to the Archæan era, and come forward to the present time.

The granite and gneiss, and the gold-bearing quartz veins, occur in a large irregular tract of Archæan rocks, which occupies much of northern, central, and western Minnesota, and which reaches northward and northeastward far beyond our limits, to the Arctic sea and to Labrador. These rocks, in nearly their present condition, were probably a part of the earliest cooling crust of the globe or were formed somewhat later as the downward extension of that crust, which, indeed, in its outer part, must have been very long ago removed by erosion on this continental area.

In sedimentary Algonkian and Taconic rock strata, of great antiquity, though somewhat less ancient than the preceding, the Vermilion and Mesabi iron ores occur, their present concentration in workable deposits having been effected at some time long ago, but subsequent to the original formation of the inclosing strata. The processes of the ore concentration are incompletely known, and are therefore the subject of much study and discussion.

The copper-bearing rocks belong to a later division of Algonkian or Taconic time, and constitute a partly sedimentary and partly eruptive series, named the Keweenawan or the Nipigon series, for the peninsula projecting from the south into lake Superior, and for the lake and river Nipigon, tributary to this great lake from the north.

Probably during the same Keweenawan period the quartzite formation near New Ulm and at Pipestone, Luverne, and Sioux Falls, was laid down as a sandstone in the sea. Since uplifted in the continent and metamorphosed to its present condition, this formation, at the pipestone quarry, is the earliest of our rock strata in which fossils are found. They represent the earliest known fauna that tenanted the primitive ocean.

Ensuing in a continuous succession of marine sediments, deposited probably around the nucleal Archæan area of our continent as it was already roughly outlined in that very old Paleozoic era, we have further, ascending stratigraphically in

their chronologic sequence, the Fond du Lac sandstone, the Hinckley and Kettle River sandstone, the Dresbach sandstone, the St. Lawrence limestone and shales, the Jordan sandstone, the Lower Magnesian (Shakopee) limestone, the St. Peter sandstone, the Trenton limestone, and the Galena limestone, all of which have yielded building stone quarried in Minnesota. These belong to the great Cambrian and Lower Silurian periods.

Upper Silurian strata are absent from our state, which during that long period may have been wholly a land area; and the ensuing Devonian formations reach only into the southern edge of Minnesota, in the neighborhood of Austin and Albert Lea.

Next through the prolonged Carboniferous or Coal period, and the Permian period, terminating the Paleozoic era, Minnesota, so far as the record remains, received no rock deposits, being then too, as we may quite safely suppose, a somewhat elevated land area. It had no low morasses and fern jungles, receiving the treasures of generations of vegetation falling to be entombed, by later sediments spread over them, until mined as coal in our culminating epoch of man's creation, civilization, and possession of the earth.

Coming forward from Paleozoic through Mesozoic and Tertiary time, we have no rock formations to record the long history of this area, except during the late part of the vast Cretaceous period, ending the Mesozoic era. Then all of Minnesota, excepting possibly some high tracts north of the present site of lake Superior, sank beneath the Cretaceous ocean, which reached thence far westward; and great series of shales, since mainly denuded from Minnesota during the Tertiary era, were deposited on the sea bed. In these formations are the clays used for making stoneware and fire-bricks; and at times of uplift trees grew, as known by their fossil leaves, and very thin layers of lignite were formed.

After the ages of Tertiary time had rolled away, a marvelous geologic winter came upon the northern half of North America and in the British Isles and northern Europe. Snow, instead of rain, fell during all seasons of the year, and for thousands of years immense sheets of snow, compacted not far be-

neath their surface into ice, mantled these large parts of two continents with a white pall of desolation. When this Glacial period ended, with the ice melting, its drift was left enveloping the older rocks; and in the valleys stratified clays, washed from the dissolving icefields, were laid down by the swollen streams, to be in our time, by human skill, transformed into stately brick buildings and cheerful chimney corners and firesides.

To give some idea of the almost inconceivable duration of this geologic history, we may think of an audience room with a circumference of two hundred or three hundred feet. Let that distance represent all the time since life began on the earth, estimated by Dana, Walcott, and others, as probably about a hundred million years. Long before the beginning of that time, our granite and gneiss were made by the earth's cooling; and near the distant dawn of life the strata containing our iron ores were deposited. In the early part of the life time of the earth's changing and developing faunas and floras, our quarried sandstones and limestones were made on the bottom of the sea, the former near the continental shores, and the latter at greater depths. The Trenton limestone, so filled with fossil forms of the ancient life, belongs about halfway from the beginning to the present time. The Cretaceous period was comparatively near to our own; the Ice Age was geologically like yesterday, to be represented, on our scale of the circuit of the room, by only three or four inches; and the subsequent period of humanly recorded history, from the earliest known of Egypt, is no more than a tenth as long.

STATISTICS.

In concluding this paper, space remains to present only a very condensed statement of the extent and value of our production of ores, building stone, bricks, etc.*

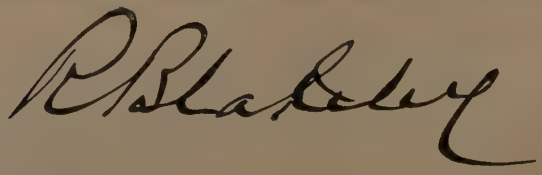
*Detailed descriptions of our mines, quarries, and other industries which make direct use of the geological resources of the state, are given, with statistical information relative to the amount and value of their products, in the reports, partly before cited, of the Minnesota Geological Survey, in which the writer was several years an assistant; in the report by the late Prof. R. D. Irving, "The Copper-Bearing Rocks of Lake Superior" (pages 464, with 29 plates, and 37 figures, in the text, 1883), forming Monograph V of the U. S. Geol. Survey; in the present author's report, "The Glacial Lake Agassiz" (pages 658, with 38 plates, and 35 figures in the text, 1895), forming Monograph XXV of this Survey; in the U. S. Census reports; and in articles presented in the American Geologist, a monthly magazine founded in 1888, published in Minneapolis.

Minnesota began to be a contributor to the iron product of the United States in 1884. During the eleven years of 1884-94 the Vermilion range shipped 7,065,832 tons of ore; and in 1895 and 1896, respectively, 1,077,828 and 1,088,090 tons. (The figures for both this and the Mesabi range during the last two years are from H. V. Winchell, in *The Iron Trade Review*, Jan. 7, 1897.) The Mesabi range, beginning its ore shipments five years ago, produced 4,245 tons of ore in 1892; 613,620 tons in 1893; 1,788,447 tons in 1894; 2,781,587 tons in 1895; and 2,882,-079 tons in 1896. The ore of this range is mostly soft hematite, worked in open excavations by the steam-shovel, which loads the ore directly on cars; but the ore of the Vermilion range is hard hematite, mined by shafts down to 500 feet below the surface. The total yield of both ranges to the present date has been 17,301,728 tons of ore. Its estimated value at the mines has varied from $2.87 per ton in 1889 to $1.55 in 1893, and, with the ensuing decrease of prices and depression of trade, $0.73 in 1894. For the thirteen years since our iron-mining began, we may estimate the average value as about $1 per ton, giving a total value of about seventeen million dollars.

According to the census of 1890, Minnesota employed 544 men during 1889 in granite quarrying and cutting, their aggregate earnings being about $288,000; in sandstone working, 199 men, earning $142,000; and in limestone working, 1,216 men, earning $374,000. The annual wages in stone working were thus about $804,000, which also measures nearly the value of the quarried and dressed stone.

In 1880 the census returns for Minnesota gave a value of $544,675 in manufactured clay products; and in 1890 this was increased to $1,331,339.

The total mineral products of Minnesota in 1889, as shown by the census taken the next year, had a value of $11,542,138, or very closely one-fiftieth of the value for the entire United States.



MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
VOL. VIII. PLATE X.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND THE ADVENT OF COMMERCE IN MINNESOTA.*

BY CAPTAIN RUSSELL BLAKELEY.

With the hope that I may add something to what we know of the past, and in compliance with the often-expressed wish of the Council of the Minnesota Historical Society, I have ventured to prepare this paper.

The discovery of the Mississippi river has always been an interesting theme of discussion, and especially so to those who live upon its banks, and all information on this great event should be welcomed to the pages of the collections of the Historical Society.

Prof. J. G. Shea, in his discussion of this subject, brought together all the information within his reach for the purpose of a full illustration of his subject. I shall follow his very judicious example, and my line of discussion, by bringing together the record as I find it, will be very largely an elucidation of what I may present for consideration.

Without a review of antecedent history, it will be sufficient for my purpose to date my inquiry from the year 1627, when Louis XIII., under the inspiration of his great minister, Richelieu, granted to the One Hundred Associates, called the Company of New France, the feudal lordship of Canada for all time, and to the Jesuits the sole religious supremacy as well. The territory embraced in this kingly bounty extended from the Gulf of Mexico on the south to the Arctic ocean on the north, and from the island of Newfoundland to the headwaters of the St. Lawrence river. Richelieu himself was made head of this modest corporation. Quebec was made the chief city for the fur trade, and in 1640 it was supposed to contain about

*Read in part at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, Oct. 12, 1896.

two hundred and forty inhabitants, composed of the Governor and staff, Jesuits, nuns, agents of the company, and a few colonists.

The Jesuits set themselves to work to convert the Ottawas and Hurons by establishing missions among them.

For the history of this company and the experience of the Jesuits and their missions, I shall depend upon some quotations from the "Relations of the Jesuits," and from Parkman's series of histories of the early days of New France. The entire income of the country was dependent on the fur trade, and amounted to many thousand francs, until the destruction of the missions of the Hurons and Ottawas in 1649-50, when the Iroquois succeeded in killing the missionaries and destroying and dispersing the Indians, who fled to the western lakes, islands and forests to escape from this fierce people. By this dispersion Quebec and Montreal were reduced to a state of starvation.

Parkman, on pages 424-5 of "The Jesuits in North America," in speaking of this event, says:

> The division of the Hurons called the Tobacco Nation, favored by their isolated position among the mountains, had held their ground longer than the rest; but at length they too were compelled to fly, together with such other Hurons as had taken refuge with them. They made their way northward, and settled on the Island of Michilimackinac, where they were joined by the Ottawas, who, with other Algonquins, had been driven by fear of the Iroquois from the western shores of Lake Huron and the banks of the River Ottawa. At Michilimackinac the Hurons and their allies were again attacked by the Iroquois, and, after remaining several years, they made another remove, and took possession of the islands in the mouth of the Green Bay of Lake Michigan. Even here their old enemy did not leave them in peace; whereupon they fortified themselves on the main-land, and afterwards migrated southward and westward. This brought them in contact with the Illinois, an Algonquin people, at that time very numerous, but who, like many other tribes at this epoch, were doomed to a rapid diminution from wars with other savage nations. Continuing their migration westward, the Hurons and Ottawas reached the Mississippi, where they fell in with the Sioux. They soon quarrelled with those fierce children of the prairie, who drove them from their country.

The condition to which the colony had been reduced is stated in a note on page 5 of "The Old Régime in Canada:"

> According to Le Mercier, beaver to the value of 200,000 to 300,000 livres were yearly brought down to the colony before the destruction

of the Hurons (1649-50.) Three years later, not one beaver skin was brought to Montreal during a twelvemonth, and Three Rivers and Quebec had barely enough to pay for keeping the fortifications in repair.

In consequence of this stopping of the fur trade, all persons who had been engaged in this occupation were idle, if not starving. The first information of a change in this condition of things is found in a letter of the Superior of the Jesuits, Le Mercier, dated September 21st, 1654, published, in volume 2, "Relations des Jésuites," chapter 4, page 9:

After the capture of the surgeon of Montreal and before his return from captivity, when we were between fear and hope, not knowing what issue the affair would have, a fleet appeared at a distance, which was coming down through the rapids and the waterfalls which are above Montreal. We had reason to fear that the fleet was an army of foes, but we perceived at their approach that they were friends who were coming from a distance of four hundred leagues to bring us some news from their nation and learn some from us. The inhabitants from Montreal and Three Rivers had a double joy by seeing that these canoes were loaded with furs which these nations came to exchange for our French goods.

These people were part of them Tionnontatehronnons, whom we call La Nation du Petun, of Huron language, and part of them Ondataouaouat, of Algonquin language, whom we call Les Cheveux Relevez (the Straight Hairs), because their hairs do not come downwards, and that they make them straight like the comb of a cock which points upwards. All these people have quitted their old country, and have gone to fix their abode with the more distant nations towards the great lake which we call Des Puants (Stinkers), because they live near the sea which is salt and which our Indians call L'Eau Puante (the Stinking Water). It is in the direction of the north.

The devastation of the Huron country having caused them to apprehend like misfortune, and having been pursued everywhere by the fury of the Iroquois, they thought that they could be safe only by removing themselves to the upper end of the world.

On page 30, the same subject is continued in the following words:

Another says that in some of the islands of the lake called Lac des Gens de Mer (Lake of the People of the Sea), whom some improperly call Les Puants (the Stinkers), there is a multitude of people speaking a language which has a great resemblance with the Algonquin language; that there is only nine days' journey from this great lake to the sea which separates America from China, and that if there was somebody who would be willing to send thirty Frenchmen to that country, not only would we convert to God many souls, but we would get a profit which would surpass the expense that we would be obliged to

incur for the keeping of the Frenchmen whom we would send there, because the best furs come more abundantly from these countries. Time will tell us what we know now only by the reports of some Indians, who affirm that they have seen by their own eyes what they express by their mouth.

In volume 3, "Relations des Jésuites," page 2, the Father Superior makes a further allusion to this subject evidently so near his heart:

Towards the end of the month of August we see fifty canoes and two hundred and fifty Indians, loaded with the riches of the country, coming to trade with us, and to ask for some fathers from our Company to go to teach them in the thick forests of their own country, distant five hundred leagues from Kebec. In the presence of so bright a day we forget all the past bad nights. Two of our fathers and one of our friars take passage with thirty Frenchmen; but the Agnieronnons, whom we call the lower Iroquois, who have always refused to make peace with our allies, cut in one moment the thread of our life by assaulting these poor people on their return, and by killing one of the two fathers who were going to preach the gospel in their country.

I have here given what I deem a necessary preliminary, for the purpose of introducing the two persons of all others who appear to have been the first civilized or Christian people who set foot on the soil of what is now Minnesota.

Voyage of Groseilliers and Radisson to the Mississippi River.

The two Frenchmen, Groseilliers and Radisson, who have occasionally been alluded to in the early days of New France, and who have also been referred to by Rev. E. D. Neill in his history of the Ojibways and their connection with fur traders, in volume 5 of the Collections of the Historical Society of Minnesota, are, I think, entitled to still further consideration by all who are interested in the past history of this state and the valley of the Mississippi river. Fortunately we are in possession of an authentic account of the travels of these men in the language of one of them.

The volume in which the narratives of Radisson appear is entitled: "Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, being an Account of his Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians from 1652 to 1684. Transcribed from the original manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. With historical illustrations, and an introduction, by Gideon

D. Scull, London, England. Boston: Published by the Prince Society. 1885."

The Prince Society has endorsed this work over the name of its President by the following preface:

It may be regarded as a fortunate circumstance that we are able to add to the Society's publications this volume of Radisson's Voyages. The narratives contained in it are the record of events and transactions in which the author was a principal actor. They were apparently written without any intention of publication, and are plainly authentic and trustworthy. They have remained in manuscript more than two hundred years, and in the mean time appear to have escaped the notice of scholars, as not even extracts from them have, so far as we are aware, found their way into print. The author was a native of France, and had an imperfect knowledge of the English language. The journals with the exception of the last in the volume, are, however, written in that language, and, as might be anticipated, in orthography, in the use of words, and in the structure of sentences, conform to no known standard of English composition. But the meaning is in all cases clearly conveyed, and, in justice both to the author and the reader, they have been printed *verbatim et literatim*, as in the original manuscripts. We desire to place upon record our high appreciation of the courtesy extended to the Editor of this volume by the governors of the Bodleian Library and of the British Museum, in allowing him to copy the original manuscripts in their possession. Our thanks likewise are here tendered to Mr. Edward Denham for the gratuitous contribution of the excellent index which accompanies the volume.

BOSTON, 249 BERKELEY STREET,
November 20, 1885.

EDMUND F. SLAFTER,
President of the Prince Society.

I fully agree with what the President of the Prince Society has said in speaking of the orthography, use of words, and structure of sentences, and will add that the utter confusion manifest, in the way in which the narrative is told, has, I think, served to mislead all who have attempted to review the work. The incidents as placed in the text are without order or coherent connection. In my review of the story, I shall endeavor to bring into harmonious connection those parts of this history which I think belong together, without regard to the places where I find the paragraphs placed; and it is my hope to make an intelligible and very interesting and manifestly truthful statement of facts. My review will be confined to the third and fourth voyages, and to matters wholly connected with them. I shall not attempt to give the verbatim language, nor the orthography of the author, but will

conscientiously render the meaning of the text. Commencing on page 134 of the Prince Society's publication, we read:

So my brother seeing me back from those two dangerous voyages, so much by the cruelties of the barbars as for the difficulties of the ways, for this reason he thought I was the fitter and more faithful for the discovery that he was to make. He plainly told me his mind; I knowing it longed to see myself in a boat. There were several companies of wild men expected from several places, because they promised the year before, and (to) take the advantage of the spring (this to deceive the Iroquois who are always in wait to destroy them), and of the rivers which is by reason of the melting of the great snows which is only that time, for otherwise no possibility to come that way, because for the swift streams that run in summer, and in other places the want of water, so that no boat can come through. We soon see the performance of that people, for a company came to the Three Rivers where we were. They told us that another company was arrived at Mont Royal, and that two more were to come shortly, the one to the Three Rivers, the other to Saegne, a river of Tudousack, who arrived within two days after. They divided themselves, because of the scant of provisions, for if they were together they could not have victuals enough. Many go and come to Quebec for to know the resolution of the Governor, who, together with the fathers, thought fit to send a company of French to bring back, if possible, those wild men the next year, or others, being that it is the best manna of the country by which the inhabitants do subsist, and makes the French vessels to come there and go back loaded with merchandise for the traffic of furriers who come from the remotest parts of North America.

As soon as the resolution was made, many undertake the voyage; for where there is lucre there are people enough to be had. The best and ablest men for that business were chosen. They make them go up the Three Rivers with the band that came with the Sacques. They take those that were the most capable for the purpose. Two fathers were chosen to conduct the company, and endeavored to convert some of those foreigners of the remotest country to the Christian faith. We no sooner heard their design, but saw the effects of the business, which effected in us much gladness for the pleasure we could do to one another, and so abler to oppose an enemy, if by fortune we should meet with any that would do us hurt or hinder us on our way.

About the middle of June we began to take leave of our company and venture our lives for the common good. We find 2 and 30 men, some inhabitants, some Gailliards that desired but do well. What fairer bastion than a good tongue, especially when one sees his own chimney smoke, or when we can kiss our own wives or kiss our neighbor's wife with ease and delight? It is a strange thing when victuals are wanting, work whole nights and days, lie down on the bare ground, and not always that hap, the breech in the water, the fear in the buttocks, to have the belly empty, the weariness in the bones, and drowsi-

ness of the body by the bad weather that you are to suffer, having nothing to keep you from such calamity.

At last we take our journey to see the issue of a prosperous adventure in such a dangerous enterprise. We resolved not to be the first that should complain. The French were together in order, the wild men also, saving my brother and I, that were accustomed to such like voyages, have fear for what happened afterwards. Before our setting forth we made some gifts, and by that means we were sure of their good will, so that he and I went into the boats of the wild men. We were nine and twenty French in number and six wild men. We embarked our train in the night, because our number should not be known to some spies that might be in some ambush to know our departure; for the Iroquois are always abroad. We were two nights to get to Mont Royal, where eight Ottawas stayed for us and two French. If not for that company, we had passed the River of the Meadows which makes an isle of Mont Royal and joins itself to the lake of St. Louis, three leagues further than the height of that name.

We stayed no longer there than as the French got themselves ready. We took leave without the noise of guns. We cannot avoid the ambush of that eagle, which is like the owl that sees better in the night than in the day. We were not sooner come to the first river, but our wild men see five sorts of people of divers countries, laden with merchandise and guns, which served them for a show than for a defence, if by chance they should be set on. So that the glory begins to show itself. No order being observed among them, the one sings, the other before goes in the posture. Without bad encounter we advanced three days. There was no need of such silence among us. Our men composed only of seven score, we had done well if we had kept together, not to go before in the river, nor stay behind two or three leagues. Some three or four boats now and then to land to kill a wild beast, and so put themselves in danger of their lives, and if there were any precipice the rest should be impotent to help. We warned them to look to themselves. They laughed at us, saying we were women; that the Iroquois durst not set on them. That pride had such power that they thought themselves masters of the earth; but they will see themselves soon mistaken. How that great God that takes great care of the most wild man created, and wills that every man confess his faults, and gives them grace to come to obedience for the preservation of their lives, sends them a remarkable power and ordinance which should give terror and return to those poor misled people from the way of assurance!

As we wandered in the aforesaid manner all asunder, there comes a man alone out of the woods with a hatchet in his hand, with his brayer, and a cover over his shoulders, making signs aloud, that we should come to him. The greatest part of that flock showed a palish face for fear at sight of this man, knowing him to be an enemy. They approached not without fear and apprehension of some plot. By this you may see the boldness of those braggards that think themselves hectors when they see but their shadows, and tremble when they see an Iro-

quois. That wild man, seeing us nearer, sets himself down on the ground and throws his hatchet away, and rises again all naked to show that he has no arms, desires them to approach nearer, for he is their friend and would lose his life to save theirs. He showed indeed a right complaisance for saving men that ran to their ruin by their indiscretion and want of conduct; and what he did was out of mere piety, seeing well that they wanted wit, to go so like a company of bucks, every one to his fancy, where his little experience leads him, nor thinking of that danger wherein they were, showing by their march they were no men, for not fearing. As for him, he was ready to die to render them service and prisoner into their hands freely. "For," saith he, "I might have escaped your sight, but that I would have saved you. I fear not death," saith he,—so with that comes down into the water to his middle. There come many boats around him, takes him into one of the boats, tying a cord fast about his body. There is he fastened. He begins to sing his fatal song that they call a nouroyall. That horrid tone being finished, he makes a long, a very long speech, saying, "Brethren, to-day the sun is favorable to me, appointed me to tell you that you are witless before I die, neither can they escape their enemies that are spread up and down everywhere, that watch all moments their coming to destroy them. Take great courage, brethren, sleep not; the enemy is at hand. They wait for you; they are so near that they see and hear you, and are sure that you are their prey. Therefore I was willing to die to give you notice. For my part, that what I have been, I am a man and commander in the wars, and took several prisoners; yet I would put myself in death's hands to save your lives. Believe me; keep you altogether; spend not your powder in vain, thinking to frighten your enemies by the noise of your guns. See if the stones of your arrows be not bent or loose; bend your bows; open your ears; keep your hatchets sharp to cut trees to make you a fort; do not spend so much grease to grease yourselves, but keep it for your bellies. Stay not too long in the way, it is robbery to die with conceit."

That poor wretch spoke the truth and gave good advice, but the greater part did not understand what he said, saving the Hurons that were with him, and I, that told them as much as I could perceive. . . . We call him a dog, a woman, and a hen. We will make you know that we were men, and for his pains we should burn him when we came to our country. Here you shall see the brutishness of those people that think themselves valiant to the last point. No comparison is to be made with them for valor, but quite contrary. They pass away the rest of that day with great exclamations of joy, but it will not last long.

That night we lay in our boats and made not the kettle boil, because we had meat ready dressed. Every boat is tied up in the rushes, whether out of fear for what the prisoner told them, or that the prisoner should escape, I know not. They went to sleep without any watch. The French began to wish and moan for the place they came from. What will it be if we hear yet cries and sorrows after all? Past the break of day everyone takes his oar to row; the foremost oars have

great advantage. We heard the torrent rumble, but could not come to land that day, although not far from us. Some twelve boats got before us. These were saluted with guns and outcries. In the mean while one boat runs one way, one another; some men land and run away. We are all put to it; none knows where he is, they are put to such a confusion. All those beasts gather together again frightened. Seeing no way to escape they got themselves all in a heap like ducks that see the eagle come to them.

That first fear being over a little, they resolved to land and to make a fort with all speed, which was done in less than two hours. The most stupid and drowsy are the nimblest for the hatchet and cutting of trees. The fort being finished, everyone maketh himself in readiness to sustain the assault if any had attempted. The prisoner was brought, who soon was dispatched, burned, roasted and eaten. The Iroquois had so served them, as many as they have taken. We missed twenty of our company, but some came safe to us, and lost thirteen that were killed and taken in that defeat. The Iroquois finding himself weak would not venture, and was obliged to leave us lest he should be discovered and served as the other. Nevertheless they showed good countenances, went and builded a fort as we have done, where they fortified themselves and fed on human flesh which they got in the wars. They were afraid as much as we, but far from that; for, the night being come, everyone embarks himself to the sound of a low trumpet. By the help of the darkness we went to the other side, leaving our merchandise for our ransom to the enemy that used us so unkindly. We made some carriages that night with a world of pains. We missed four of our boats, so that we must alter our equipages. The wild men complained much that the French could not swim, for that they might be together. The French seeing they were not able to undergo such a voyage, they consult together, and for conclusion resolved to give an end to such labors and dangers; moreover, found themselves incapable to follow the wild men, who went with all the speed possible night and day for the fear that they were in. The fathers, seeing our weakness, desired the wild men that they might have one or two to direct them, which by no means was granted, but bid us do as the rest. We still keep our resolution, and, knowing more tricks than they, would not go back, which should be but disdainful and prejudicial. We told them so plainly, that we would finish that voyage or die by the way. Besides that, the wild men did not complain of us at all, but encouraged us. After long arguing, everyone had the liberty to go backwards or forwards, if any had courage to venture himself with us. Seeing the great difficulties, all with one consent went back again, and we went on.

The wild men were not sorry for their departure, because of their ignorance in the affairs of such nagivation. It is a great alteration to see one-and-thirty reduced to two. We encouraged one another, both willing to live and die with one another; and that is the least we could do, being brothers.

The incidents attending the balance of this trip to the Lake of the Hurons are very graphically described, and were laborious and attended with much suffering and nearly starvation, in a similar manner and at the same places as those described in chapter 13 of "Pioneers of France in the New World," which speaks of the discovery of Lake Huron by Champlain in 1615.

After some delay and a season of mourning for those lost in the fight with the Iroquois, the party is divided, one-half going to the north, and the other to the south. Our voyagers joined the party of the south, and made a voyage around Georgian bay, and reached the island of Michilimackinac, where they say they were possessed by the Hurons and Ottawas, who fled from the attacks of the Iroquois when the missions of the Hurons were destroyed in 1649-50.

We made large gifts to dry up the tears of the friends of the deceased who were killed in the attack of the Iroquois. The neighbors came to visit us and bid us welcome, as we are so. There comes news that there were enemies in the fields, that they were seen at the great field. There is a council called, and it is resolved that they should be searched and set upon, which was executed speedily. I offered my services, so went and looked for them two days, finding them the third day. I gave them the assault when they least thought of it. We played the game so furiously that none escaped.

The day following we returned to our village, with eight of our enemies dead and three alive. The dead were eaten, and the living we burned with a small fire to the rigor of cruelties, which comforted the desolate to see them revenged of the death of their relations that were so served. . . . . But our mind was not to stay in an island, but be known with the remotest people. The victory that we had gotten made them consent to what we could desire, and because we showed willingness to die for their defence. . . . .

That nation called Pottawattamies comes and meets us with the rest, and peace was concluded. Feasts were made and dames with gifts came of each side, with a great deal of mirth. We visited them during that winter, and by that means we made acquaintance with another nation called Escotecke, which signifies "fire,"—a fair and proper nation; they are tall and big and very strong. We came there in the spring. When we arrived there were extraordinary banquets. There they never have seen men with beards, because they pull their hair as soon as it comes out; but much more astonished when they saw our arms, especially our guns, which they worshipped by blowing smoke of tobacco instead of sacrifice. . . . . We desired them to let us know of their neighboring nations. . . . . Among others they told us of a nation called Nadoneceronon, which is very strong, and with whom

they were in war; and another wandering nation, living only upon what they could come by. Their dwelling was on the side of the salt water in summer time, and in the land in the winter time, for it is cold in their country. They call themselves Christinos, and their confederates from all time, by reason of their speech, which is the same, and often have joined together, and have had companies of soldiers to war against that great nation. We desired not to go to the north till we had made a discovery in the south, being desirous to know what they did.. . . .

We, finding this opportunity, would not let it slip, but made gifts, telling that the other nation would stand in fear of them because of us. We flattered them, saying none would dare to give them the least wrong, insomuch that many of the Ottawas that were present to make the same voyage. I can assure you I liked no country as I have that wherein we wintered, for whatsoever a man could desire was to be had in great plenty; viz.: stags, fishes in abundance, and all sorts of meat, corn enough. Those of the two nations would not come with us, but turned back to their nation. We nevertheless put ourselves in hazard, for our curiosity, of stay two or three years among that nation. We ventured, for that we understand some of their idiom, and trusted to that.

Before proceeding further with this extremely brief and badly arranged history of this journey, it is advisable that we again refer to the extract from the "Relations of the Jesuits," which after speaking of the Lake of the Sea and its multitude of population, says:

That there is only nine days' journey from this great lake to the sea which separates America from China, and that if there was somebody who would be willing to send thirty Frenchmen to that country, not only would we convert to God many souls, but we would get a profit which would surpass the expense. . . . . We now know only by the reports of some Indians, who affirm that they have seen by their own eyes what they express by their mouth.

These two Frenchmen are all that remain of the thirty French who started on this expedition in August of the year 1654, and are now ready in the spring of 1655 to continue this journey to the *sea* that separates America from China, only nine days' journey from their starting point. They have spent the winter with the Hurons and Ottawas, who were at that time living upon the islands of the Lake of the Puans, and at the north part of the bay. In the first description of the route Radisson says:*

We embarked ourselves on the delightfullest lake of the world. I took notice of their cottages and of the journeys of our navigation, for

*Parts of my quotations here and onward are italicized, that special attention may be directed to them.

because that the country was *so pleasant, so beautiful and fruitful*, that it grieved me to see that the world could not discover such enticing countries to live in. This I say because that the Europeans fight for a rock in the sea against one another, and for sterile land and horrid country, that the people sent here or there, by changement of air, engenders sickness and dies thereof. Contrarywise these kingdoms are so delicious and under so temperate a climate, the earth bringing forth its fruit twice a year, the people live long and lusty and wise in their way. . . . .

We meet with several nations, all sedentary, amazed to see us, and who were very civil. The farther we sojourned, the delightfuller the land was to us. *I can say that in my life time I never saw a more incomparable country, for all that I have been in Italy.* . . . . Being about the great sea, we conversed with the people that dwelleth about the salt water, who told us that they saw some great white thing sometimes on the water, and it came towards the shore, and men in the top of it, and made a noise like a company of swans; which made me believe that they were mistaken, for I could not imagine what it could be, except the Spaniards; and the reason is that we found a barrel broken as they use in Spain. Those people have their hair long. They reap twice a year; they are called Tatarga, that is to say, buff. . . . . They are generally stout men, so they are able to defend themselves. . . . .We were everywhere made much of; neither wanted victuals, for all the different nations that we met conducted us and furnished us with all necessaries. . . . .

The summer passed away with admiration by the diversity of the nations that we saw, as for the beauty of the shore of that sweet sea. *Here we saw fish of divers, some like the sturgeons and have a kind of stice at the end of their nose, some three fingers broad in the end and two only near the nose and some eight thumbs long, all marbled of a blackish color.* There are birds whose bills are two and twenty thumbs long. That bird swallows a whole salmon, keeps it a long time in his bill. We saw also she-goats, very big. There is an animal somewhat less than a cow whose meat is exceeding good. There is no want of *stags nor buffs*. There are so many turkeys that the boys throw stones at them for their recreation. . . . . *As for the buff, it is a furious animal. One must have a care of him, for every year he kills some Nadoneseronons.* He comes for the most part in the plains and meadows, and feeds like an ox. . . . . The horns of buffs are as those of an ox but not so long, but bigger, and of a blackish color. He hath a very long hairy tail. He is reddish, his hair frizzed and very fine; all the parts of his body much like unto an ox. The biggest are bigger than any ox whatsoever.

The vines grow all by the river side; the lemons are not so big as ours, and sourer. The grape is very big, green, and is seen there at all times. It never snows nor freezes there, but is mighty hot; yet for all that, the country is not so unwholesome for we seldom have seen infirm people. . . . .

We were four months in our voyage without doing anything but going from river to river. We met several sorts of people. We conversed with them, being long in alliance with them. By the persuasion of some of them we went into the great river that divides itself in two, where the *Hurons* with some of the *Ottawas* and the wild men that had wars with them had retired. There is not great difference in their language, as we were told. This nation have wars against those of the forked river. It is so called because it has two branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the south, which we believe runs towards Mexico, by the tokens they give us. Being among these people, they told us the prisoners they take tell them that they have wars against a nation, against men that build great *cabins, and have great beards, and have such knives as we have. Moreover, they showed a decad of beads and guilded pearls that they have had from that people, which made us believe they were Europeans. They showed us one of that nation that was taken the year before. We understood him not; he was much more tawny than they with whom we were.* His arms and legs were turned outside; that was the punishment inflicted upon him. So they do with them that they take, and kill them with clubs, and do often eat them. They do not burn their prisoners as those of the northern parts.

We were informed of that nation that live in the other river. These were men of extraordinary height and bigness, that made us believe they had no communication with them. They live only upon corn and citrulls (pumpkins), which are mighty big. They have fish in plenty throughout the year. *They have fruit as big as the heart of an oriniak, which grows on vast trees which are three armsful in compass.* When they see little men they are afraid and cry out, which makes many come to help them. Their arrows are not of stone as ours are, but of fish-bones and other bones that they work greatly, as all other things. Their dishes are made of wood. I have seen them and could not but admire the curiosity of their work. They have great calumets of great stones, red and green. They make a store of tobacco. *They have a kind of drink that makes them mad for a whole day.* This I have not seen, therefore you may believe as you please. . . . . Tending to those people, we went towards the south and came back by the north.

We had not as yet seen the nation Nadoneceronons. We had Hurons with us. We persuaded them to come along to see their own nation that fled there, but they would not by any means. We thought to get some castors there to bring down to the French, seeing it at last impossible to us to make such a circuit in a twelve months' time. . . .

We came to the straits of the two lakes of the Stinkings and the upper lake, where there are little islands toward the northwest, few toward the southeast, very small. The lake towards the north at the side of it is full of rocks and sand, yet great ships can ride on it without danger. We, being of three nations, arrived there with booty, and disputed awhile, for some would return to their country. That was the nation of the fire, and would have us back to their dwelling. We by all means would know the Christinos. To go back was out of our way.

This, I think, is all of the record, relating to the voyage down the Mississippi river and back to the home of the Hurons and Ottawas on the islands in the north part of Green bay, that it is necessary to embrace in the discussion of the discovery of the Mississippi river; and in order to do so intelligibly I shall quote from the records of Marquette, Hennepin, and the Spanish authorities, so much as I think will enable me to prove conclusively that the voyage of Radisson was down the Mississippi. The discussion will follow after the quotations which follow here.

Exploration by Marquette and Joliet.

First in order are extracts from an account of the discovery of some new countries and nations in North America in 1673 by Pere Marquette and Sieur Joliet, translated from the French, and published in Part 2 of the Historical Collections of Louisiana, by B. F. French, in 1850. Commencing on page 279, we read:

I embarked with M. Joliet, who had been chosen to conduct this enterprise, on the 13th May, 1673, with five other Frenchmen, in two bark canoes. . . . . The first nation we came to was called the Folles-Avoines, or the *nation of wild oats*. . . . . Having prayed with them and given them some instructions, we set out for the Bay of Puan (Green Bay). . . . . This bay is about thirty leagues long, and eight broad in the greatest breadth. . . . . It abounds in bustards, ducks, and other birds, which are attracted there by the wild oats, of which they are very fond. We next came to a village of Maskoutens, or nation of fire. . . . .

The French have never before passed beyond the Bay of Puans (Green Bay). This *Bourg* consists of three several nations, viz., Miamies, Maskoutens, and Kickapoos. . . . . I took pleasure in looking at this *bourg*. It is beautifully situated on an eminence, from whence we look over an extensive prairie, interspersed with groves of trees. The soil is very fertile, and produces large crops of corn. The Indians also gather large quantities of grapes and plums.

The next day, being the 10th of June, the two guides (*Miamies*) embarked with us in sight of all the village. . . . . We were informed that at three leagues from the *Maskoutens*, we should find a river which runs into the Mississippi, and that we were to go to the west-southwest to find it. . . . . As our guides had been frequently over this portage, they knew the way and helped us to carry our canoes overland into the other river, distant about two miles and a half; from whence they returned home, leaving us in an unknown country. . . . . .

The river upon which we embarked is called the Mesconsin (Wisconsin). . . . . We saw neither game nor fish, but roebuck and

buffaloes in great numbers. . . . . We came into the Mississippi on the 17th June (1673).

The mouth of the Wisconsin is in about 42° 30′ north latitude. . . . . We slowly followed its course to the south and southeast to 42° north latitude. . . . . The islands are covered with fine trees, but we could not see any more roebucks, buffaloes, bustards, and swans. We met from time to time monstrous fish, which struck so violently against our canoes that at first we took them to be large trees, which threatened to upset us. . . . . When we threw our nets into the water we caught an abundance of sturgeons, and *another kind of fish like our trout, except that the eyes and nose are much smaller, and they have near the nose a bone like a woman's busk, three inches broad and a foot and a half long, the end of which is flat and broad, and when it leaps out of the water the weight of it throws it on its back.*

Having descended the river as far as 41° 28′, we found that turkeys took the place of game, and the Pisikious that of other animals. We call the Pisikious *wild buffaloes*, because they very much resemble our domestic oxen; they are not so long, but twice as large. We shot one of them, and it was as much as thirteen men could do to drag him from the place where he fell. They have an enormous head; their forehead is broad and flat; and their horns, between which there is at least a foot and a half distance, are all black and much longer than our European oxen. They have a hump on the back, and their head, breast, and a part of the shoulders are covered with long hair. They have in the middle of their forehead an ugly tuft of long hair, which, falling down over their eyes, blinds them in a manner, and makes them look hideous. The rest of the body is covered with curled hair, or rather wool like our sheep, but much thicker and stronger. They shed their hair in summer, and their skin is as soft as velvet, leaving nothing but a short down. The Indians use their skins for cloaks, which they paint with figures of several colors. Their flesh and fat is excellent, and the best dish of the Indians, who kill a great many of them. *They are very fierce and dangerous, and if they can hook a man with their horns they toss him up and then tread upon him.* . . . . They graze upon the banks of the rivers, and I have seen four hundred in a herd together.

We continued to descend the river . . . . [to] about the latitude of 40 degrees. . . . . On the 25th June we went ashore [and saw traces of men and were taken to their village]. . . . . Their language is a dialect of the Algonquin. . . . . They keep several wives, of whom they are very jealous, and watch them closely. If they behave unchastely, they cut off their ears or nose, of which I saw several who carried those marks of their infidelity. . . . . Their knives, axes, and other instruments, are made of flint and other sharp stones. . . . . They live by hunting, and on Indian corn, of which they always have a plenty. . . . . Their clothing consists of the skins of wild animals, which serves to clothe their women, who dress very modestly, while the men go most of the year almost naked.

The writer (Marquette) here describes the calumet and the ceremonies of the calumet.

We found a quantity of mulberries as large as those of France, and a small fruit which we took at first for olives, but it had the taste of an orange, and another as large as a hen's egg. We broke it in half, and found the inside was divided into two divisions, in each of which there were eight or ten seeds shaped like an almond, and very good to eat when ripe. . . . . We saw also in the prairies a fruit like filberts.

Marquette next describes the painted rocks, also the floating drift in the Missouri, the water of which was so roily or muddy that they could not drink it.

This river comes from the northwest, and empties into the Mississippi, and on its banks are situated a number of Indian villages. We judged by the compass that the Mississippi discharged itself into the Gulf of Mexico. . . . . After having gone about twenty leagues to the south and a little less to the southeast, we met another river called *Ouabouskigou* (the Ohio), which runs into the Mississippi in the latitude of 36° N. . . . . .

Marquette narrates their experience with the Indians on the shores of the river, and that they landed at a village and were entertained with buffalo and bear meat, also white plums, which were excellent.

We observed they had guns, knives, axes, shovels, glass beads, and bottles in which they put their powder. They wear their hair long as the *Iroquois*, and their women are dressed as the *Hurons*. They told us that they were only within ten days' journey of the sea; that they bought their goods from the Europeans, who lived towards the east, that they had images and chaplets, and played upon musical instruments, that they were clothed as I was, and were kind to them. . . . The account the Indians gave us of the sea was very encouraging, and therefore we applied our oars with great vigor, in hopes of seeing it very soon. The banks of the river began to be covered with high trees, which hindered us from observing the country as we had done all along. The elm, cotton[wood] and cypress trees are beautiful on account of their size and height. We judged, from the bellowing of the buffaloes, that some prairies were near. We saw quails, and shot a parrot. . . . . We soon descended to latitude 33° north and found ourselves at a village on the river side called *Mitchigamea*.

The Indians at this village were very troublesome and the voyagers nearly despaired, but finally the Indians made signs of peace and asked them to come on shore.

They told us that at the next great village, called *Arkansea*, eight or ten leagues farther down the river, we could learn all about the

sea. . . . . We embarked early next morning with our interpreters and ten Indians, who went before us in a canoe. . . . . [After arriving at Arkansea, we] asked them what they knew of the sea, and they said we were within ten days' journey of it, but we might perform it in five. That they were unacquainted with the nations below, because their enemies had prevented them from visiting them. . . . . They make three crops of Indian corn a year. They roast and boil it in large earthen pots very curiously made. They have also large baked earthen plates, which they use for different purposes. The men go naked and wear their hair short. They pierce their noses and ears, and wear rings of glass beads in them.

The women cover themselves with skins, and divide their hair into two tresses, which they wear behind their back without any ornament. Their feasts are without any ceremony, they serve their meats in large dishes, and every one eats as much as he pleases. . . . . Their cabins are made with the bark of trees, and are generally very wide and long. . . . . They keep their corn in panniers made of rushes. They have no beavers, and all their commodities are buffalo hides. *It never snows* in this country, and they have no other winter than continued heavy rains, which makes the difference between their summer and winter. They have no other fruit but watermelons, though their soil might produce any other, if they knew how to cultivate it. . . .

The voyagers turned back from the village of Arkansea, and the following is Marquette's description of the country on the Illinois river by which they returned to lake Michigan:

I never saw a more beautiful country than we found on this river. *The prairies are covered with buffaloes, stags, goats, and the rivers and lakes with swans, ducks, geese, parrots, and beavers.* The river upon which we sailed was wide, deep and placid for sixty-five leagues, and navigable most all the year round.

Hennepin's Description (1680).

I add some quotations from "A Description of Louisiana," by Father Louis Hennepin, Recollect Missionary, translated from the edition of 1683, and compared with the La Salle documents and other contemporary papers, by Prof. John Gilmary Shea, and dedicated to Rt. Rev. John Ireland, D. D., and J. Fletcher Williams, President and Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, published in 1880.* The extracts from

*NOTE.—In 1880 the Minnesota Historical Society held a Bi-Centennial celebration of the discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony. I was a member of the Committee of Arrangements. In discussing the appropriate order of service to be observed upon that occasion, there was developed a difference of opinion as to the credibility of Father Hennepin's published account of his voyage. Rev. John Ireland became very earnest in his defense of the truth-

the voyage of Father Hennepin will be brief, as the references made to himself are few.

On page 196 and following, in speaking of the River Colbert, the author says that it runs between two chains of mountains and intervening prairies, upon which he often saw wild cattle browsing. Beyond the river bluffs, here called mountains, were vast prairies. Woods covered the islands, and were interlaced with so many vines as to be almost impassable. He describes the rivers Wisconsin, Black and Buffalo (Chippewa), and the Lake of Tears (Lake Pepin). "Forty leagues above is a river full of rapids, by which, striking northwest, you can proceed to Lake Condé." Eight leagues above the Falls of St. Anthony comes the river Issati (Rum river), which leads to Lake Buade (Mille Lacs), the home of the Nadonessiou.

The account of Hennepin's capture by the Indians begins on page 205, and is followed by a narrative of his experiences, with statements of what he saw and learned, during his captivity.

> The Indians at times sent their best runners by land to chase the herds of wild cattle on the water side; as these animals crossed the river, they sometimes killed forty or fifty, merely to take the tongue and most delicate morsels, leaving the rest.

The chief, to whom he had been given, showed him five or six of his wives.

> Sometimes he assembled the elders of the village, in whose presence he asked me for a compass that I always had in my sleeve; seeing that I made the needle turn with a key, and believing justly that we Europeans went all over the habitable globe, guided by this instrument, this chief, who was very eloquent, persuaded his people that we were spirits, and capable of doing anything beyond their reach. At the close of his address, which was very animated, all the old men wept over my head, admiring in me what they could not understand. . . . . During our stay among the Issati or Nadonessiou, we saw Indians who came as ambassadors from about five hundred leagues to the west. They informed us that the Assenipovalacs* were then only seven or eight days distant to the northeast of us. All the other known tribes

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fulness of the history, and wrote to Prof. J. G. Shea for his opinion, which was promptly furnished; and with this authority he made a most satisfactory vindication of Hennepin at the celebration, as may be seen in the record of proceedings of the Society's publications.

By the urgent request of Archbishop Ireland, supported by officers of the Society, Professor Shea prepared and published his translation above referred to.

*Assiniboins.

on the west and northwest inhabit immense plains and prairies abounding in buffalo and peltries, where they are sometimes obliged to make fires with buffalo dung, for want of wood. . . . .

Another time we found an otter on the bank of the river Colbert, eating a large fish which had, running from the head, a kind of paddle or beak, five fingers broad and a foot and a half long, which made our Picard say that he thought he saw a devil in the paws of that otter: but his fright did not prevent our eating this monstrous fish, which we found very good.

This account of the voyage of discovery by Father Hennepin was accompanied by a map upon which was located the Lake of the Assenipoils, evidently intended to represent Lake Winnipeg, but its location was too far north, although in the proper direction from the Indian home of Hennepin.

Spanish Authorities.

DISCOVERY OF CIBOLA BY FATHER DE NICA (1539).

The following extracts are taken from Hakluyt's "Voyages of the English Nation to America," edited by Edmund Goldsmid, 1890, volume 3, pages 67-83.

The same day came three Indians of those which I called Pintados, because I saw their faces, breasts and arms painted. These dwell farther up into the country towards the east, and several of them border upon the Seven Cities, which said they came to see me because they had heard of me; and among other things they gave me information of the Seven Cities, and other provinces, which the Indian that Stephen sent me had told me of. . . . . They said that they went for Turqueses and Hides of kine, and other things; and that of all these there was great abundance in this country. Likewise I enquired how and by what means they obtained these things. They told me, by their service, and by the sweat of their brows, and that they went into the first city of the Province which is called Cevola, and that they served them in tilling their ground and in other business, and that they give them hides of oxen, which they have in those places, and turqueses for their service, and that the people of this city wear very fine and excellent turqueses hanging at their ears and at their nostrils. They say also that of these turqueses they make fine works upon the principal gates of the houses of this city. . . . .

Amongst others the Lord of this Village came unto me, and two of his brethren, very well apparelled in cotton, ... and they presented unto me many wild beasts, as conies, quails, maize, *nuts of pine trees*, and all in great abundance, and offered me many turqueses and dressed ox hides, and very fair vessels to drink in, and other things, whereof I would receive no whit. . . . .

At the last when they saw me resolute, two of the chief of them said they would go with me; with whom and with my Indians and interpreters I followed my way, till I came within sight of Cevola, which is situated on a plain at the foot of a round hill, and maketh shew to be a fair city, and is better seated than any that I have seen in these parts. The houses are builded in order, according as the Indians told me, all made of stone, with divers stories and flat roofs, as far as I could discern from a mountain which I ascended to view the city. The people are somewhat white; they wear apparel, and lie in beds; their weapons are bows; they have emeralds and other jewels, although they esteem none so much as turqueses. . . . . Their apparel is of cotton and of ox hides, and this is their most commendable and honorable apparel. They use vessels of gold and silver, for they have no other metal. . . . .

EXPLORATION OF CIBOLA AND QUIVIRA BY CORONADO (1540).

The relation of Francis Vasquez de Coronado, Captain General of the people which were sent in the name of the Emperor's Majesty to the country of Cibola, newly discovered, is found in Hakluyt's Voyages, volume 3, pages 117-132. Coronado departed with his army from Culiacan on the 22nd of April, 1540. He describes the situation and state of the Seven Cities, called the Kingdom of Cibola, and of the customs and qualities of their people, and the beasts which are found there.

It remaineth now to certify your honor of the Seven Cities, and of the kingdoms and provinces whereof the Father Provincial made report unto your Lordship. And to be brief, I can assure your honor, he sayd the truth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, saving only the names of the cities, and great houses of stone: for although they be not wrought with turqueses, nor with lime nor bricks, yet are they very excellent good houses of three or four or five lofts high, wherein are good lodgings and fair chambers with ladders instead of stairs, and certain cellars under the ground, very good and paved, which are made for winter, they are in manner like stoves: and the ladders which they have for their houses are all in a manner movable and portable, which are taken away and set down when they please, and they are made of two pieces of wood with their steps as ours be. . . . . They wear their hair on their heads like those of Mexico, and they are well nurtured and conditioned; and they have turqueses I think in good quantity, which, with the rest of the goods which they had, except their corn, they had conveyed away before I came thither. . . . . In this country there are certain skins well dressed, and they dress them and paint them where they kill their oxen, for so they say themselves.

Coronado sent to the Viceroy of Mexico, as presents from Cibola, an ox hide (buffalo robe), turquoises, two turquoise earrings and fifteen combs made by the Indians, tablets set with turquoises, etc. He also mentions that in this place was found "some quantity of gold and silver . . . . very good."

Francis Lopez de Gomara gives the account of Coronado's continuation of this expedition to Quivira (in the same volume, pages 133-5), from which I take the following:

They had news of Axa and Quivira, where they said was a king whose name was Tartatrax, with a long beard, hoary headed, and rich, which was girded with a Bracamart, which prayed upon a pair of beads, which worshipped a cross of gold and the image of a woman, the Queen of Heaven. . . . .

Quivira is in forty degrees [of north latitude]: it is a temperate country, and hath very good waters, and much grass, plums, mulberries, nuts, melons and grapes, which ripen very well. There is no cotton; and they apparel themselves with ox hides and deer skins.

Gomara gives this description of buffaloes, with brief mention of other animals of the great plains and the country farther west and north:

These oxen are of the bigness and color of our bulls, but their horns are not so great. They have a great bunch upon their fore shoulders, and more hair on their fore part than on their hinder parts; and it is like wool. They have as it were a horse's mane upon their backbone, and much hair and very long from their knees downward. They have great tufts of hair hanging down their foreheads, and it seemeth that they have beards, because of the great store of hair hanging down at their chins and throats. The males have very long tails, and a great knob or flock at the end; so that in some respects they resemble the lion and in some others the camel. They push with their horns, they run, they overtake and kill a horse when they are in their rage and anger. Finally, it is a foul and fierce beast of countenance and form of body. The horses fled from them, either because of their deformed shape, or else because they had never seen them. Their masters have no other riches nor substance: of them they eat, they drink, they apparel, they shoe themselves: and of their hides they make many things, as houses, shoes, apparel and ropes: of their bones they make bodkins: of their sinews and hairs, thread: of their horns, maws, and bladders, vessels: of their dung, fire: and of their calves' skins, budgets, in which they draw and keep water. To be short, they make so many things of them as they have need of, or as many as suffice them in the use of this life.

There are also in this country other beasts as big as horses, which, because they have horns and fine wool, they call them sheep; and they say that every horn of theirs weighs fifty pounds weight.

There are also great dogs which will fight with a bull, and will carry fifty pounds weight in sacks when they go a hunting, or when they remove from place to place with their flocks and herds.

EXPEDITION OF PEÑALOSA.

In 1882 Prof. J. Gilmary Shea (to whom English students have become greatly indebted) published a translation of the Expedition of Don Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa, Governor of New Mexico, from Sante Fe to the River Mischipi and Quivira in 1662, as described by Father Nicolas de Freytas, O. S. F., and also an account of a previous expedition by the Maestre de Campo Vincent de Saldivar in 1618, portions of which may well be added here.

Peñalosa led his expedition eastward and rediscovered Quivira. In his company were eighty Spaniards, whose captain was Michael de Noriega, "and a thousand Indians on foot with bows and arrows, all very well armed, both men and horses, and with all the other equipments of peace and war, . . . with thirty-six carts of various sizes well provided with provisions and munitions, and a large coach, a litter and two portable chairs for his person, and six three-pounders, eight hundred horses, and three hundred mules." Freytas, his historian, continues as follows:

We took our course eastward till we marched two hundred leagues, all through pleasing, peaceful, and most fertile fields, and so level that in all of them no mountain, or range, or any hill was seen, which finally ended at a very high and insuperable ridge which is near the sea, eight leagues beyond the great city of Quivira, called Taracari; and so agreeable and fertile are they that in all the Indies of Peru and New Spain, nor in Europe, have any other such been seen, so pleasant and delightful, and covered with buffalo or cows of cibola which caused notable admiration. The further we entered the country the greater was the number, with many and very beautiful rivers, marshes, and springs; studded with luxuriant forest and fruit trees of various kinds, which produce most palatable plums, large and fine grapes in great clusters and of extremely good flavor, like those of Spain, and even better, ... abundance of roses, strawberries without end, small but savory, many Castilian partridges, quails, turkeys, sandpipers, pheasants, deer, stags or elk in very great number, and even one kind of them as large and developed as our horses.

Through these pleasant and most fertile fields we marched during the months of March, April, May, and the kalends of June, and arrived at a large river which they call Mischipi, where we saw the first In-

dians of the Escanxaques nation, who might be to the number of 3,000, most warlike, well armed and equipped in their manner, who were going to attack the first city of the Quiviras, who are their enemies, and are destroying themselves by continual wars.

After entering into peace with us these Escanxaques gave notice of Quivira and its peoples, and they marched with us that day up by the borders of that beautiful river, which is rapid, and forms in parts very delightful and beautiful prairies, so fertile that in some they gather the fruit twice a year, and great forests in parts at distances of two, four, six, and ten leagues, and strange trees not seen until this place.

From this point we turned our route northward, following the river which drew its current from thence, leaving the east on our right, and that day the army halted in the prairies by the river, and the Escanxaques Indians lodged somewhat apart; and it is worth noting what they did that evening, which was their going out to the number of six hundred to hunt cibolas, which they found very near, and in less than three hours they returned, each bringing one, two, and some three cows' tongues from the incredible slaughter which they made of them.

The next day the army marched, and after going four leagues we discovered the great range already mentioned which ran from east to north, covered with smokes, by which they gave notice of the arrival of the Christian army, and soon after we discovered the great settlement or city of Quivira, situated on the widespread prairies of another beautiful river which came from the range to enter and unite with that which we had hitherto followed.

Before crossing the great river which served us as a guide, and in sight of the city, the army halted in the prairie thereof, Don Diego having previously ordered the Escanxaques to retire and not enter the city till his Lordship commanded otherwise. This they did, though against their will, because they wished that both they and the Señor Adelantado with his soldiers should at once assault the city with fire and blood, and destroy it.

So numerous were the people who appeared before the great settlement, men, women, and children, that it excited wonder, and then seventy head chiefs came very well attired in their style with neat chamois and buckskin, and caps or bonnets of ermine, and they welcomed the Señor Adelantado with the greatest marks of love and respect that they could.

His Illustrious Lordship received them with pleasure and ordered them to be entertained, and he gave them some presents with his accustomed liberality, endeavoring to quiet their minds, which were disturbed by the alarm which they had felt on seeing him and the Escanxaques, their avowed enemies, as well as to gain their good will for the furtherance of his expedition, and giving them to understand the friendly intercourse that he would maintain with them, and from the outset impressing this on them not only by words but also by most devoted affection and example . . . . and afterwards his Lord-

ship received a present of a great quantity of ermine, buckskin, chamois, marten, otter, beaver, and sable-skins, and a quantity of Indian corn in grain and bread, beans and pumpkins, sandpipers, turkeys, partridges, and rabbits, and much fresh fish which the Indians brought, giving him to understand that he should receive that as a mark of their good will till next day, when he might enter their city, which was on the other bank of the rapid river, and that they would serve him with much love and all possible hospitality.

With this they returned to their houses with very courteous supplies for the governors and chiefs of the city. . . . . The Señor Adelantado detained two of those chiefs that evening and night with fair words and better deeds; they were examined and questioned as to their land and the qualities of it and of its tribes. . . . .

The account of these casiques and the questions of Don Diego and the Father chaplains lasted till midnight, at which hour they were sent to sleep; but they, seeing themselves alone and among such strange and foreign folk, and that their enemies, the Escanxaques, were so near, fled and crossed the river to their city, which at sunrise was depopulated and without inhabitants, because their enemies, the Escanxaques, without being observed by our men, slipped off and attacked the city, killing, burning, and destroying all they could; on which surprise his Lordship ordered the army to cross the river, and it was forded with difficulty, as it was still night, and he encamped at the entrance of the town, which is situated on the delightful banks of another river, which runs through the midst of it, and the houses and streets are on both banks. The shape of the buildings for the most part is round, two, three, and four stories, covered with straw with wonderful skill, and the framework of Coleo, Curcura, or Otate, which are all three names of a solid cane, strong and full of knots, of which walking-sticks are usually made, which does not grow in warm climates; and, as we observed in what we saw, they plant twice a year, as some fields were ready to harvest and others were planting. We could find no Indian to act as interpreter, as all had fled, fearing the great fury of their enemies the Escanxaques, whom they supposed to be favored by and in alliance with our men, and to arrest the conflagration of the city it was necessary for the army to march in two bodies and that the one with the Maese de Campo should spend most of the day in keeping back the Escanxaques.

The next morning the army marched through the town some two leagues, and, having counted some thousands of houses, halted on the bank of another river, which also entered it; and it was remarked that every quarter of a league, a little more or less, highways entered the city of sixteen paths and some of more, well beaten and even, which came down from the lofty range, which was some six leagues distant from the buildings.

From this point the Señor Adelantado sent a squad of twenty-five soldiers with Sergeant Major Francis de Madrid to go and explore all the town, without their being able to reach the end of the streets, and

when furthest on they discerned more of the town, and more smokes on the ridge, which ran along the right side of the city towards the north.

Before arriving at this town we passed many very large rivers, ... and most of these rivers very deep to run asequias for irrigation, and the soil black, strong, fertile, and covered with grass; and in conclusion all the plain from the city of Quivira to the ridge, which must be six or seven leagues, seemed a paradise; and Señor Don Diego, seeing that it was useless to follow men who fled, and . . . as he had no orders to make new discoveries, from that part turned back to these provinces on the 11th of June. . . . . .

There were on this expedition men of various nations in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and all unanimously declared that they had never seen so fertile, pleasant, and agreeable a country as that. . . .

Prof. Shea closes his preface, accompanying this translation, with the following remark:

This narrative will help to a better understanding of the early Spanish intercourse with Quivira, and, I think, shows that province to have been north of the Missouri River.

EXPEDITION OF SALDIVAR.

In the year 1618 Maestre de Campo Vincent de Saldivar had made a journey of discovery with forty-seven well appointed soldiers, accompanied by the Father Friar Lazarus Ximenez. This expedition, as narrated also by Freytas, passed through several populous nations to the end of the Moq and journeyed through uninhabited countries fifteen days, and arrived at the Rio de Buena Esperanza (Good Hope river) or Tison river, where they found themselves in north latitude 36° 30′; and, going up this river for two days toward the north with a very good guide who offered to conduct them, they arrived at a little village, and, asking information of the country and the interior, they were told such great things of it as those in the west on the coast of the South Sea and California had told them, that in the country beyond they would find *"some terrible nations of giants, so huge and extraordinary that one of our men on horseback was small compared to them,* and that they fired very large arrows." It appeared to Saldivar that he could not raise sufficient force to encounter such a multitude, so he determined to return, fearing some misfortune such as was experienced by Captain Humaña and others; and although Father Lazarus and the greater part of the soldiers opposed this determination, they could not prevail.

Although twenty-five of them begged permission to go, the Maestre de Campo was not willing to permit it, fearing they would all be lost, and commanded that they should go no farther, but turn back.

Discussion of the Discovery of the Mississippi River.

Did Groseilliers and Radisson discover the Mississippi river?

This voyage is the first by eighteen years that is recorded, and consequently it cannot be corroborated by any contemporaneous authority; hence we must rely upon what the succeeding authorities say to corroborate this record.

For the purpose of doing this, I have cited the "Relations of the Jesuits," Parkman's series of histories as quoted above, Marquette, Hennepin, and the Spanish authorities, which are all before the reader.

At the time of the commencement of this voyage the missionaries had been massacred, and the Hurons and Ottawas had been driven to the "end of the world," and a condition of starvation confronted the people of Canada. Groseilliers had without doubt been engaged in the contraband trade with the Hurons and Ottawas at the time of their dispersion, and was acquainted with the Indians that had come with the canoes loaded with furs, as the Father Superior has advised us. The starving condition of the country compelled him to follow the Indians. He was quite at home with them, and on more confidential terms with them than with the Governor or the Jesuits. The return of Radisson from captivity with the Iroquois was a very opportune event, and hence the proposition to him to join in this enterprise to know the people of the west and south.

The arrival of the fleet of canoes and the resolution of the Governor and the Father Superior to send the priests and thirty Frenchmen, was the very opportunity they would naturally desire. They joined the Indians, but were not with or rather of the French party.

The Indians were natives of the River Ottawa and Lake Huron, and had fled to the islands of Michilimackinac and Green Bay, as stated in "The Jesuits in North America." The incidents of this voyage have been recited. They fought the Iroquois at Mackinac, made a treaty with the nations living

on the shores of the bay, the Pottawattamies and Menomonees, and the Hurons and Ottawas, became acquainted with the Fire Nation, and learned from their neighbors of the great and warlike nations, the Nadoneceronons and the Christinos.

All the Indians who have been mentioned are found located in the exact places given in the narrative, on the map of "Countries traversed by Marquette, Hennepin and La Salle," which Parkman has given in "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West."

"The Relations of the Jesuits," "Pioneers in the New World," and "The Old Régime in Canada," are relied upon to confirm all that Radisson has said of this voyage to the spring of 1655, when they started down the Mississippi with the Hurons, Ottawas, and Fire Nation. The great beauty of the country is still self-evident to the people who live in it.

The fish, cattle, stags, birds and productions described by Radisson, Marquette, and Hennepin, are not found anywhere else in America; and the authorities cited from the Spanish expeditions most triumphantly corroborate what has been said by Radisson and Marquette as to the climate, productions, and people of the southern part of the river and country.

It is not necessary to repeat the language of each, for the reader can and will compare the different accounts for himself. The only part that is especially entitled to review is what is said of the visit of Radisson up the Great River. After turning back from the salt water he speaks of many sorts of people, and says:

> By the persuasion of some of them we went into the great river that divides itself in two, where the Hurons with some of the Ottawas and the wild men that had wars with them had retired. . . . . This nation have wars against those of the forked river. It is so called because it has two branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the south, which we believe runs towards Mexico, by the tokens they gave us.

It is not presumption to say that the Great River was the Missouri, and that the fork or branch which runs towards Mexico was the Platte. Radisson also says:

> Being among these people, they told us the prisoners they take tell them that they have wars against a nation, against men that build great cabins, and have great beards, and have such knives as we have. . . . . They showed us one of that nation that was taken the year before. We understood him not; he was much more tawny than they

with whom we were. . . . . We were informed of that nation that live in the other river. These were men of extraordinary height and bigness, that made us believe they had no communication with them. . . . . They have fruit as big as the heart of an oriniak [elk], which grows on vast trees which are three armsful in compass. . . . They have a kind of drink that makes them mad for a whole day.

The great cabins were the houses of four and five stories described by Father de Nica and by Coronado in his report to the Viceroy of Mexico, and were of the kind delineated by our late fellow citizen, Gen. J. H. Simpson, in his report of his expedition to the Navajo country (in the edition published by Lippincott, Grambo and Co., in 1852). The fruit was the nuts of pine trees, mentioned by Father de Nica, which grow in great abundance in the mountains of Mexico and California, growing upon trees that are from forty to one hundred and fifty feet high and of great dimension. The nuts are in the cones of the trees, which are from two to five inches long. Many thousand pounds of these nuts are sold to Mexicans to-day. The tawny prisoner was an African slave taken from the Spaniards with big beards and knives (swords). They found arrows and dishes of good workmanship which excited the admiration of the voyagers, and learned of a drink that made them mad a whole day, which was an alcoholic distillation of pulque, a produce of the maguey plant. It is still a favorite beverage of Mexicans and Indians alike, after two hundred and fifty years' use, and is called mescal or aguardiente. The fable of the men of extraordinary height and bigness will be accounted for by turning back to the expedition of Saldivar.

Finally, there are millions of men living in the valley of the Mississippi who can confirm what is said regarding its climate and natural productions; and thousands of old settlers are still living who have seen the painted ox hides, buffs, stags, goats, turkeys, and other game mentioned, while the fishermen of Lake Pepin still occasionally catch a shovel-nosed sturgeon.

It seems to me that the evidence of the discovery of the Mississippi by Groseilliers and Radisson is quite sufficient to satisfy the most skeptical.

Continuation of Radisson's Third Voyage.

On page 154 is given an account of a war between the Sault (Ojibways) and Christinos, resulting in peace and confederacy between them, in order to be able to defend themselves from

the Iroquois on the one hand and the Sioux on the other. The narrative continues as follows:

We arrived then where the nation of the Sault was, where we found some Frenchmen that came up with us, who thanked us kindly for to come and visit them. The wild Octanaks (Ottawas) that came with us found some of their nation slaves, who were also glad to see them. For all they were slaves, they had meat enough, which they had not in their own country so plentiful, being no huntsmen, but altogether fishers. As for those towards the north, they are most expert in hunting, and live upon nothing else the most part of the year. We were long there before we got acquainted with those that we desired so much, and they in like manner had a fervent desire to know us, as we them. Here comes a company of Christinos from the Bay of the North Sea, to live more at ease in the middle of woods and forests, by reason they might trade with those of the Sault and have the conveniency to kill more beasts.

There we passed the winter and learned the particularities that since we saw by experience. . . . . The Christinos had skill in that game above the rest. . . . .

We did what we could to have correspondence with that warlike nation and reconcile them with the Christinos. We went not there that winter. Many were slain of both sides the summer last. The wounds were yet fresh, wherefore it was hard to conclude peace between them. . . . . At last we declared our mind first to those of the Sault, encouraging those of the north that we are their brethren, and that we would come back and force their enemy to peace, or that we would help against them. We made gifts one to another, and thwarted a land of almost fifty leagues before the snow was melted. . . . .

We arrived, some one hundred and fifty of us, men and women, to a river side where we stayed three weeks making boats. Here we wanted not fish. During that time we made feasts at a high rate. So we refreshed ourselves from our labors. In that time we took notice that the buds of trees began to spring, which made us make more haste and be gone. We went up that river eight days till we came to a nation called Pontonatenick and Matonenock,—that is, the Scratchers. There we got some Indian meal and corn from those two nations, which lasted us till we came to the first landing isle.

The Christinos are now in readiness to leave for their home in their boats that it has taken one hundred and fifty men and women three weeks to build. Who are they, and where is their home, and where is the "first landing isle?" First in order, that there shall not be any confusion about the name of this tribe of Indians, I here insert a paragraph from an extract from Alexander Henry's "Travels and Adventures in Canada," which will be found further on:

On the sixteenth [of August], we reached Lake Winipegon, at the entrance of which is a large village of Christinaux, a nation which I had not previously seen. The name is variously written: as Cristinaux, Kinistineaux, Killistinoes, and Killistinaux.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in his "General History of the Fur Trade," on pages xci.-cxvi, gives an extended account of the Knisteneaux Indians. It is quite too long for insertion here, but I make a quotation of that part relating to the country they occupy.

These people are spread over a vast extent of country. Their language is the same as that of the people who inhabit the coast of British America on the Atlantic, with the exception of the Esquimaux, and continues along the coast of Labrador and the gulf and banks of St. Lawrence to Montreal. The line then follows the Ottawa river to its source; and continues from there nearly west along the high lands which divide the waters that fall into Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay. It then proceeds until it strikes the middle part of the river Winipic, following that water through the Lake Winipic, to the discharge of the Saskatchiwine into it; from thence it accompanies the latter to Fort George, when the line, striking by the head of the Beaver river to the Elk river, runs along its banks to its discharge in the Lake of the Hills; from which it may be carried back east to the Isle à la Crosse, and so on to Churchill by the Missinipi. The whole of the tract between this line and Hudson's Bay and Straits (except that of the Esquimaux in the latter), may be said to be exclusively the country of the Knisteneaux.

On page liii, which is a part of the description of the canoe route from Grand Portage to lake Winnipeg, we find this additional information.

The portage of Lac Bois Blanc . . . . is one hundred and eighty paces. Then follows the lake of that name, but I think improperly so called, as the natives name it the Lake Pascau Minac Sagaigan, or Dry Berries. Before the smallpox ravaged this country and completed what the Nodowasis, in their warfare, had gone far to accomplish, the destruction of its inhabitants, the population was very numerous. This was also a favorite part, where they made their canoes, etc., the lake abounding in fish, the country round it being plentifully supplied with various kinds of game, and the rocky ridges, that form the boundary of the water, covered with a variety of berries.

When the French were in possession of this country, they had several trading establishments on the islands and banks of this lake. Since that period, the few people remaining, who were of the Algonquin nation, could hardly find subsistence; game having become so scarce that they depended principally for food upon fish, and wild rice which grows spontaneously in these parts.

I cannot omit an extract from chap. IX., pp. 137-140, of W. W. Warren's "History of the Ojibways" (volume 5 of the publications of the Minnesota Historical Society). Mr. Warren's History was written during the years 1851 to 1853.

A few years after the great convocation of northwestern tribes [1671], and treaty with the French nation at Sault Ste. Marie, a company of French traders proceeded up the west coast of Lake Superior, and built a trading post or "fort" (as these establishments were termed in those days), on a beautiful bay situated on the lake shore a few miles above . . . . Pigeon river, and known as "Grand Portage," . . . . from the fact that a portage of ten miles is here made to Pigeon river, to avoid the rapids which preclude navigation even for canoes, for many miles above the entry of this "bad winding stream."

This is probably the first permanent post erected by the white man in the region of country comprised within the present limits of Minnesota Territory. It was built, as near as I can judge from the information of the Indians and old traders, upwards of one hundred and fifty years ago.

The great quantity of beaver existing at this period on all the streams emptying into Lake Superior, and especially throughout the country watered by Kah-man-a-tig-wa-yah and its tributaries, together with the great docility, harmless character and friendly disposition of the section of the Ojibways occupying this district, who comprise the northern division of the tribe, were, without doubt, the leading causes which induced the French here to build their first "fort" in preference to any other spot on Lake Superior.

From this point, also, a vast region of unexplored country became open to their indefatigable enterprise, in a northern direction. It is by this route that they first became acquainted with the remote northern tribes of the Ke-nis-te-no and Assineboins, with whom they soon opened a communication.

Long before this, the Ojibways of the northern division had already reached, in their northern progress, the country of the Ke-nis-te-no and Assineboins, the former of whom belonged to the same stock as themselves, and though the latter were of Dakota extraction, yet finding the two tribes in close alliance and carrying on a war against the Dakotas, they entered their wigwams in peace, and joined in alliance with them.

I recollect of having read in some book that the Assineboins had been forced into an alliance by the Ke-nis-te-no who first received firearms from the British by the route of Hudson's Bay. This led me to make close inquiries on this subject, and I find that Indian tradition says differently. Esh-ke-bug-e-coshe, the present aged and respected chief of the Pillager Ojibways, lived many years in his youth among these tribes; and he gives the following account of the manner in which this singular alliance, between an Algic and a Dakota tribe, first happened.

"Many winters before they became aware of the presence of the white man on this great island, the Yankton division of the great Dakota tribe resided on the borders of the great western prairies near the Red River of the North. They numbered many hundred lodges, and their warriors prevailed against the Ke-nis-te-no toward the north and west, and caused them to keep under the shade of the forests and swamps which covered their hunting grounds. At one time it happened, as it often does, that two young men quarrelled about a woman, and one in the heat of passion and jealousy took the life of the other. Both belonged to numerous and important families, and in accordance with the law of 'blood for blood,' notwithstanding his relatives wished to buy him off, the murderer was killed. . . . . The great Yankton camp became a scene of excitement, and murders occurred daily, till the weaker party, consisting of a thousand lodges, left the main camp and retired by themselves, to pursue their hunt for meat to feed their women and children.

"[This strife was continued until] the smaller camp, to prevent their total eventual extinction . . . . moved towards the country of the Ke-nis-te-no, with whom they had always waged a never-ending warfare; and preferring to trust themselves to their generosity rather than to the vindictive hatred of their own kindred, they collected the women and children whom in former years they had captured from them and adopted in their families. These they placed on horses, and, loaded with presents, they were sent to the great Ke-nis-te-no town . . . . with the peace pipe of the seceding Dakotas, requesting to be received 'in their lodges' and protected from the 'fire that raged in their rear, on the western prairies.'

"The manly and compassionate Ke-nis-te-no sent forty of their warriors to receive them into their country, and escort them into their village. A grand council was held, ... and they were accepted as allies and brothers. . . . . Their united prowess eventually drove the Dakotas from the northern plains. . . . . Shortly after this first alliance, the Ojibway made his appearance among them, and he too became a party to the mutual compact which has been kept unbroken to this day."

In Prof. Shea's "Life of Marquette," is found another reference to the Christinos and their home (Historical Collections of Louisiana, Part 4, page lvii):

The Kilistinaux are a nomad people, whose rendezvous we do not yet know. It is northwest of the Mission of the Holy Ghost; they are always in the woods, and live solely by their bow. They passed by the mission where I was last fall in two hundred canoes, coming to buy merchandise and corn, after which they go to winter in the woods; in the spring I saw them again on the shore of the lake.

This quotation is taken from the "Relations of the Jesuits," 1669-70, Ottawa part. This mission was located at La Pointe,

near Bayfield and Ashland, Wis., and of course on the south side of Lake Superior; and we think that the one hundred and fifty Christinos crossed the lake to their home by way of the Grand Portage or Pigeon river to lake Sagaigan and Lac Bois Blanc, which Mackenzie described in its palmy days while in possession of the French. It is a reasonable presumption that on the islands of the Sagaigan (now called lake Saganaga) was the "first landing isle," after the trying and arduous voyage across the lake; and it would be in their own country. All the country to the south of what became the canoe route of the traders belonged to the Sioux, their deadly enemies.

We now resume Radisson's narrative of the voyage:

There we were well received again. We made gifts to the elders to encourage the young men to bring us down to the French; but mightily mistaken, for they would reply, "Should you bring us to be killed? The Iroquois are everywhere about the river and undoubtedly will destroy us if we go down, and afterwards our wives and those that stayed behind. Be wise, brethren, and offer not to go down this year to the French. Let us keep our lives." We make many private suits, but all in vain. They vexed us most that we had given away most of our merchandise and swapped a great deal for castors. Moreover, they made no great harvest, being but newly there. Besides, they were no great huntsmen. Our journey was broken till the next year, and must perforce.

That summer I went a hunting, and my brother stayed where he was welcome and put up a great deal of Indian corn that was given him. He intended to furnish the wild men that were to go down to the French, if they had not enough. The wild men did not perceive this; for if they wanted any, we could hardly keep it for our use. The winter passed away in good correspondence one with another. We sent ambassadors to the nations that used to go down to the French, which rejoiced them the more and made us pass that year with a greater pleasure, saving that my brother fell into the falling sickness, and many were sorry for it. That proceeded only from long stay in a new discovered country, and the idleness contributed much to it. There is nothing comparable to exercise. It is the only remedy for such diseases. After he languished awhile God gave him his health again.

The desire that everyone had to go down to the French made them earnestly look out for castors. They have not so many there as in the north part, so in the beginning of spring many came to our isle. There were no less, I believe, than five hundred men that were willing to venture themselves. The corn that my brother kept did us a world of service. . . . . When we were ready to depart, here comes strange news of the defeat of the Hurons, which I thought would put off the

voyage. There was a council held, and most of them were against the going down to the French, saying that the Iroquois were to bar this year, and the best way was to stay till the following year. And now the enemy, seeing himself frustrated of his expectation, would not stay longer, thinking that we were resolved never more to go down, and that the next year there would be a bigger company and better able to oppose an enemy. My brother and I, seeing ourselves all out of hopes of our voyage, without our corn, which was already bestowed, and without any merchandise, or scarce having one knife betwixt us both, so we were in a great apprehension lest the Hurons should, as they have done often when the Fathers were in the country, kill a Frenchman.

Seeing the equipage ready and many more that thought long to depart thence for merchandise, we upon this resolved to call a public council in the place; which the elders hearing, came and advised us not to undertake it, giving many fair words, saying: "Brethren, why are you such enemies of yourselves to put yourselves in the hands of those that wait for you? They will destroy you and carry you away captives. Will you have your brethren destroyed that love you, being slain? Who then will come up and baptize our children? Stay till the next year, and then you are like to have the number of six hundred men with you. Then you may freely go without intermission. Ye shall take the Church along with you, and the fathers and mothers will send their children to be taught in the way of truth of the Lord." Our answer was that we will speak in public, which granted, the day appointed is come. There gather above eight hundred men to see who should have the glory in a round. They sat down on the ground. We desired silence. The elders being in the middle, and we in their middle, my brother began to speak. "Who am I? am I a foe, or a friend? If I am a foe, why did you suffer me to live so long among you? If I am a friend, and if you take so to be, hearken to what I shall say. You know, my uncles and brethren, that I hazarded my life going up with you. If I have no courage, why did you not tell me at my first coming here? If you have more wit than we, why did you not use it by preserving your knives, your hatchets, and your guns, that you had from the French? You will see, if the enemy will set upon you, that you will be trapped like castors in a trap. How will you defend yourselves like men? That is not courageous to let yourselves be caught like beasts. How will you defend your villages? with castor skins? How will you defend your wives and children from the enemy's hands?"

Then my brother made me stand up, saying, "Show them the way to make wars if they are able to uphold it." I took a gown of castor skins that one of them had upon his shoulder and did beat him with it. I asked the others if I was a soldier. "Those are the arms that kill, and not your robes. . . . . Do not you know the French way? We are used to fight with arms and not with robes. You say that the Iroquois wait for you, because some of your men were killed. It is only to make you stay until you are quite out of stock, that they dis-

patch you with ease. Do you think that the French will come up here when the greater part of you are slain by your own fault? You know they cannot come up without you. Shall they come to baptize your dead? Shall your children learn to be slaves among the Iroquois for their fathers' cowardness? You call me an Iroquois. Have not you seen me disposing my life with you? Who has given you your life, if not the French? . . . . . If you will deceive them, you must not think they will come another time for shy words nor desire. You have spoken first, do what you will. For my own part, I will venture choosing to die like a man rather than live like a beggar. Having not wherewithal to defend myself, farewell; I have my sack of corn ready. Take all my castors. I shall live without you." And then I departed that company.

This very remarkable speech entirely changed the purpose of the Indians, and they resolved to go. Their wives got their bundles ready.

Our equipage was ready in six days. We embarked ourselves. We were in number about five hundred, all stout men. We had with us a great store of castors' skins. We came to the south. We now go to the north, to overtake a band of men that went before to give notice to others. We passed the lake without danger. We wanted nothing. having good store of corn and nets to catch fish, which are plentiful in the rivers. . . . . At last we are out of the lakes.

Each one leaves and hides something till their return, and to lighten the labor down the Ottawa. There are nearly six pages of description of their voyage down the Ottawa and accounts of fights with Iroquois. After the Iroquois left them they turned to come to their journey's end, and went down the swift stream without making any carriage. The canoe in which Radisson's brother was, with several of the wild men, turned over in the rapids, and they were in great peril. The brother (Groseilliers) lost his book of notations of the last year, but none of the beaver skins.

The Iroquois got a great way before us, not well satisfied to have stayed for us, having lost seven of their men; two of them were not nimble enough, for our bullets and arrows made them stay for good and all. Seven of our men were sick, who had barely escaped from being drowned, and two were wounded by the Iroquois.

The next day we went on without any delay or encounter. . . . . We came to Quebec, where we are saluted with the thundering of the guns and batteries of the fort, and of the three ships that were then at anchor, which would have gone back to France without castors if we had not come. We were well treated for five days. The Governor

made gifts and sent two brigantines to bring us to the Three Rivers, where we arrived the second day. On the fourth day they went away.

That was the end of our three years' voyage and a few months. After so much pain and danger God was so merciful as to bring us back safe to our dwelling, where the one was made much of by his wife, the other by his friends and kindred. . . . .

They went away the next day, and we stayed at home at rest that year. My brother and I considered whether we should discover what we had seen or no; and because we had not a full and whole discovery, which was that we have not been in the Bay of the North, not knowing anything but by the report of the wild Christinos, we would make no mention of it for fear that those wild men should tell us a fib. We would have made a discovery of it ourselves and have an assurance, before we should discover anything of it.

My wish to make this paper as short as is practicable, with making it intelligible, prevents my repeating the text of the story or quotations. The extracts made from Alexander Henry's Travels and from Radisson give these Indians the name Christinos. Warren calls them Kenistenos; and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Knisteneaux. All refer to the same tribe and place them at the same home, north of lake Superior; and, of course, the only way to get there was by crossing the lake to Grand Portage and by way of the Groseilliers river, mentioned by Henry in his description of the canoe route of the fur trade in 1775. Franquelin's map of lake Superior in 1688 has located this river as entering the lake near the point now called Grand Portage. (For a copy of this map see page 230, vol. 4, of the "Narrative and Critical History of America.") The extracts from Henry's Travels and Mackenzie's "General History of the Fur Trade" will make this whole country familiar to the reader and will locate the home of the Christinos and Sioux without mistake. Mackenzie's description of Lac Bois Blanc and Lake Pascau Minac Sagaigan, or Dry Berries, indicates an Indian paradise which would be the location of the "first landing isle."

The assumption that the Indians and Frenchmen crossed lake Superior in their canoes may be a little too much for the credulity of some persons. For the purpose of removing all misapprehension on that point, I insert a paragraph from the history of the "Birch Bark Canoe" to be found further on, taken from a pamphlet called "Peace River, a Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific, by the late Sir George Simpson

(Governor, Hon. Hudson's Bay Company), in 1828." On page 41, Note II, "Light Canoes," we read:

The canoe du Maitre was of six fathoms, measured within, and the canoe du Nord about four, more or less. The ordinary crew for the former was sixteen or eighteen, and for the latter eight or nine. The larger could stand any storm in Lakes Huron and Superior, but it was ever the habit of voyage to avoid the encounter as much as possible. Their ordinary load was one hundred and twenty pieces of ninety pounds each, say five tons, with men, and passengers' baggage. They always carried passengers, say from four to eight or even more in case of children. I never heard of such a canoe being wrecked, or upset, or swamped; they swam like ducks. If overtaken, as was often the case, in a long *traverse* from point to point, or across large bays in the big Lakes, the heavy "*parla*" [red canvas oilcloth] used to be thrown over the goods as a storm deck, and then skilled strength and pluck, with the trusty bark, did the work.

This extract was taken from the journal of the late chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Archibald McDonald, who accompanied Sir George Simpson on this voyage,—a man during all his life engaged in the fur trade. It is supposed that the text is intelligible enough without remark to the close of the Third Voyage.

Radisson's Fourth Voyage.

The Fourth Voyage commenced in the summer of 1658, after the brothers had stayed at home for a year; and, as we shall see, Radisson gives a more satisfactory and intelligible account of the places they visited, and the incidents are more distinctly stated. I shall omit much that would be interesting, but will not omit such parts as I deem necessary to show how these men became entitled to the credit of having introduced trade and commerce in Minnesota.

In the spring following we were in hopes to meet some company, having been so fortunate in the year before. Now during the winter, whether it was that my brother revealed to his wife what we had seen in our voyage and what we further intended, or however it came to pass, it was known; so much that the Father Jesuits were desirous to find out a way how they might get down the castors from the Bay of the North by the Sacgnes, and so make themselves masters of that trade. They resolved to make a trial as soon as the ice would permit them. So to discover our intentions they were very earnest with me to engage myself in that voyage, to the end that my brother would give over his, which I utterly denied them, knowing that they could

never bring it about, because I heard the wild men say that although the way be easy, the wild men that are fed at their doors would have hindered them, because they make a livelihood by that trade. . . . .

During that time we made our proposition to the Governor of Quebec, that we were willing to venture our lives for the good of the country and go to travel to the remotest countries. . . . .

The Governor gave them leave on the condition that they should carry two of his servants along with them, and should give him a moiety of the profits.

My brother was vexed at such an unreasonable demand, to take inexperienced men to their ruin. All our knowledge and desire depended on this last voyage, besides that the Governor should compare two of his servants to us, that have ventured our lives so many years and maintained the country by our generosity in the presence of all; neither was there one that had the courage to undertake what we had done. We made the Governor a slight answer, and told him for our part we knew what we were, discoverers before governors. If the wild men came down, the way for them as for us, and that we should be glad to have the honor of his company, but not of that of his servants. The governor was much displeased at this, and commanded us not to go without his leave. We desired the Fathers to speak to him about it. Our addresses were slight because of the shame was put upon them the year before by their return; besides they stayed for an opportunity to go there themselves.

After some delay and conference with the wild men that had come down from the upper lake, with whom they were acquainted, mostly of the Sault nation, they resolved to start. The wild men started first, but promised to Radisson and his brother that they would wait for them two days at the Lake of St. Peter.

We did not let them wait so long, for that very night, my brother having the keys of the borough as being captain of the place, we embarked ourselves. . . . . Being come opposite to the fort, they ask who is there. My brother tells his name. Everyone knows what good services we had done to the country; and they loved us, the inhabitants as well as the soldiers. The sentry answered him, "God give you a good voyage."

I omit the description of the passage up the Ottawa and onward, although a hazardous and laborious one, until they arrived at the Sault Ste. Marie.

We came after to a rapid that makes the separation between the lake of the Hurons and that which we call the Superior or Upper lake, for that the wild men hold it to be the longer and broader, besides a great many islands, which make it appear of bigger extent. This rapid was

formerly the residence of those with whom we were. . . . . We made cottages at our advantage, and found the truth of what those men had often told us, that if once we could come to that place we should make good cheer of the white fish. The bear, the castors, and the oriniack showed themselves often, but to their cost; indeed it was to us like a terrestrial paradise. . . . .

But the season was far spent, and diligence required us to leave that place. . . . . The weather was agreeable when we began to navigate upon that great extent of water, finding it so calm and the air so clear. . . . . We found a small river. I was so curious that I inquired of my dearest friends the name of the stream. They named it *Pauabickkomesibs*, which signifies a small river of copper. I ask him the reason. He told me "Come, and I will show you the reason why." It was not two hundred paces in the wood where many pieces of copper were uncovered; further he told me that the mountain I saw was of nothing else. Seeing it so fair and pure, I had a mind to take a piece of it, but they hindered me, telling my brother there was more where we were to go. . . . .

From this place we went along the coasts, which are most delightful and wondrous, for it is Nature that made it so pleasant to the eye, the spirit, and the belly. As we went along we saw banks of sand so high that one of our wild men went up for curiosity; being there, he showed no more than a crow. That place is most dangerous when there is any storm, being no landing place so long as the sandy banks are under water; and when the wind blows, that sand rises by a strange kind of whirling that are able to choke the passengers. One day you will see fifty small mountains at one side, and the next day, if the wind changes, on the other side. . . . .

After this we came to a remarkable place. It is a bank of rocks that the wild men made a sacrifice to; they call it *Nanitoucksinagoit*, which signifies the likeness of the devil. They fling much tobacco and other things in its veneration. It is a thing most incredible that that lake should be so boisterous, that the waves of it should have the strength to do what I have to say in this discourse: first, that it is so high and so deep that it is impossible to climb up to the point. There come many sorts of birds that make their nests here, the goilants, which is a white sea-bird of the bigness of a pigeon. . . . . It is like a great portal, by reason of the beating of the waves. The lower part of the opening is as big as a tower, and grows bigger in going up. There is, I believe, six acres of land above it. A ship of 500 tons could pass by, so big is the arch. I gave it the name of the Portal of St. Peter, because my name is so called, and that I was the first Christian that ever saw it. There are in that place caves very deep, caused by the same violence. We must look to ourselves, and take time with our small boats. The coast of rocks is five or six leagues, and there scarce a place to put a boat in assurance from the waves. When the lake is agitated the waves go into these concavities with force and make a most terrible noise, most like the shooting of great guns.

For a description of the Pictured Rocks, and of the Grand Portal, see Foster and Whitney's "Report on the Geology of the Lake Superior Land District" (Senate Ex. Doc., No. 4, Special Session, March, 1851).

Some days afterwards we arrived to a very beautiful point of sand where there are three beautiful islands, that we called the Trinity. . . . . We discovered a bay very deep, where a river empties itself with a noise for the quantity and depth of the water. We must stay there three days to wait for fair weather to make the trainage, which was about six leagues wide. So done, we came to the mouth of a small river. . . . . We found meadows that were about ten leagues square, as smooth as a board. We went up some five leagues further, where we found some pools made by the castors. We must break them that we may pass. . . . . Being come to the height, we must drag our boats over a trembling ground for the space of an hour. . . . .

Having passed that place, we made a carriage through the land for two leagues. The way was well beaten because of the comers and goers, who thus shorten their passage by eight days less than would be required to pass around the point that goes very far out in that great lake. . . . . In the end of that point, that goeth very far, there is an island, as I was told, all of copper. This I have not seen. They say that from the island of copper, which is a league in the lake, when they are minded to thwart it in a fair and calm weather, beginning from sunrising to sunset, they come to a great island, from whence they come the next morning to firm land at the other side.

The crossing from the south shore of the lake is undoubtedly by the portage across Keweenaw point and Isle Royale; but the distances are without doubt quite too far, for it is estimated as six score and ten leagues. The Indians and Frenchmen, however, may be excused for thinking it a great distance, especially when they had to cross it in their small canoes.

Five days after we came to a place where there was a company of Christinos that were in their cottages. They were transported for joy to see us come back. They made much of us, and called us men indeed, to perform our promise to come and see them again. We gave them great gifts, which caused some suspicion, for it is a very jealous nation. But the short stay that we made took away that jealousy. We went on and came to a hollow river which was a quarter of a mile in breadth. Many of our wild men went to win the shortest way to their nation, and we were then three and twenty boats, for we met with some in that lake that joined with us and came to keep us company, in hopes to get knives from us. . . . . Seven boats stayed of the nation of the Sault. We went on half a day before we

could come to the landing place, and were forced to make another carriage, a point of two leagues long and some sixty paces broad. As we came to the other side, we were in a bay of ten leagues about, if we had gone in. By going about that same point, we passed a strait, for that point was very nigh the other side, which is a cape very much elevated like pyramids. That point should be a very fit place to build a fort, as we did the spring following. In that bay there is a channel where we take great store of fishes, sturgeons of a vast bigness, and pikes of seven feet long. At the end of this bay we landed. The wild men gave thanks to that which they worship, we to the God of Gods, to see ourselves in a place where we must leave our navigation and forsake our boats to undertake a harder piece of work in hand, to which we were forced. The men told us that we had five great days' journeys before we should arrive where their wives were. We foresee the hard task that we were to undergo by carrying our bundles upon our backs. They were used to it. Here everyone for himself and God for all.

We finding ourselves not able to perform such a task, and as they could not well tell where to find their wives, lest the Nadoneceronons have wars against their nation and forced them from their appointed place, my brother and I consulted what was best to do, and declared our will to them, which was thus: "Brethren, we resolve to stay here, being not accustomed to make any carriage on our backs as you are wont. Go you and look for your wives. We will build us a fort here. And seeing that you are not able to carry all your merchandise at once, we will keep them for you, and will stay for you fourteen days. Before the time expires you will send to us if your wives are alive, and if you find them they will fetch what you leave here and what we have. For their pains they shall receive gifts from us. So you will see us in your country. If they be dead, we will spend all to be revenged, and will gather up the whole country for the next spring, for that purpose to destroy those that were the causers of their death, and you shall see our strength and valor. Although there are seven thousand fighting men in one village, you will see that we will make them run away, and you shall kill them to your best liking by the very noise of our arms and our presence, who are the Gods of the earth among those people."

They wondered very much at our resolution. The next day they went their way, and we stay for our assurance in the midst of many nations, being but two almost starved for want of food.

They built a fort, and after twelve days they saw about fifty young men approaching, with some of their former companions.

They offered to carry our baggage, being come on purpose. . . . We went away free from any burden, whilst those poor miserable thought themselves happy to carry our equipage, for the hope that

they had that we should give them a brass ring, or an awl, or a needle. There came above four hundred persons to see us go.

After leaving their fort they marched four days, and came to the shores of a lake where there was an abundance of boats. The next day they embarked and arrived by water at a village of a hundred cabins without palisades. They were received with loud outcries, and the women especially manifested their friendship and welcome. They distributed presents to the men, women and children, making great speeches, and promising to be their friends and to help to destroy their enemies. After this business had been settled, the winter came on and the snows began to fall. They made preparations for their winter hunting, and each was informed of a rendezvous for meeting after two months and a half in the winter, at a small lake, where they were to advise what they should do.

During this time we sent messengers everywhere, to give special notice to all manner of persons and nations, that within five moons the feast of death was to be celebrated, and that we should appear together and explain what the devil should command us to say, and then present them presents of peace and union.

After quite an interesting description of a distressing winter, in which many die of starvation, and without much account that is intelligible as to how they came back, we find the mention of two men who visit them from a strange land; and, after relating some incidents of this visit, they say these men were Nadoneseronons, that they were much respected, and that nobody durst offend them because they were upon their land. These Indians had come to make some inquiry about the great feast that the messengers had given notice of, for they, the brothers, tell them "the convenientest place to celebrate that great feast." This visit had another purpose without doubt, for some two moons afterward came that specially noted visit of the eight ambassadors, of which Radisson gives the history as follows:

After them came eight ambassadors from the nation of the Nadoneseronons, that we will call now the Nation of the Beef. Those men each had two wives, loaded with oats, corn that grows in that country, and a small quantity of Indian corn, with other grains. It was to present to us, which we received as a great favor and token of friendship; but it had been welcome if they had brought it a month or two before. They made great ceremonies in greasing our feet and legs, and we

painted them with red. They stripped us naked, and put upon us cloth of buff and of white castors. After this they weeped upon our heads until we were wetted by their tears, and made us smoke in their pipes after they kindled them. It was not in common pipes, but pipes of peace and of war, that they pull out but very seldom, when there is occasion for heaven and earth. This done, they perfumed our clothes and armor one after another, and to conclude did throw a quantity of tobacco into the fire. We told them that they prevented us, for letting us know that all persons of their nation came to visit us, that we might dispose of them.

The next morning they were called by our interpreter. We understood not a word of their language, being quite different from that of those we were with. They arrived, they sat down. We made a place for us more elevated, to be more at our ease and to appear in more state. We borrowed their calumet, saying that we are in their country, and it was not lawful for us to carry anything out of our own country. That pipe is of a red stone, as big as a fist and as long as a hand. The small reed is as long as five feet, in breadth and thickness of a thumb. There is tied to it the tail of an eagle all painted over with several colors and open like a fan, or like that makes a kind of a wheel when he shuts. The top of the stick is covered with feathers of ducks and other birds that are of a fine color. We took the tail of the eagle, and instead of it we hung twelve iron bows in the same manner as the feathers were, and a blade about it along the staff, a hatchet planted in the ground, and that calumet over it, and all our armors about it on forks. Everyone smoked his pipe of tobacco, nor they never go without it. During that while there was a great silence. We prepared some powder that was little wetted, and the good powder was precious to us. Our interpreter told them in our name, "Brethren, we have accepted of your gifts. You are called here to know our will and pleasure, which are as follows: first, we take you for our brethren by taking you into our protection; and, to show you, we, instead of the eagle's tail, have put some of our armor, to the end that no enemy shall approach to break the affinity that we make now with you." Then we took the twelve irons off the bows and lifted them, telling them that those points shall pass over the whole world to defend you, and to destroy your enemies that are ours. Then we put the irons in the same place again. Then we took the sword and bade them have good courage, that by our means they should vanquish their enemy. After we took the hatchet that was planted in the ground, we turned round about, telling them that we should kill those that would war against them, and that we would make forts that they should come with more assurance to the feast of the dead. That done, we throw powder in the fire, that had more strength than we thought; it made the brands fly from one side to the other. We intended to make them believe that it was some of our tobacco, and make them smoke as they made us smoke. But hearing such a noise, and they seeing that the fire fled of every side, without any further delay or look for so much time as

to look for the door of the cottage, one ran one way, another another way; for they never saw a sacrifice of tobacco so violent. They went all away, and we only stayed in the place. We followed them to reassure them of their faintings. We visited them in their apartments, where they received us all trembling for fear, believing really by that same means that we were the devils of the earth. There was nothing but feasting for eight days.

The time now was nigh that we must go to the rendezvous; this was betwixt a small lake and a meadow. Being arrived, most of ours were already in their cottages. In three days' time there arrived eighteen several nations, and came privately, to have done the sooner. As we became to the number of five hundred, we held a council. Then the shouts and cries and the encouragements were proclaimed, that a fort should be builded. . . . .

In two days this was finished. Some thirty young men of the nation of the beef arrived there, having nothing but bows and arrows, with very short garments, to be the nimbler in chasing the stags. The irons of their arrows were made of stags' pointed horns very neatly. They were all proper men, and dressed with paint. They were the discoverers and the foreguard. We kept a round place in the middle of our cabin, and covered it with long poles with skins over them, that we might have shelter from the snow. The cottages were all in good order; in each ten or twelve companies or families. That company was brought to that place where there was wood laid for the fires. The snow was taken away, and the earth covered with deal tree boughs. Several kettles were brought there full of meat. They rested and ate above five hours without speaking one to another. The considerablest of our companies went and made speeches to them. Afterward one takes his bow and shoots an arrow, and then cries aloud, then speaks some few words, saying that they were to let them know that the elders of their village were to come the morrow to renew the friendship and to make it with the French, and that a great many of their young people came and brought them some part of their ways to take their advice, for they had a mind to go against the Christinos, who were ready for them, and they in like manner to save their wives and children. They were scattered in many cabins that night, expecting those that were to come. To that purpose there was a vast large place prepared some hundred paces from the fort, where everything was ready for the receiving of those persons. They were to set their tents that they bring upon their backs. The pearches were put out and planted as we received the news, the snow put aside, and the boughs of trees covered the ground.

The following day they arrived with an incredible pomp. . . . . The first were young people with their bows and arrows, and bucklers on their shoulders, upon which were represented all manner of figures, according to their knowledge, as of the sun and moon, of terrestrial beasts, about its feathers very artificially painted. Most of

the men their faces were all over dabbed with several colors. . . . . They leave a tuft of hair upon their crown of their heads, tie it, and put at the end of it some small pearls or some Turkey stones, to bind their heads. They have a robe commonly made of a snake's skin, where they tie several bears' paws, or give a form to some bits of buffs' horns, and put it about the said robe. They grease themselves with very thick grease, and mingle it in reddish earth, which they burn, as we our bricks. With this stuff they get their hair to stand up. They cut some down of swan or other fowl that hath a white feather, and cover with it the crown of their heads. Their ears are pierced in five places; the holes are so big that your little finger might pass through. They have yellow ware that they make with copper, made like a star or half moon, and there hang it. Many have Turkeys. They are clothed with oriniack and stags' skins, but very light. Every-one had the skin of a crow hanging at his girdle. Their stockings are embroidered with pearls and with their own porke-pick work. They have very handsome shoes, laced very thick all over, with a piece sown to the side of the heel, which was of hair of buff, which trailed above half a foot upon the earth, or rather on the snow. They had swords and knives of a foot and a half long, and hatchets very ingeniously done, and clubs of wood made like back-swords; some made of a round head that I admired it. When they kill their enemy, they cut off the tuft of hair and tie it about their arms. After all, they have a white robe made of castors' skins painted.

Those having passed through the middle of ours, that were ranged at every side of the way, the elders came with great gravity and modesty, covered with buff coats which hung down to the ground. Every-one had in his hand a pipe of council, set with precious jewels. They had a sack on their shoulders, and that which holds it grows in the middle of their stomachs and on their shoulders. In this sack all the world is enclosed. Their face is not painted, but their heads dressed as the foremost. Then the women laden like unto so many mules, their burdens made a greater show than they themselves; but I suppose the weight was not equivalent to its bigness. They were conducted to the appointed place, where the women unfolded their bundles, and flung their skins of which their tents are made, so that they had houses in less than half an hour.

After they rested they came to the biggest cabin constituted for that purpose. There were fires kindled. Our captain made a speech of thanksgiving, which would be long to write it. We were called to the council of new come chief, where we came in great pomp, as you shall hear. First they came to make a sacrifice to the French, being Gods and masters of all things, as well of peace as of war, making the knives, the hatchets, and the kettles rattle, etc.; that they came purposely to put themselves under their protection; moreover, that they came to bring them back again to their country, having by their means destroyed their enemies abroad and near. So said, they present us with gifts of castors' skins, assuring us that the mountains were elevated,

the valleys risen, the ways very smooth, the boughs of trees cut down to go with more ease, and bridges erected over rivers, for not to wet our feet; that the doors of their villages, cottages of their wives and daughters, were open at any time to receive us, being we kept them alive by our merchandise. The second gift was, that they would die in their alliance, and that to certify to all nations by continuing the peace, and were willing to receive them and assist them in their country, being well satisfied they were come to celebrate the feast of the dead. The third gift was to have one of the doors of the fort opened, if need required, to receive and keep them from the Christinos that come to destroy them; being always men, and the heavens made them so, that they were obliged to go before to defend their country and their wives, which is the dearest thing they had in the world, and in all times they were esteemed stout and true soldiers, and that yet they would make it appear by going to meet them; and they would not degenerate, but show by their actions that they were as valiant as their forefathers. The fourth gift was presented to us, which was of buff skins, to desire our assistance for being the masters of their lives, and could dispose of them as we would, as well of the peace as of the wars, and that we might very well see that they did well to go defend their own country; that the true means to get the victory was to have a thunder. They meant a gun, calling it *miniskoick*.

The speech being finished, they entreated us to be at the feast. We go presently back again to furnish us with wooden bowls. We made four men carry our guns afore us, that we charged with powder alone, because of their unskillfulness that they might have killed their fathers. We each of us had a pair of pistols, a sword, and a dagger. We had a roll of porkepick about our heads, which was as a crown, and two little boys that carried the vessels that we had most need of; this was our dishes and our spoons. They made a place higher and most elevate, knowing our customs, in the middle for us to sit, where we had the men lay our arms. Presently come four elders, with the calumet kindled in their hands. They present the candles to us to smoke, and four beautiful maids that went before us, carrying bears' skins to put under us. When we were together, an old man rises and throws our calumet at our feet, and bids them take the kettles from the fire, and spoke that he thanked the sun that never was a day to him so happy as when he saw those terrible men whose words make the earth to quake; and he sang a while. Having ended, he came and covered us with his vestment, and, all naked except his feet and legs, he saith, "Ye are masters over us; dead or alive, you have the power over us, and may dispose of us at your pleasure." So done, he takes the calumet of the feast, and brings it, so a maiden brings us a coal of fire to kindle it. So done, we rose, and one of us begins to sing. We bade the interpreter to tell them we should save and keep their lives, taking them for our brethren; and, to testify that, we shot off all our artillery, which was of twelve guns. We draw our swords and long knives to our defence, if need should require, which put the men in such a terror

that they knew not what was best, to run or stay. We throw a handful of powder in the fire to make a greater noise and smoke.

Our songs being finished, we began our teeth to work. We had there a kind of rice, much like oats. It grows in the water in three or four feet depth. There is a God that shows himself in every country, almighty, full of goodness, and the preservation of those poor people who know him not. . . . .

Having next described the manner of gathering the grain, and of dressing and cooking it, the narrative continues:

After the feast was over, there come two maidens bringing wherewithal to smoke, the one the pipes, the other the fire. They offered first to one of the elders that sat down by us. When he had smoked, he bids them give it us. This being done, we went back to our fort as we came. The day following we made the principal persons come together to answer to their gifts. Being come with great solemnity, there we made our interpreter tell them that we were come from the other side of the great salted lake, not to kill them but to make them live; acknowledging you for our brethren and children, whom we will love henceforth as our own. Then we gave them a kettle. The second gift was to encourage them in all their undertakings, telling them that we liked men that generously defend themselves against all their enemies; and as we were masters of peace and wars, we are to dispose the affairs that we should see an universal peace all over the earth; and that this time we could not go and force the nations that were yet further to condescend and submit to our will, but that we would see the neighboring countries in peace and union; that the Christinos were our brethren, and have frequented them many winters; that we adopted them for our children, and took them under our protection; that we should send them ambassadors; that I myself should make them come and conclude a general peace; that we were sure of their obedience to us; that the first that should break the peace we would be their enemy, and would reduce them to powder with our heavenly fire; that we had the word of the Christinos as well as theirs, and our thunders should serve us to make wars against those that would not submit to our will and desire, which was to see them good friends, to go and make wars against the upper nations that do not know us as yet. The gift was of six hatchets. The third was to oblige them to receive our propositions, likewise the Christinos, to lead them to the dance of union, which was to be celebrated at the death's feast and banquet of kindred. If they would continue the wars, that was not the means to see us again in their country. The fourth was that we thanked them for making us a free passage through their countries. The gift was two dozen knives. The last was of smaller trifles, 6 graters, 2 dozen awls, 2 dozen needles, 6 dozen looking-glasses made of tin, a dozen little bells, 6 ivory combs, with a little vermillion. But for to make a recompense to the good old man that spoke so favorably, we gave him a hatchet. and to the elders each a blade for a sword, and to the two

maidens that served us two necklaces, which we put about their necks, and two bracelets for their arms. The last gift was in general for all the women to love us and give us to eat when we should come to their cottages. The company gave us great *Ho! ho! ho!*, that is, thanks. Our wild men made others for their interest.

A company of about fifty were despatched to warn the Christinos of what we had done. I went myself, where we arrived the third day, early in the morning. I was received with great demonstration of friendship. All that day we feasted, danced and sang. I compared that place before to the buttery of Paris, for the great quantity of meat that they used to have there; but now will compare it to that of London. There I received gifts of all sorts of meat, of grease more than twenty men could carry. The custom is not to deface anything that they present. There were above six hundred men in a fort, with a great deal of baggage on their shoulders, and did draw it upon light sleds made very neatly. I have not seen them at their entrance, for the snow blinded me. Coming back, we passed a lake hardly frozen, and the sun [shone upon it] for the most part, for I looked a while steadily on it, so I was troubled with this seven or eight days.

The mean while that we were there, arrived above a thousand that had not been there but for those two redoubted nations that were to see them do what they never before had, ... plays, mirths, and battles for sport, going and coming with cries; each played his part. . . . .

Here follows a description of the drums and the manner of playing on them. These sports continued fourteen days, during which time Groseilliers and Radisson received more than three hundred castors' skins as presents, but they were so far away that they did not bring five to the French.

This feast ended, everyone returns to his country well satisfied. To be as good as our words, we came to the nation of the beef, which was seven small journeys from that place. We promised in like manner to the Christinos that the next spring we should come to their side of the upper lake, and there they should meet us, to come into their country. We being arrived among that nation of the beef, we wondered to find ourselves in a town where were great cabins most covered with skins and other close mats. They told us that there were 7,000 men. This we believed. These have as many wives as they can keep. If any one did trespass upon the other, his nose was cut off, and often the crown of his head. The maidens have all manner of freedom, but are forced to marry when they come to the age. The more they bear children the more they are respected. I have seen a man having fourteen wives. There they have no wood, and make provisions of moss for their firing. This their place is environed with pearches which are a good distance one from another, that they get in the valleys where the buff use to repair, upon which they do live. They sow corn, but

their harvest is small. The soil is good, but the cold hinders it, and the grain very small. . . . . The people stay not there all the year; they retire in winter towards the woods of the north, where they kill a quantity of castors, and I say that there are not so good in the whole world; but not in such store as the Christinos, but far better.

We stayed there six weeks, and came back with a company of people of the nation of the Sault, that came along with us laden with booty. . . . .

Groseilliers and Radisson have now returned from their visit to the home of the Sioux or Nadoneseronons. Their fort, where the two strangers and eight ambassadors came to visit them, was probably at the outlet of Rainy lake, where there was a trading post under the French during their supremacy, later a post of the Northwest Company, and it was continued, until within a few years, by the Hudson Bay Company. Our great authority as to the history of Indian tribes in Minnesota is William W. Warren, and I quote what he has to say about the great and favorite home of the Sioux when the Ojibways commenced the invasion of their territory. It is found in chapter xiii, page 175, of volume 5, Minnesota Historical Society Collections.

The region of country from which the Mississippi derives its source, is covered with innumerable fresh and clear water lakes connected with one another, and flowing into the "Father of Rivers" through rapid and meandering streams. All these lakes and streams abound with fish of the finest species and flavor. In Leech, Winnepeg, Cass, and other of the larger lakes, the whitefish are found equal in size to the celebrated whitefish in Lake Superior. And so are also the salmon trout which (curious enough) are to be found only in Puk-a-gum-ah and Trout lakes. Muscallonge have been found to grow to the great size of from four to six feet in length. Brook trout, sturgeon and catfish are not found in the waters of the Mississippi above the Falls of St. Anthony.

The shores of these beautiful lakes are lined with groves of the tall pine, and the useful maple from which the Indian manufactures sugar. The birch tree also abounds, from which the Ojibway has long been accustomed to procure the covering to his wigwam, and material for the formation of his ingeniously wrought canoe. In many of these lakes which lie clustered together within an area of several hundred miles, the wild rice grows in large quantities and most luxuriantly, affording the Indian an important staple of subsistence.

In former times this region of country abounded in buffalo, moose, deer, and bear, and till within thirty years past, in every one of its many water courses, the lodges of the valuable and industrious beaver were to be found.

Possessing these manifold advantages, this country has always been a favorite home and resort for the wild Indian, and over its whole extent battle fields are pointed out where different tribes have battled for its possession.

The attention of the Ojibways was early directed to it. They found it in possession of the powerful and wide-spread Dakotas, whom, after many years of severe fighting, they eventually forced to seek for new homes farther westward, and they in turn took possession and have kept to this day the large and beautiful lakes which form the sources of the "Great River."

On pages 188-191 we learn that the noted chief Bi-aus-wah made his home at Sandy Lake about 1730, and that about the year 1745 the Ojibway pioneer hunters, braving the attacks of their enemies, first permanently planted their wigwams on the shores of Lac du Flambeau and Lac Coutereille (Courtes Oreilles), in northwestern Wisconsin.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in his "General History of the Fur Trade," on page lxii, says:

Lake Winipic is the great reservoir of several large rivers, and discharges itself by the River Nelson into Hudson's Bay. The first in rotation, next to that I have just described, is the Assiniboin or Red River, which, at the distance of forty miles coastwise, disembogues on the southwest side of Lake Winipic. It alternately receives those two denominations from its dividing, at the distance of about thirty miles from the lake, into two large branches. The eastern branch, called the Red River, runs in a southern direction to near the head waters of the Mississippi. . . . . The country on either side is but partially supplied with wood, and consists of plains covered with herds of the buffalo and the elk, especially on the western side. On the eastern side are lakes and rivers, and the whole country is well wooded, level, abounding in beaver, bears, moose-deer, fallow-deer, &c., &c. The natives, who are of the Algonquin tribe, are not very numerous, and are considered as the natives of Lake Superior. This country, being near the Mississippi, is also inhabited by the Nadowasis, who are the natural enemies of the former; the head of the water being the war-line, they are in a continual state of hostility; and though the Algonquins are equally brave, the others generally outnumber them; it is very probable, therefore, that if the latter continue to venture out of the woods, which form their only protection, they will soon be extirpated. There is not, perhaps, a finer country in the world for the residence of uncivilized man, than that which occupies the space between this river and Lake Superior. It abounds in everything necessary to the wants and comfort of such a people. Fish, venison, and fowl, with wild rice, are in great plenty; while, at the same time, their subsistence requires that bodily exercise so necessary to health and vigor. . . . .

The other branch is called after the tribe of the Nadawasis, who here go by the name of Assiniboins, and are the principal inhabitants of it. It runs from off the north-northwest, and, in the latitude of 51½ west and longitude 103½, rising in the same mountains as the river Dauphin, of which I shall speak in due order. They must have separated from their nation at a time beyond our knowledge, and live in peace with the Algonquins and Knisteneaux.

Parkman, in the introduction to "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West," page xxv, says:

At length, in 1658, two daring traders penetrated to Lake Superior, wintered there, and brought back tales of the ferocious Sioux, and of a great western river on which they dwelt.

Continuing, on page 220, the narrative of Radisson, we read:

We were twelve days before we could overtake our company that went to the lake. The spring approaches, which is the fittest time to kill the oriniack. A wild man and I with my brother killed that time above six hundred, besides other beasts. We came to the lake side with much pains, for we sent our wild men before, and we two were forced to make carriage five days through the woods. After that we met with a company that did us a great deal of service, for they carried what we had, and arrived at the appointed place before three days ended. Here we made a fort. At our arrival we found at least twenty cottages full.

One very fair evening we went to find what we hid before, which we find in a good condition. We went about to execute our resolution, forseeing that we must stay that year there, for which we were not very sorry, being resolved to know what we heard before. We waited until the ice should vanish, but received [news] that the Octanaks built a fort on the point that forms that bay, which resembles a small lake. We went towards it with all speed. We had a great store of booty which we would not trust to the wild men, for the occasion makes the thief. We overload our slide on that rotten ice, and the further we went the sun was stronger, which made our trainage have more difficulty. I seeing my brother so strained, I took the slide, which was heavier than mine, and he mine. Being in that extent above four leagues from the ground, we sunk down about the one half of my leg in the ice, and must advance in spite of our teeth. To leave our booty was to undo us. We strived so that I hurt myself, insomuch that I could not stand upright, nor any further. This put us in great trouble. Upon this I advised my brother to leave me with his sled. We put the two sleds one by another. I took some clothes to cover me. After I stripped myself from my wet clothes, I layed myself down on the sled; my brother leaves me to the keeping of that good God. We had not above two leagues more to go. He makes haste and came there in time. and sends wild men for me and the sleds. There we found

the perfidiousness of the Octanaks. Seeing us in extremity, they would prescribe us laws. We promised them whatever they asked. They came to fetch me. . . . .

We came to the seaside, where we find an old house all demolished and battered with bullets. We were told that those that came there were of two nations, one of the wolf, the other of the long-horned beast. . . . . They tell us particulars of Europeans.. . . .

We went from isle to isle all that summer. We plucked abundance of ducks, as of all other sort of fowls; we wanted not fish nor fresh meat. We were well beloved, and [they] were overjoyed that we promised them to come with such ships as we invented. This place has a great store of cows. The wild men kill them not except for necessary use. We went further in the bay to see the place that they were to pass that summer. The river comes from the lake and empties itself in the river of Sagnes, called Tadousack, which is a hundred leagues in the great river of Canada, as where we were in the Bay of the North. We left in this place our marks and rendezvous. The wild men that brought us defended us above all things, if we would come directly to them, that we should by no means land, and so go to the river to the other side, that is, to the north, towards the sea, telling us that those people were very treacherous. . . . .

They clothe themselves all over with castors' skins in winter, and with stags' skins in summer. They are the best huntsmen of all America, and scorn to catch a castor in a trap. . . . . They have the same tenents as the nation of the beef, and their apparel from top to toe. . . . . a nation called among themselves neuter. They speak the beef and Christinos' speech, being friends to both. . . . .

In the beginning of spring there came a company of men that came to see us from the elders, and brought us furs to entice us to see them again. . . . . The boats ready, we embark ourselves. We were 700. There was not seen such a company to go down to the French. There were above 400 Christinos' boats that brought us their castors, in hopes that the people would give some merchandise for them. . . . . The company that we had, filled above 360 boats. There were boats that carried seven men, and the least two. It was a pleasure to see that embarking, for all the young women went in stark naked, their hair hanging down, yet it is not the custom to do so. I thought it their shame, but contrary they think it excellent and old custom good. They sing aloud and sweetly. They stood in their boats, and remained in that posture half a day, to encourage us to come and lodge with them again. Therefore they are not altogether ashamed to show us all, to intice us, and to animate the men to defend themselves valiantly and come and enjoy them.

In two days we arrived at the River of the Sturgeon, so called because of the great quantity of sturgeons that we took there. Here we were to make our provisions to pass the lake some fourteen days. In the said time we dried above a thousand of sturgeons. The women followed us close; after our abode there two days they overtook us.

We had several false alarms, which put us in several troubles. They wondered to have found a oryanck dead upon the place, with a bullet in his body. There thousand lies were forged. Therefore we go from thence, but before we come to the long point whereof we spoke before . . . . we perceive smoke. We go to discover what it was, and by ill luck we found it was an Iroquois boat of seven men, who doubtless stayed that winter in the Lake of the Hurons, and came there to discover somewhat. . . . . As they saw us, away they, as swift as their heels could drive. They left their boat and all. They to the woods, and were pursued, but in vain, for they were gone before three hours. The pursuers came back; one brings a gun, one a hatchet, the other a kettle, and so forth. The council was called, where it was decreed to go back and put off to go down to the French till the next year. This vexed us sore to see such a fleet and such an opportunity come to nothing, foreseeing that such another may be not in ten years. We were to persuade them to the contrary, but they checked us soundly, saying we were worse than enemies by persuading them to go and be slain. In this we must let their fear pass over, and we back to the River of the Sturgeons, where we found our wives, very busy in killing those creatures that come there to multiply. We daily hear some new report; all everywhere enemies by fancy.

We in the mean time busy ourselves in the good of our country, which will recompense us badly for such toil and labor. Twelve days are passed, in which time we gained some hopes of fair words. We called a council before the company was disbanded, where we represented that, if they were discoverers, they would not have valued the loss of their kettle, knowing well they were to get another where their army lay, and if there should be an army it should appear, and we in such a number they could be well afraid and turn back. Our reasons were heard and put in execution. The next day we embarked, saving the Christinos that were afraid of a sight of a boat made of another stuff than theirs, that they went back as we came where the Iroquois boat was. Our words proved true, and so we proceeded in our way.

Being come nigh the Sault, we found a place where two of these men sweated, and for want of covers buried themselves in the sand by the water side to keep their bodies from the flies called maringoines, which otherwise had killed them with their stings. We thwarted those two lakes with great pleasure, having the wind fair with us. It was a great satisfaction to see so many boats, and so many that never had before commerce with the French. So my brother and I thought we should be welcomed. But, O Covetousness, thou art the cause of many evils! We made a small sail to every boat; everyone strove to be not the last. The wind was double ways favorable to us. The one gave us rest, the other advanced us very much, which we wanted because of the above said delay. We now are come to the carriages and swift streams to get the Lake of the Castors. We made them with a courage, promptitude, and hunger which made us go with haste as well as the wind. We go down all the great river without any encounter, till we

come to the Long Sault, where my brother some years before made a shipwreck. Being in that place we had work enough. The first thing we saw was several boats that the enemy had left at the river side. This put great fear in the hearts of our people. Nor they nor we could tell what to do; and seeing nobody appear, we sent to discover what they were. The discoverers call us, and bid us come, that those who were there could do us no harm.

You must know that seventeen French made a plot with four Algonquins to make a league with three score Hurons for to go and wait for the Iroquois in the passage at their return with their castors on their ground, hoping to beat and destroy them with ease, being destitute of necessary things. If one has his gun, he wants his powder; and so the rest. All the other side without doubt had notice that the travelers were abroad, and would not fail to come down with a company, and to make a valiant deed and heroic action was to destroy them all, and consequently make the French tremble as well as the wild men, for the one could not live without the other; the one for his commodities, the other for his castors; so that the Iroquois, pretending to wait for us at the passage, came thither flocking. The French and wild company, to put the Iroquois in some fear and hinder their coming there so often with such confidence, were resolved to lay a snare for them. That company of soldiers, being come to the farthest place of that Long Sault without being discovered, thought already to be conquerors making carriage, having abroad fifteen men to make discoveries, but met as many enemies. They assaulted each other, and the Iroquois found themselves weak, left there their lives and bodies, saving two that made their escape and went to give notice to two hundred of theirs that made ready as they heard the guns, to help their foreguard. The French, seeing such great odds, made a retreat, and warned by four Algonquins that a fort was built not far off, built by this nation the last year, they fled into it in an ill hour. In the mean while the Iroquois consulted what they should do; they sent to five hundred and fifty Iroquois of the lower nation, and fifty Orijonot that were not far off. Now they would assault the French in their fort, the fort not holding more than twenty men. The Hurons could not come in, and could not avoid the shot of the enemy. Then the French pulled down the fort, and, closed together, they stoutly began to work. Those that the French had killed, they cut their heads off and put them upon long poles of their fort. This skirmish lasted two days and two nights. The Iroquois find themselves plagued, for the French had a kind of bucklers and shelters. Now arrive six hundred men that they did not think of in the least. Here is nothing but cries, fire, and flame day and night. Here is not to be doubted, the one to take the other, the one to defend himself till death. The Hurons, seeing such a company, submitted to the enemy, but are like to pay for their cowardice; being in their hands, they were tied, abused, smitten, and burned as if they were taken by force, for those barbarous were revenged on their bones as any was wounded or killed in the battle.

In this great extremity, our small company of one and twenty did resist five days against eight hundred men, and the two foremost days against two hundred, which were seven days together without intermission; and the worst was that they had no water, as we saw, for they made a hole in the ground out of which they got but little because they were on a hill. It was to be pitied. There was not a tree but was shot with bullets. The Iroquois came with bucklers to make a breach. The French put fire to a barrel of powder, thinking to shock the Iroquois or make them go back; but did to their great prejudice, for it fell again in their fort which made an end of their combat. Upon this the enemy enters, kills and slays all that he finds, so one did not make an escape. . . . . All the French, though dead, were tied to posts along the river side, and the four Algonquins. As for the Hurons, they were burnt at their discretion. Some nevertheless escaped to bring the certain news how all passed. It was a terrible spectacle to us, for we came there eight days after that defeat, which saved us without doubt. . . . .

We went down the river without making any carriage, and we adventured very much. As soon as we were at the lower end, many of our wild men had a mind to go back and not to go any further, thinking really that all the French were killed. As for my brother and I, we did fear very much that after such a thing the pride of the enemy would make them attempt anything upon the habitations of Mount Royal, which is but thirty leagues from thence. We advised them to make a fort, ... and to send immediately two very light boats, that could not be overtaken if the enemy should discover them; and that, being arrived at the habitation, they should make them shoot the pieces of ordnance, and that as soon as the night should come we would embark ourselves and should hear the noise, or else we should take council of what we should do, and stay for them at the height of the isle of Mount Royal; which was done accordingly. . . . . Our two boats did go, but the rest were so impatient that they resolved to follow them, being willing to run the same hazard; and we arrived the next morning and were in sight when the pieces were shot off, with a great deal of joy to see so great a number of boats that did almost cover the whole river.

We stayed three days at Mount Royal, and then we went down to the Three Rivers. The wild men asked our advice whether it was best for them to go down further. We told them no, because of the dangers that they may meet with on their return; for the Iroquois could have notice of their coming down and so come and lie in ambush for them, and it was in the latter season, being about the end of August. Well, as soon as their business was done, they went back again very well satisfied, and we very ill satisfied for our reception, which was very bad considering the service we had done to the country, which will at another time discourage those that by our example would be willing to venture their lives for the benefit of the country, seeing a Governor that would grow rich by the labors and hazards of others. . . . .

The Governor, seeing us come back with a considerable sum for our own particular, and seeing that his time was expired and that he was to go away, made use of that excuse to do us wrong and to enrich himself with the goods that we had so dearly bought, and by our means we made the country to subsist, that without us had been, I believe, oftentimes quite undone and ruined, and the better to say at his last bidding, no castors, no ship, and what to do without necessary commodities. He made also my brother prisoner for not having observed his orders, and to be gone without his leave, although one of his letters made him blush for shame, not knowing what to say, but that he would have some of them at what price soever, that he might the better maintain his coach and horses at Paris. He fined us four thousand pounds to make a fort at the Three Rivers, telling us for all manner of satisfaction that he would give us leave to put our coat of arms upon it, and, moreover, 6,000 pounds for the country, saying that we should not take it so strangely and so bad, being we were inhabitants and did intend to finish our days in the same country with our relations and friends. But the Bougre did grease his chops with it, and more, made us pay a custom which was the fourth part, which came to 14,000 pounds, so that we had left but 46,000 pounds, and took away £24,000. Was not he a tyrant to deal so with us, after we had so hazarded our lives, and having brought, in less than two years by that voyage, as the Factors of the country said, between forty and fifty thousand pistoles? For they spoke to me in this manner: "In which country have you been? From whence do you come? For we never saw the like. From whence did come such excellent castors?" . . . . Seeing ourselves so wronged, my brother did resolve to go and demand justice in France.

For a short account of the defeat of Adam Dollard and the Hurons in the fight at the Long Sault, see a note in Prof. J. G. Shea's translation of Charlevoix's "History of New France," on page 33, volume 3. It is also mentioned in the "Journal des Jésuites," page 284, June 8, 1660. For the purpose of establishing the date of the return of Groseilliers and Radisson, I cite the following extract from the "Journal des Jésuites" of August, 1660, page 286:

On the 17th, my Lord de Petrée started for his visit to Three Rivers and Montreal, with Mons. de Charny and others and the four Oiochronons. He arrived at Montreal on the 21st at five o'clock of the evening, where the Ottawas had arrived on the 19th. The Ottawas started from that place the next day, on the 22nd, and arrived at Three Rivers on the 24th, and departed on the 27th. They were three hundred. Des Grosilleres was in their company, who had gone there the year before. They started from lake Superior with a hundred canoes; forty went back, and sixty arrived here loaded with furs to the value of 200,000 livres. They left at Montreal 50,000 livres, and brought the

remainder to Three Rivers. They came from that place in twenty-six days, and were two months in returning. Des Grosillers passed the winter with the nation of the Beef, which he estimates as four thousand men; they are the settled Nadonesseronons. Father Mesnard, Father Albanel, Jean Guerin, and six other Frenchmen, went back with them.

The Fourth Voyage of Radisson is entitled to, and shall have, a candid and fair consideration. In the spring of 1658 our voyagers, notwithstanding the opposition of Governor Argenson and the Jesuits, started to visit the Bay of the North (Hudson's Bay). The Sault Ste. Marie and its whitefish, the copper, the Pictured Rocks and Grand Portal, the portage across Keweenaw Point, and Isle Royale, are eternal witnesses of the truth of the story as given by Radisson. It would have been agreeable if he had told us of the Grand Portage of nine miles, from lake Superior to the Groseilliers (Pigeon) river, but we have learned that such small matters do not count in this story.

In five days they find the Christinos, in their cottages, who receive them with many demonstrations of joy. I think I may assume that this place was at the "first landing isle," from which they had returned home in 1657; and, as we are informed that this voyage was for the purpose of visiting Hudson's bay, it must have been by what was afterwards known as the Canoe Route of the Fur Trade to Hudson's bay and the Northwest, as given by Mackenzie. The brothers had spent about a year at this place on their third voyage. They without doubt knew by hearsay the whole country and its inhabitants, and knew the relative locations of each of the Indian nations. After some days of rest they again start for the purpose of making a selection for a trading post. We have known these men for three years as we have followed them in their third voyage. We have found them men of great intelligence, and would expect them to use their best judgment in locating their home in the country for the purpose of trade with the Indians. We have learned, in the quotations from Warren and Mackenzie, where the best and most abundant furs were to be found. They in their day undoubtedly knew well the most convenient place, by inquiring of the Christinos who were natives of the country, and knew the Sioux and their home and the Hudson's bay. With this knowl-

edge we believe that the place at which they landed and abandoned their boats, and which the Christinos went from to hunt for their wives, was at the outlet of Rainy lake. There has been a trading post at this point, a very large one in early days, beginning even back in the days of tradition and continuing down to the end of the fur trade by the canoe route. We assume, therefore, that this was their home. From this point all these journeys can easily be traced, and the main incidents of the fourth voyage made to harmonize. The two Sioux strangers who found them on their own land, the eight ambassadors and their wives, and the great number of men and women that came to the treaty, so graphically described, could comfortably come to this place, and would feel at home, as it was in their own country. The accurate descriptions of their persons, clothing and skin tents, their gravity in council, with their pipes, are true to the letter; and it was not possible for Radisson to have learned of these things from hearsay, nor even from the Christinos, their nearest neighbors, without being in the Sioux country. But it is not necessary to speculate about the matter, for the visit to Hudson's bay is to be proved beyond a doubt, and that includes and makes possible everything else pertaining to the voyage.

That part of the text in reference to their visit to the bay is very short. They spend the summer with the Indians, in visiting James bay and the river that connects with the Saguenay, which joins the St. Lawrence one hundred leagues from its mouth. They made a location there at the southeast extremity of the bay, on what was afterward called Prince Rupert's river, and went to lake Winnipeg on their way home to visit the Assiniboines, in order to induce them to go down to the French. The account of the voyage home does not require further comment. Their treatment by the Governor and their resolve to go to France for justice are all told, and it is not necessary to discuss them; and I now proceed to give the evidence upon which I rely to fully prove the truth of the record.

In Prof. J. G. Shea's translation of Charlevoix's "History of New France," on page 230 of volume 3, I find the following note:

> Medard Chouart de Groseilliers was a native of Touraine and an experienced pilot. He was an early emigrant to Canada, where he

married a daughter of Abraham Martin, king's pilot. He reached James Bay overland from Lake Assiniboin, and, returning, endeavored to induce the Quebec merchants, and subsequently the French court, to send ships to Hudson's Bay. Failing to induce them, he went to England, and, with Radisson, conducted an English vessel, commanded by Zachariah Gillam, a New Englander, to the bay.

On page 305, volume 9, "Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," M. de Denonville, Governor of New France, in a paper accompanying his letter of November 8, 1686, to M. de Seignelay, Minister of Colonies and Marine, discussing the right of France to the Iroquois country and Hudson's bay, says:

The settlement made by the English in 1662 at the head of North Bay does not give them any title, because it has been already remarked that the French were in possession of those countries, and had traded with the Indians of that Bay, which is proved still better by the knowledge the men named Desgroselliers and Radisson had of those parts where they introduced the English. They had traded there, no doubt, with the old French Coureurs de bois.

I am gratified in being able to add an English authority on this subject, in confirmation of the truthfulness of Radisson. In an article in John Oldmixon's history, "The British Empire in America," edition of 1741, the author, speaking of Hudson's bay, says, on page 544:

The civil wars in England put discoveries out of men's heads. The bold had other work cut out for them, and we hear of no more such adventures till the year 1667, when Zachariah Gillam, in the Nonsuch ketch, passed through Hudson's straits, and then into Baffin's bay to 75 degrees, and thence southward into 51 degrees, where, in a river afterwards called Prince Rupert's river, he had a friendly correspondence with the natives, built a fort, named Charles Fort, and returned with success.

The occasion of Gillam's going was this: Monsieur Radisson and Monsieur Gooselier, two Frenchmen, meeting with some savages in the Lake of Assimponals, in Canada, they learned of them that they might go by land to the bottom of the bay, where the English had not yet been; upon which they desired them to conduct them thither, and the savages accordingly did it. The two Frenchmen returned to the upper lake the same way they came, and thence to Quebec, the capital of Canada, where they offered the principal merchants to carry ships to Hudson's bay; but their project was rejected. Thence they went to France, in hopes of a more favorable hearing at court; but, after presenting several memorials and spending a great deal of time and money, they were answered as they had been at Quebec, and their project

looked upon as chimerical. The King of England's ambassador at Paris, hearing what proposals they had made, imagined he should do his country good service in engaging them to serve the English, who had already pretences to the bay; so he persuaded them to go for London, where they met with a favorable reception from some men of quality, merchants and others, who employed Gillam, before mentioned, a New England captain, in the voyage; and Radisson and Gooselier accompanying them, they arrived at the bottom of the bay, and succeeded as we have hinted already.

When Gillam returned, the adventurers concerned in fitting them out applied themselves to King Charles II. for a patent, who granted one to them and their successors for the bay called Hudson's Straits. The patent bears date the 2d of May, in the 22d year of that king's reign, A. D. 1670.

The first proprietors, or company, called Hudson's Bay Company, were:

Prince Rupert,	Mr. Richard Cradock,
Sir John Hayes,	Mr. John Letton,
Mr. William Young,	Christopher Wrenn, Esq.,
Mr. Gerard Weymans,	Mr. Nicholas Hayward.

We now close the review of the third and fourth voyages of Groseilliers and Radisson, with the sequel down to the organization of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. Their achievements are without a parallel in history, and they have proved themselves and deserve to be recognized as the most noted men that New France or Canada ever produced. They do not require any eulogy from me. I have, as I believe, faithfully presented their claim to be considered (as I think they are entitled to be considered) honest, truthful men, by all intelligent readers.

Route of the Fur Trade along the Northern Boundary of Minnesota.

The history of the fur trade in the Northwest, from the days of Groseilliers and Radisson until the surrender of the country to the English by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, may some day be found among the unpublished letters of the officials of New France and the Jesuits. It is not worth while to anticipate what they will reveal. The general history of this trade from 1763 is pretty well known, but does not come within the scope of this paper. I am, however, tempted to add some extracts describing the canoe route used in this traffic along the northern boundary of Minnesota, from lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods.

Alexander Henry's "Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, between the years 1760 and 1776," was printed in 1809. The following extracts are taken from this work, pages 236-249, in chapter 8, Part 2:

On the 10th day of June, 1775, I left the Sault, with goods and provisions to the value of three thousand pounds sterling, on board twelve small canoes and four larger ones. The provisions made the chief bulk of the cargo, no further supply being obtainable till we should have advanced far into the country. Each small canoe was navigated by three men, and each larger one by four. . . . .

At the Grand Portage I found the traders in a state of extreme reciprocal hostility, each pursuing his interests in such a manner as might most injure his neighbor. The consequences were very hurtful to the morals of the Indians.

The transportation of the goods at this *grand portage*, or *great carrying-place*, was a work of seven days of severe and dangerous exertion, at the end of which we encamped on the river Aux Groseilles. . . .

On the eighth [day of July] we ascended the Groseilles to the carrying-place called the Portage du Perdrix, where the river falls down a precipice of the height of a hundred feet. . . . . [The description of this route from Grand Portage will be given chiefly from Sir Alexander Mackenzie's account of his voyage in 1798.]

On the twentieth [of July] we reached Lake Sagunac, or Sagnaga, distant sixty leagues from the Grand Portage. This was the hithermost post in the northwest, established by the French; and there was formerly a large village of Chipeways here, now destroyed by the Nadowessies. I found only three lodges, filled with poor, dirty and almost naked inhabitants, of whom I bought fish and wild rice, which latter they had in great abundance. When populous, this village used to be troublesome to the traders, obstructing their voyages, and extorting liquor and other articles. . . . .

We now entered Lake à la Pluie, which is fifteen leagues long, by five broad. . . . .

The River à la Pluie is forty leagues long, of a gentle current. . . . . There were perfect solitudes, not even a canoe presenting itself, along my whole navigation of the stream. I was greatly struck with the beauty of the scene, as well as with its fitness for agricultural settlements, in which provisions might be raised for the northwest.

On the thirtieth, we reached the Lake of the Woods, or Lake des Iles, at the entrance of which was an Indian village of a hundred souls. . . . .

From this village we received ceremonious presents. The mode with the Indians is, first to collect all the provisions they can spare, and place them in a heap; after which they send for the trader, and address him in a formal speech. They tell him that the Indians are happy in seeing him return to their country; that they have been long in expectation of his arrival; that their wives have deprived them-

selves of the provisions, in order to afford him a supply; that they are in great want, being destitute of everything, and particularly of ammunition and clothing; and that what they most long for is a taste of his rum, which they uniformly denominate *milk*.

The present, in return, consisted in one keg of gunpowder, of sixty pounds weight; a bag of shot, and another of powder, of eighty pounds each; a few smaller articles, and a keg of rum. The last appeared to be the chief treasure, though on the former depended the greater part of their winter's subsistence.

In a short time, the men began to drink, while the women brought me a further and very valuable present of twenty bags of rice. This I returned with goods and rum, and at the same time offered more, for an additional quantity of rice. A trade was opened, the women bartering rice, while the men were drinking. Before morning, I had purchased a hundred bags, of nearly a bushel measure each. Without a large quantity of rice, the voyage could not have been prosecuted to its completion. . . . .

The Lake of the Woods is thirty-six leagues long. On the west side is an old French fort or trading-house, formerly frequented by numerous bands of Chipeways, but these have since been almost entirely destroyed by the Nadowessies. . . . .

On the sixteenth [of August] we reached Lake Winipegon, at the entrance of which is a large village of Christinaux. . . . . The name is variously written; as Cristinaux, Kinistineaux, Killistinoes and Killistinaux. . . . . The dress and other exterior appearances of the Cristinaux are very distinguishable from those of the Chipeways and Wood Indians.

The men were almost entirely naked, and their bodies painted with a red ochre, procured in the mountains, and often called *vermilion*. . . . .

The women, like the men, paint their faces with red ochre; and in addition usually tatoo two lines, reaching from the lip to the chin, or from the corners of the mouth to the ears. They omit nothing to make themselves lovely . . . . and, not content with the power belonging to these attractions, they condescend to beguile, with gentle looks, the hearts of passing strangers. The men, too, unlike the Chippewas (who are of a jealous temper) eagerly encourage them in this design. One of the chiefs assured me that the children borne by their women to Europeans were bolder warriors, and better hunters, than themselves.

The Cristinaux have usually two wives each, and often three; and make no difficulty in lending one of them, for a length of time to a friend. Some of my men entered into agreements with the respective husbands, in virtue of which they embarked the women in the canoes, promising to return them the next year. The women, so selected, consider themselves as honored; and the husband who should refuse to lend his wife, would fall under the condemnation of the sex in general.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in his "General History of the Fur Trade from Canada to the Northwest," (forming a part of his "Voyages from Montreal . . . in the years 1789 and 1793," published in London in 1801), after a description of the route from Lachine, Canada, by way of the Ottawa and the lakes Huron and Superior to the Grand Portage, says:

At length they all arrive at the Grand Portage, which is one hundred and sixty leagues from St. Mary's, and situated on a pleasant bay on the north side of the lake, in latitude 48. north and longitude 90. west from Greenwich. . . . .

At the entrance of the bay is an island which screens the harbor from every wind except the south. . . . . The bottom of the bay, which forms an amphitheatre, is clear and inclosed; and on the left corner of it, beneath an hill, three or four hundred feet in height, and crowned by others of a still greater altitude, is the fort, picketed in with cedar palisadoes, and inclosing houses built with wood and covered with shingles. They are calculated for every convenience of trade as well as to accommodate the proprietors and clerks during their short residence there. The North men live under tents; but the more frugal pork-eater lodges beneath his canoe. . . . .

When they are arrived at the Grand Portage, which is near nine miles over, each of them has to carry eight packages of such goods and provisions as are necessary for the interior country. . . . . Having finished this toilsome part of their duty, if more goods are necessary to be transported, they are allowed a Spanish dollar for each package; and so inured are they to this kind of labor, that I have known some of them set off with two packages of ninety pounds each, and return with two others of the same weight, in the course of six hours, being a distance of eighteen miles over hills and mountains. This necessary part of the business being over, if the season be early, they have some respite, but this depends upon the time the North men begin to arrive from their winter quarters, which they commonly do early in July. At this period, it is necessary to select from the pork-eaters a number of men, among whom are the recruits, or winterers, sufficient to man the North canoes necessary to carry, to the river of the Rainy lake, the goods and provision requisite for the Athabasca country; as the people of that country (owing to the shortness of the season and length of the road [they] can come no further) are equipped there, and exchange ladings with the people of whom we are speaking, and both return from whence they came. . . . .

The North men, being arrived at the Grand Portage, are regaled with bread, pork, butter, liquor, and tobacco, and such as have not entered into agreements during the winter, which is customary, are contracted with, to return and perform the voyage for one, two, or three years: their accounts are also settled, and such as choose to send any of their earnings to Canada, receive drafts to transmit to their relations

or friends: and as soon as they can be got ready, which requires no more than a fortnight, they are again dispatched to their respective departments. . . . .

The people being dispatched to their respective winter quarters, the agents from Montreal, assisted by their clerks, prepare to return there, by getting the furs across the portage, and, re-making them into packages of one hundred pounds weight each, to send them to Montreal, where they commonly arrive about the month of September.

The mode of living at the Grand Portage is as follows: The proprietors, clerks, guides, and interpreters, mess together, to the number of sometimes an hundred, at several tables in one large hall, the provision consisting of bread, salt pork, beef, hams, fish, and venison, butter, peas, Indian corn, potatoes, tea, spirits, wine, &c., and plenty of milk, for which purpose several milch cows are constantly kept. The mechanics have rations of such provisions, but the canoe-men, both from the North and Montreal, have no other allowance here, or in the voyage, than Indian corn and melted fat. The corn for this purpose is prepared before it leaves Detroit, by boiling it in a strong alkali, which takes off the outer husk; it is then well washed, and carefully dried upon stages, when it is fit for use. One quart of this is boiled for two hours, over a moderate fire, in a gallon of water; to which, when it has boiled a small time, are added two ounces of melted suet; this causes the corn to split, and in the time mentioned makes a pretty thick pudding. If to this is added a little salt (but not before it is boiled, as it would interrupt the operation), it makes an wholesome, palatable food, and easy of digestion. This quantity is fully sufficient for a man's subsistence during twenty-four hours. . . . . The Americans call this dish hominee.

The trade from the Grand Portage is, in some particulars, carried on in a different manner with that from Montreal. The canoes used in the latter transport are now too large for the former, and some of about half the size are procured from the natives, and are navigated by four, five, or six men, according to the distance which they have to go. They carry a lading of about thirty-five packages, on an average; of these twenty-three are for the purpose of trade, and the rest are employed for provisions, stores, and baggage. In each of these canoes are a foreman and sternman; the one to be always on the look out and direct the passage of the vessel, and the other to attend the helm. They also carry her, whenever that office is necessary. The foreman has the command, and the middle-men obey both; the latter earn only two-thirds of the wages which are paid the two former. Independent of these a conductor or pilot is appointed to every four or six of these canoes, whom they are all obliged to obey; and is, or at least is intended to be, a person of superior experience, for which he is proportionably paid.

In these canoes, thus loaded, they embark at the north side of the portage, on the river Au Tourt, which is very inconsiderable; and after about two miles of a westerly course, is obstructed by the Partridge

Portage, six hundred paces long. In the spring this makes a considerable fall, when the water is high, over a perpendicular rock of one hundred and twenty feet. From thence the river continues to be shallow, and requires great care to prevent the bottom of the canoe from being injured by sharp rocks, for a distance of three miles and an half to the Prairie or Meadow, when half the lading is taken out and carried by part of the crew, while two of them are conducting the canoe among the rocks, with the remainder, to the Carreboeuf Portage, three miles and an half more, when they unload and come back two miles, and embark what was left for the other hands to carry, which they also land with the former; all of which is carried six hundred and eighty paces, and the canoe led up against the rapid. From hence the water is better calculated to carry canoes, and leads by a winding course to the north of west three miles to the Outard Portage, over which the canoe, and everything in her, is carried for two thousand four hundred paces. At the further end is a very high hill to descend, over which hangs a rock upwards of seven hundred feet high. Then succeeds the Outard Lake, about six miles long, lying in a northwest course, and about two miles wide in the broadest part. After passing a very small rivulet, they come to the Elk Portage, over which the canoe and lading are again carried one thousand one hundred and twenty paces; when they enter the lake of the same name, which is an handsome piece of water, running northwest about four miles, and not more than one mile and an half wide. Here is a most excellent fishery for white fish, which are exquisite. They then land at the Portage de Cerise, over which, and in the face of a considerable hill, the canoe and cargo are again transported for one thousand and fifty paces. This is only separated from the second Portage de Cerise by a mud pond (where there is plenty of water lilies), of a quarter of a mile in length; and this is again separated by a similar pond from the last Portage de Cerise, which is four hundred and ten paces. Here the same operation is to be performed for three hundred and eighty paces. They next enter on the Mountain Lake, running northwest by west, six miles long, and about two miles in its greatest breadth. In the centre of this lake, and to the right, is the Old Road, by which I never passed; but an adequate notion may be formed of it from the road I am going to describe, and which is universally preferred. This is first, the small new portage over which everything is carried for six hundred and twenty-six paces, over hills and gullies; the whole is then embarked on a narrow line of water that meanders southwest about two miles and an half. It is necessary to unload here, for the length of the canoe, and then proceed west half a mile to the new Grand Portage, which is three thousand one hundred paces in length, and over very rough ground, which requires the utmost exertions of the men, and frequently lames them: from hence they approach the Rose Lake, the portage of that name being opposite to the junction of the road from the Mountain Lake. They then embark on the Rose Lake, about one mile from the east end of it, and steer west by south, in an oblique

course, across it two miles; then west-northwest passing the Petite Perche to the Marten Portage, three miles. . . . .

Over against this is a very high, rocky ridge, on the south side, called Marten Portage, which is but twenty paces long, and separated from the Perche Portage, which is four hundred and eighty paces, by a mud pond covered with white lilies. From hence the course is on the lake of the same name, west-southwest three miles to the height of land, where the waters of the Dove or Pigeon River terminate, and which is one of the sources of the great St. Lawrence in this direction. Having carried the canoe and lading over it, six hundred and seventy-nine paces, they embark on the lake of Hauteur de Terre, which is in the shape of a horse-shoe. (The route which we have been traveling hitherto leads along the high rocky land or bank of Lake Superior on the left. The face of the country offers a wild scene of huge hills and rocks, separated by stony valleys, lakes, and ponds. Wherever there is the least soil, it is well covered with trees.) The lake is entered near the curve, and left at the extremity of the western limb, through a very shallow channel, where the canoe passes, half loaded, for thirty paces with the current, which leads through the succeeding lakes and rivers, and disembogues itself by the river Nelson into Hudson's Bay. The first of these is Lac de pierres à fusil, running west-southwest, seven miles long and two wide, and, making an angle at northwest one mile more, becomes a river for half a mile, tumbling over a rock and forming a fall and portage, called the Escalier, of fifty-five paces; but from hence it is neither lake or river, but possesses the character of both, and ends between large rocks, which cause a current or rapid, falling into a lake-pond for about two miles and an half, west-northwest, to the portage of the Cheval du Bois. Here the canoe and contents are carried three hundred and eighty paces, between rocks; and within a quarter of a mile is the Portage des Gros Pins, which is six hundred and forty paces over an high ridge. The opposite side of it is washed by a small lake three miles round; and the course is through the east end or side of it, three quarters of a mile northeast, where there is a rapid. An irregular, meandering channel, between rocky banks, then succeeds for seven miles and an half to the Maraboeuf Lake, which extends north four miles, and is three quarters of a mile wide, terminating by a rapid and décharge, of one hundred and eighty paces, the rock of Saginaga being in sight, which causes a fall of about seven feet, and a portage of fifty-five paces.

Lake Saginaga takes its name from its numerous islands. Its greatest length from east to west is about fourteen miles, with very irregular inlets. It is nowhere more than three miles wide, and terminates at the small portage of La Roche, of forty-three paces. From there is a rocky, stony passage of one mile, to Prairie Portage, which is very improperly named, as there is no ground about it that answers to that description, except a small spot at the embarking place at the west end: to the east is an entire bog; and it is with great difficulty that the lading can be landed upon stages, formed by driving piles into the

mud and spreading branches of trees over them. The portage rises on a stony ridge, over which the canoe and cargo must be carried for six hundred and eleven paces. This is succeeded by an embarkation on a small bay, where the bottom is the same as has been described in the west end of Rose Lake, and it is with great difficulty that a laden canoe is worked over it, but it does not comprehend more than a distance of two hundred yards. From hence the progress continues through irregular channels, bounded by rocks, in a westerly course for about five miles, to the little Portage des Couteaux, of one hundred and sixty-five paces, and the Lac des Couteaux, running about southwest by west twelve miles, and from a quarter to two miles wide. A deep bay runs east three miles from the west, where it is discharged by a rapid river, and after running two miles west it again becomes still water. In this river are two carrying places, the one fifteen, and the other one hundred and ninety paces. From this to the Portage des Carpes is one mile northwest, leaving a narrow lake on the east that runs parallel with the Lake des Couteaux, half its length, where there is a carrying-place, which is used when the water in the river last mentioned is too low. The Portage des Carpes is three hundred and ninety paces, from whence the water spreads irregularly between rocks, five miles northwest and southeast to the Portage of Lac Bois Blanc, which is one hundred and eighty paces. Then follows the lake of that name, but I think improperly so called, as the natives name it the Lake Pascau Minac Sagaigan, or Dry Berries.

Before the small pox ravaged this country, and completed what the Nodowasis in their warfare had gone far to accomplish, the destruction of its inhabitants, the population was very numerous; this was also a favorite part, where they made their canoes, &c., the lake abounding in fish, the country round it being plentifully supplied with various kinds of game, and the rocky ridges, that form the boundaries of the water, covered with a variety of berries.

When the French were in possession of this country, they had several trading establishments on the islands and banks of this lake. Since that period, the few people remaining, who were of the Algonquin nation, could hardly find subsistence; game having become so scarce that they depended principally for food upon fish, and wild rice which grows spontaneously in these parts.

This lake is irregular in its form, and its utmost extent from east to west is fifteen miles; a point of land, called Point au Pin, jutting into it, divides it in two parts: it then makes a second angle at the west end, to the lesser Portage de Bois Blanc, two hundred paces in length. This channel is not wide, and is intercepted by several rapids in the course of a mile; it runs west-northwest to the Portage des Pins, over which the canoe and lading is again carried four hundred paces. From hence the channel is also intercepted by very dangerous rapids for two miles westerly, to the point of Portage du Bois, which is two hundred and eighty paces. Then succeeds the portage of Lake Croche one mile more, where the carrying-place is eighty paces, and is followed

by an embarkation on that lake, which takes its name from its figure. It extends eighteen miles, in a meandering form, and in a westerly direction; it is in general very narrow, and at about two-thirds of its length becomes very contracted, with a strong current.

Within three miles of the last portage is a remarkable rock, with a smooth face, but split and cracked in different parts, which hang over the water. Into one of its horizontal chasms a great number of arrows have been shot, which is said to have been done by a war party of the Nodowasis or Sioux, who had done much mischief in this country, and left there these weapons as a warning to the Chebois or natives, that, notwithstanding its lakes, rivers, and rocks, it was not inaccessible to their enemies.

Lake Croche is terminated by the Portage du Rideau, four hundred paces long, and derives its name from the appearance of the water, falling over a rock of upwards of thirty feet. Several rapids succeed, with intervals of still water, for about three miles to the Flacon portage, which is very difficult, is four hundred paces long, and leads to the Lake of La Croix, so named from its shape. It runs about northwest eighteen miles to the Beaver Dam, and then sinks into a deep bay nearly east. The course to the portage is west by north for sixteen miles more from the Beaver Dam; and into the east bay is a road which was frequented by the French, and followed through lakes and rivers until they came to Lake Superior by the river Caministiquia, thirty miles east of the Grand Portage.

Portage La Croix is six hundred paces long; to the next portage is a quarter of a mile, and its length is forty paces; the river winding four miles to Vermillion Lake, which runs six or seven miles north-northwest, and by a narrow strait communicates with Lake Namaycan, which takes its name from a particular place at the foot of a fall, where the natives spear sturgeon. Its course is about north-northwest and south-southeast, with a bay running east, that gives it the form of a triangle; its length is about sixteen miles to the Nouvelle Portage. The discharge of the lake is from a bay on the left, and the portage one hundred and eighty paces, to which succeeds a very small river, from whence there is but a short distance to the next Nouvelle Portage, three hundred and twenty paces long. It is there necessary to embark on a swamp or overflowed country, where wild rice grows in great abundance. There is a channel or small river in the centre of this swamp, which is kept with difficulty, and runs south and north one mile and a half, with deepening water. The course continues north-northwest one mile to the Chaudiere Portage, which is caused by the discharge of the waters running on the left of the road from Lake Naymaycan, which used to be the common route, but that which I have described is the safest as well as shortest. From hence there is some current though the water is wide spread, and its course about north by west three miles and a half to the Lake de la Pluie, which lies nearly east and west; from thence about fifteen miles is a narrow strait that divides the land into two unequal parts, from whence to its

discharge is a distance of twenty-four miles. There is a deep bay running northwest on the right, that is not included, and is remarkable for furnishing the natives with a kind of soft, red stone, of which they make their pipes; it also affords an excellent fishery, both in the summer and winter; and from it is an easy, safe, and short road to the Lake du Bois (which I shall mention presently), for the Indians to pass in their small canoes, through a small lake and on a small river, whose banks furnish abundance of wild rice. The discharge of this lake is called Lake de la Pluie River, at whose entrance there is a rapid, below which is a fine bay, where there had been an extensive picketed fort and building when possessed by the French: the site of it is at present a beautiful meadow, surrounded with groves of oaks. From hence there is a strong current for two miles, where the water falls over a rock twenty feet, and, from the consequent turbulence of the water, the carrying-place, which is three hundred and twenty paces long, derives the name of Chaudiere. Two miles onward is the present trading establishment, situated on an high bank on the north side of the river in 48° 37′ north latitude.

Here the people from Montreal come to meet those from the Athabasca country, as has been already described, and exchange lading with them. This is the residence of the first chief, or Sachem, of all the Algonquin tribes inhabiting the different parts of this country. He is by distinction called Nectam, which implies personal pre-eminence. Here also the elders meet in council to treat of peace or war.

This is one of the finest rivers in the Northwest, and runs a course west and east one hundred and twenty computed miles; but in taking its course and distance minutely I make it only eighty. Its banks are covered with a rich soil, particularly to the north, which, in many parts, are clothed with fine open groves of oak, with the maple, the pine, and the cedar. The southern bank is not so elevated, and displays the maple, the white birch, and the cedar, with the spruce, and alder, and various underwood. Its waters abound in fish, particularly the sturgeon, which the natives both spear and take with drag-nets. But notwithstanding the promise of this soil, the Indians do not attend to its cultivation, though they are not ignorant of the common process, and are fond of the Indian corn, when they can get it from us. . . . .

We now proceed to mention the Lake du Bois, into which this river discharges itself in latitude 49. north, and was formerly famous for the richness of its banks and waters, which abounded with whatever was necessary to a savage life. The French had several settlements in and about it; but it might be almost concluded that some fatal circumstance had destroyed the game, as war and the small pox had diminished the inhabitants, it having been very unproductive in animals since the British subjects have been engaged in travelling through it; though it now appears to be recovering its pristine state. The few Indians who inhabit it might live very comfortably, if they were not so immoderately fond of spirituous liquors. . . . .

The Lake du Bois is, as far as I could learn, nearly round, and the canoe course through the centre of it among a cluster of islands, some of which are so extensive that they may be taken for the main land. The reduced course would be nearly south and north. But following the navigating course, I make the distance seventy-five miles, though in a direct line it would fall very short of that length. At about two-thirds of it there is a small carrying-place, when the water is low. The carrying-place out of the lake is on an island, and named Portage du Rat, in latitude 49° 37′ north and longitude 94° 15′ west, and is about fifty paces long. . . . .

The Birch Bark Canoe.

The history of the fur trade should not be closed without a respectful reference to the birch canoe, and description of this serviceable means of conveyance, by which that early commerce was carried on for over two hundred years. For this purpose I give some extracts from the writings of persons who all their lives were engaged in this trade.

Chief Factor Archibald McDonald, who accompanied Sir George Simpson in his voyage from York Factory on Hudson bay to the Pacific, in 1828, kept the minutes of this expedition. They were edited and published by Malcolm McLeod in 1872. Speaking of the "light canoe," on page 41, McLeod says:

Light canoes were specially made and adapted for speediest travel. I saw those, the very ones spoken of, at Norway House, on their passage up. The Governor's was the most beautiful thing of the kind I ever saw; beautiful in its "lines" of faultless fineness, and in its form and every feature; the bow, a magnificent curve of bark, gaudily but tastefully painted, that would have made a Roman rostrum of old hide its diminished head. The paddles, painted red with vermilion, were made to match, and the whole thing in its kind was of faultless grace and beauty—beauty in the sense of graceful and perfect fitness to its end.

This class of canoes is [or rather was, for I am speaking of times now somewhat old] generally known under the name of "North Canoes," from the fact that on the arrival of the largest kind of canoes, used in the trade, viz., those used to be dispatched [and that until very lately] from Lachine, on first open water, to Fort William, Lake Superior, and which were called "*Canots du Maitre,*" had to be exchanged, or left behind for smaller craft, half the size, and such as could be portaged from that point upwards. The Canot du M. [Canoe of the Master, as we would call it in English] was of six fathoms, measured within, and the C. du Nord about four, more or less. The ordinary crew for the former was sixteen or eighteen, and for the latter eight

or nine. The larger could stand any storm in Lakes Huron and Superior, but it was ever the habit of voyage to avoid the encounter as much as possible. Their ordinary load was one hundred and twenty pieces of ninety pounds each, say five tons, with men, and passengers' baggage. They always carried passengers, say from four to eight or even more in case of children. I never heard of such a canoe being wrecked, or upset, or swamped; they swam like ducks. If overtaken, as was often the case, in a long *traverse* from point to point, or across large bays in the big lakes, the heavy "*parla*" [red canvas oil cloth] used to be thrown over the goods as a storm deck, and then skilled strength and pluck, with the trusty bark, did the work.

I add also a description given by Mr. Hopkins, the Secretary of Sir George Simpson, of the start of Sir George from Lachine on his voyage around the world in 1841-2. He says:

By nine o'clock our two canoes were floating in front of the house in the Lachine canal, constructed to avoid the famous rapids of St. Louis. The crews, thirteen men to the one vessel, and fourteen to the other, consisted partly of Canadians, but principally of Iroquois, from the opposite village of Kaughnawaga, the whole being under the charge of my old and faithful follower, Morin. . . . .

The canoes, those tiny vehicles of an amphibious navigation, are constructed in the following manner: The outside is formed of the thick and tough bark of the birch, the sheets being sewed together with the root of the pine tree split into threads, and the seams being gummed to make them air tight. The gunwales are of pine or cedar, of about three inches square; and in their lower edges are inserted the ribs, made of thin pieces of wood bent to a semicircle. Between the ribs and the bark is a coating of lathing, which, besides warding off internal injury from the fragile covering, serves to impart a firmness to the vessel. These canoes are generally about thirty-five feet from stem to stern; and they are five feet wide in the centre, gradually tapering to a point at each end, where they are raised about a foot. When loaded, they draw scarcely eighteen inches of water; and they weigh between three hundred and four hundred pounds.

Realizing that the days of this amphibious navigation have passed from the limits of our state, I am tempted to make another quotation from this narrative of Sir Geo. Simpson's journey fifty years ago (page 27):

Before bidding good-by to our old friend the Ottawa, let me here offer a description of a day's march, as a general specimen of the whole journey. To begin with the most important part of our proceedings, the business of encamping for a brief night, we selected, about sundown, some dry and tolerably clear spot; and immediately on landing, the sound of the axe would be ringing through the wood, as the men were felling whole trees for our fires, and preparing, if

necessary, a space for our tents. In less than ten minutes our three lodges would be pitched, each with such a blaze in front as virtually imparted a new sense of enjoyment to all the young campaigners, while through the crackling flames might be seen the requisite number of pots and kettles for our supper. Our beds were next laid, consisting of an oilcloth spread on the bare earth, with three blankets and a pillow, and, when occasion demanded, with cloaks and great-coats at discretion; and whether the wind howled or rain poured, our pavilions of canvas formed a safe barrier against the weather. While part of our crews, comprising all the landsmen, were doing duty as stokers, and cooks, and architects, and chambermaids, the more experienced voyageurs, after unloading the canoes, had drawn them on the beach with their bottoms upwards, to inspect, and, if needful, to renovate the stitching and the gumming; and as the little vessels were made to incline on one side to windward, each with a roaring fire to leeward, the crews, every man in his own single blanket, managed to set wind, and rain, and cold at defiance, almost as effectually as ourselves. Weather permitting, our slumbers would be broken about one in the morning by the cry of "*Leve! leve! leve!*" In five minutes, woe to the inmates that were slow in dressing, the tents were tumbling about our ears; and within half an hour the camp would be raised, the canoes laden, and the paddles keeping time to some merry old song. About eight o'clock, a convenient place would be selected for breakfast, about three-quarters of an hour being allotted for the multifarious operations of unpacking and repacking the equipage, laying and removing the cloth, boiling and frying, eating and drinking; and, while the preliminaries were arranging, the hardier among us would wash and shave, each person carrying soap and towel in his pocket, and finding a mirror in the same sandy or rocky basin that held the water. About two in the afternoon we usually put ashore for dinner; and as this meal needed no fire, or at least got none, it was not allowed to occupy more than twenty minutes or half an hour. Such was the routine of our journey, the day, generally speaking, being divided into six hours of rest and eighteen of labor. This almost incredible toil the voyageurs bore without a murmur, and, almost invariably, with such an hilarity of spirit as few other men could sustain for a single forenoon.

But the quality of the work, even more decidedly than the quantity, requires operatives of iron mould. In smooth water the paddle is plied with twice the rapidity of the oar, taxing both arms and lungs to the utmost extent; amid shallows the canoe is literally dragged by the men wading to their knees or to their loins, while each poor fellow, after replacing his drier half in his seat, laughingly shakes the heaviest of the wet from his legs over the gunwale, before he again gives them an inside berth; in rapids, the towing line has to be hauled along over rocks and stumps, through swamps and thickets, excepting that when the ground is utterly impracticable, poles are substituted, and occasionally, also, the bushes on the shore. Again on the portages, where the breaks are of all imaginable kinds and degrees of badness, the canoes

and their cargoes are never carried across in less than two or three trips, the little vessels alone monopolizing, on the first turn, the more expert half of their respective crews. Of the baggage, each man has to carry at least two pieces, estimated at a hundred and eighty pounds avoirdupois, which he suspends in slings of leather placed across the forehead, so that he has his hands free to clear the way among the branches of the standing trees, and over the prostrate trunks. But, in addition to the separate labors of the land and the water, the poor fellows have to endure a combination of both sorts of hardship at least three or four times every day. The canoes can seldom approach near enough to enable the passengers to step ashore from the gunwale; and no sooner is a halt made than the men are in the water to ferry us to dry ground on their backs. In this unique part of their duty they seem to take pride; and a little fellow often tries to get possession of the heaviest customer in the party, considerably exceeding, as has often been the case in my experience, the standard aforesaid, of two pieces of baggage.

Sir George Simpson, in his testimony before the select Committee of Parliament in 1857, says he had passed over the route from Fort William or Grand Portage to Winnipeg forty times. These trips were made in the manner related in Mr. Hopkins' description.

Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha," in its seventh canto, describes the materials of which the birch canoe is constructed; and the illustrated edition of this poem issued in 1891 by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. has a good photogravure of the process of its building by Indians in the forest.

The Commerce of Civilization.

The concluding part of this paper will be devoted to Commerce in Minnesota, on the Mississippi river and its tributaries, to the year 1862, and will contain all that I have been able to gather from all sources, including the files of newspapers of Galena, Ill., the Wisconsin Historical Society's files, and the files of the Minnesota Historical Society; to which I have added my own personal recollections of the history. Scharf's "History of St. Louis City and County," and Capt. E. W. Gould's "History of River Navigation," contain a great number of incidents relating to the early days on the Mississippi. But I must say that I was very much disappointed in my expectation of finding data that would be of service in my work among the files of newspapers and other printed authority; there is very little.

The keel-boat service is almost entirely confined to transportation of troops and supplies for the fort; and the Indian Agent, Major Forsyth, gives us (in this Society's Historical Collections, volume 3, pages 139-167) his journal of his voyage from St. Louis to St. Peter's in 1819. Soon thereafter comes the age of steam.

ARRIVALS OF STEAMBOATS AT FORT SNELLING, 1823-1839.

For the purpose of making the list of steamboat arrivals as full and complete as possible at this time, I am induced to copy from the Minnesota Historical Collections, volume 2. In its pages 102-142, Rev. E. D. Neill, in his "Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling, from 1819 to 1840," gives the following names and dates of steamboat arrivals at that place, which I have here collected together from his narrative:

1823-1826.

Steamboat Virginia, Capt. Crawford, May 10th, 1823. She was one hundred and eighteen feet long and twenty-two feet wide. She was received with a salute from the fort. Among her passengers were Major Biddle, Lieut. Russell, Taliaferro, the Indian Agent, and Beltrami, an Italian refugee.

The steamboat Rufus Putnam, Capt. David G. Bates in command, reached the fort April 5th, 1825. Four weeks later she made a second trip with goods for the Columbia Fur Company, and proceeded to Land's End, their trading post on the Minnesota river.

The following is a list of the steamboats that had arrived at Fort Snelling up to May 26th, 1826, the exact dates being known for only three:*

1. Virginia, May 10th, 1823.
2. Neiville.
3. Putnam, April 2nd, 1825.
4. Mandan.
5. Indiana.
6. Lawrence, May 2nd, 1826.
7. Sciota.
8. Eclipse.
9. Josephine.
10. Fulton.
11. Red Rover.
12. Black Rover.
13. Warrior.
14. Enterprise.
15. Volant.

1832.

Steamboat Versailles, May 12th.

Enterprise, June 27th.

1835.

The steamboat Warrior, built and commanded by Capt. Throckmorton, arrived June 24th with supplies and a pleasure party. Among

*Note.—There are evidently mistakes in this list of arrivals before May 26th, 1826.

The Red Rover made her appearance in the Galena trade in 1830, commanded by Capt. Joseph Throckmorton. He also built the Warrior in 1832, and was in command and participated in the Battle of Bad Axe in that year.

The steamboat Josephine, Capt. J. Clark, was in the Galena and St. Louis trade in 1829.

Steamboat Missouri Fulton; Capt. Culver was captain of this boat in 1828.

the passengers were Capt. Day and Lieut. Beech, of the army, Catlin, the artist, and wife, General George W. Jones, J. Farnsworth, Mrs. Felix St. Vrain, Misses Farnsworth, Crow, Johnson, and others. On July 16th the Warrior again arrived at the fort.

1836.

The Missouri Fulton arrived on May 8th. [Mr. Neill does not give the name of her captain. I venture to add the name of Capt. Orren Smith. He commanded her for a time.]

Steamboat Frontier, Capt. D. S. Harris, May 29th.

Steamboat Palmyra, Capt. Cole, June 1st, with some thirty ladies and gentlemen passengers, a pleasure party.

Steamboat St. Peter's, Capt. J. Throckmorton, July 2d. Among the passengers were Nicollet, coming to begin his exploration of the Northwest, and several ladies from St. Louis on a pleasure tour.

On October 9th, a small steamboat arrived with stores for the Government.

1837.

The steamboat Rolla arrived November 10th, bringing back the Sioux delegation who had visited Washington and made a treaty there September 29th, by which the valley of the St. Croix was opened to white immigration.

1838.

Steamboat Burlington, Capt. J. Throckmorton, May 25th; and again June 13th.

Steamboat Brazil, Capt. Orren Smith, June 15th, two boats being at the fort at the same time. The Burlington made three trips this season.

The steamboat Ariel arrived June 20th.

The steamboat Burlington completed her third trip on June 28th, bringing 146 troops.

The steamboat Palmyra, Capt. Middleton, arrived July 15th, with official notice of the ratification of the Sioux treaty,—bringing also machinery for the St. Croix mill, and a millwright, Calvin Tuttle, with other men, to build it.

Steamboat Ariel, August 27th, and again September 29th.

Steamboat Gipsy, with Chippewa goods, October 21st.

1839.

Steamboat Ariel, Capt. Lyon, April 14th.

Steamboat Gipsy, Capt. Grey, May 2nd.

Steamboat Fayette, May 11th.

Steamboat Glaucus, Capt. G. W. Atchison, May 21st, and again June 5th.

Steamboat Pennsylvania, Capt. Stone, June 1st.

The steamboat Ariel arrived June 6th; and also made three later trips, arriving June 26th, July 17th, and August 15th.

Steamboat Knickerbocker, June 25th.

Steamboat Malta, Capt. J. Throckmorton, July 22d.

The steamboat Pike, with soldiers, arrived September 9th and again September 17th.

There is no authority given for this record; but the annals were prepared by Rev. E. D. Neill, and he must have had some authority for the record. I personally became well acquainted with nearly all the captains above named, and with all the boats from the summer of 1839. Major Taliaferro resigned his office in January, 1840; and I presume the above record is from his papers.

RECORDS FROM GALENA NEWSPAPERS, 1828-1848.

The *Miners' Journal* of Galena, in 1828, mentions the following steamboats: Indiana, Capt. Fay; Red Rover, Capt. J. Throckmorton; Josephine, Capt. Clark; and Missouri Fulton, Capt. Culver. In 1829 it mentions the Josephine, Capt. Clark; Red Rover, Capt. Throckmorton; and the Galena, Capt. David G. Bates. One steamboat was advertised for Fort Snelling, the Lady Washington, Capt. Shellcross. The editor apparently did not think it worth while to notice the arrivals of boats, as everyone knew well of their arrival. The paper was a weekly, and it did not appear necessary to mention them. Its publication was suspended during the Black Hawk war.

The *Galena Advertiser*, in the fall of 1835, noticed the close of navigation as occurring on November 7th; and said that the Warrior and Galena had left for Pittsburgh. From this newspaper, chiefly, I have obtained the following imperfect records for the next twelve years:

1836.

The *Advertiser* mentions the opening of navigation April 9th, and says that the steamboat Olive Branch, Capt. Strother, the Wisconsin, Capt. Flaherty, the Dubuque, Cavalier, Warrior, and Galena, had left for St. Louis.

The Missouri Fulton, Capt. O. Smith, and the new steamboat Frontier, Capt. D. S. Harris, one of the boats built by D. S. & R. S. Harris, gave an excursion trip to the people of Galena and Dubuque.

1837.

The steamboat Smelter, Capt. D. S. Harris, with R. S. Harris, engineer, was one of the first boats built with state rooms for the upper Mississippi river. She was advertised for St. Peter's about June 1st; the Pavillion, Capt. Lafferty, about the 20th; the Burlington, for June 17th; and the Irene, Rolla, and Fulton, later. The Rolla was mentioned as being in Ga-

lena with Major Taliaferro and his Indian delegation on their return from Washington to St. Peter's.*

The following list of boats was mentioned as having been in the trade to and from Galena in 1837: Palmyra, Dubuque, Gipsy, Pavillion, Adventurer, Emerald, Missouri-Fulton, Envoy, Wyoming, Olive Branch, Science, Ariel, Cavalier, Heroine, Galena, Smelter, Lady Marshall, Irene, Alphia, Huntress, Rolla, Caledonia, and Burlington. Boats lost during the season were the Dubuque, Rolla, Emerald, and Heroine.

1838.

The steamboat Brazil, Capt. Orren Smith, arrived in Galena April 4th. The Gipsy was advertised for St. Peter's; and the Ariel arrived from St. Peter's. The Pizarro, Capt. R. S. Harris, a new boat 133 feet long and 20 feet beam, 144 tons, arrived.

1839.

The Glaucus, Rosalie and Pizarro were advertised for the Galena and St. Louis trade. The steamboat Brazil was advertised for a pleasure trip to St. Peter's July 21st; and the steamboat Pike was on her way to St. Peter's with troops September 3d.

1840.

The steamboats Elba, Ione, Quincy, and Pike, are mentioned. The Annie was noted as on her way to St. Peter's April 1st; also the Omega. The following boats were advertised to make pleasure trips to St. Peter's during the summer, viz.: Loyal Hanna, Malta, Valley Forge, Ione, and Brazil. The Indian Queen, Capt. Saltmarsh, was in the trade this season.

1841.

The following steamboats were advertised or otherwise mentioned: the Otter, Capt. Harris; Sarah Ann, Capt. Lafferty; Chippewa, Capt. Griffith; Illinois, Capt. McAllister; Muscoda, Capt. J. H. Lusk; and Rock River, Capt. Agostin Haraszthy. This last named captain was a Hungarian count and exile.

The steamboat Brazil was sunk on the Rock Island chain, in the upper rapids, being a total loss.

*This name was applied to the trading post on the site of the present village of Mendota, at the southeast side of the mouth of St. Peter's (Minnesota) river, opposite to Fort Snelling.

1842.

The New Brazil, Capt. O. Smith, arrived September 24th. She was 160 feet long, and 23 feet beam. The following boats were in the trade this year: Amaranth, Capt. G. W. Atchison; Osprey, Capt. N. W. Parker; Ione, Capt. Le Roy Dodge; Ohio, Capt. Mark Atchison; Iowa, Capt. D. B. Morehouse; and the General Brooke, Capt. Throckmorton. The last returned from a trip to St. Peter's May 26th. The Otter, Capt. Harris, and the Rock River, ran between Galena and St. Peter's during the season.

1843.

The steamer Chippewa came down from St. Peter's May 2d; the New Brazil June 5th; and the General Brooke, Jasper, and Otter always ran to St. Peter's during the season. There must have been other boats, but I have not been able to find trace of them. These boats ran to St. Peter's seven trips in the season.

1844.

The boats advertised for St. Peter's in 1844 were the Hibernia, Lewis F. Lynn, Capt. S. M. Kennet; Lynx, Capt. W. H. Hooper; Mendota, Capt. Robert A. Riley; and St. Croix, Capt. Hiram Bersie. The Otter, Capt. Harris, was run in the Galena and St. Peter's trade during the season; also the Rock River, Capt. Agostin Haraszthy.

1845.

The following steamboats plied from Galena on the upper part of the river: Uncle Tobey, Capt. Cole; Lynx, Capt. John Atchison; War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; St. Croix, Capt. Hiram Bersie; Iowa, Capt. D. B. Morehouse; Cecilia, Capt. Throckmorton; and St. Anthony, Capt. A. C. Montfort.

1846.

During this year I find mention of the Atlas, Capt. Robert A. Riley; Prairie Bird, Capt. Nick Wall; War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Falcon, Capt. Le Grand Morehouse; Cora, Capt. Throckmorton; Argo, Capt. Kennedy Lodwick; Monona, Capt. E. H. Gleim; Raritan, Capt. Rogers; and the Otter, Capt. Harris. During the season there were twenty-four arrivals in Galena.

1847.

The Argo, Capt. M. W. Lodwick, advertised as a regular packet for the season from Galena to St. Peter's, Fort Snelling,

and Stillwater. I was clerk on this boat from June 8th until she sunk in the fall.

Other steamboats running this year were the War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Dubuque, Capt. E. H. Beebe; Time and Tide, Capt. E. W. Gould; Lynx, Capt. John Atchison; Senator, Capt. McCoy; and the Bon Accord, Capt. H. Bersie. These six boats were advertised from St. Louis to St. Peter's and Fort Snelling.

1848.

The Dr. Franklin, Capt. M. W. Lodwick, was a Galena and St. Paul packet. This was the first boat of the Galena and Minnesota Packet Company. Her owners were Campbell and Smith, Henry Corwith, H. L. Dousmam, Brisbois & Rice, H. H. Sibley, M. W. Lodwick, and R. Blakeley. The other boats in the trade were the Highland Mary, Capt. John Atchison; Senator, Capt. D. S. Harris; Alex. Hamilton, Capt. W. H. Hooper; and Anthony Wayne, Capt. Dan Able. I am almost certain that Capt. Throckmorton ran the Cora in the trade some part of the season; and I think there were others that I have not been able to trace.

RIVALRY BEGUN IN 1848.

This season commenced a contest that made the steamboat business lively, if not profitable, between Galena and St. Paul, for several years. The Harris brothers had sold the Otter, and Capt. D. S. Harris was running the War Eagle to St. Louis, but claimed to be in the trade from Galena to St. Paul. In the winter after the Argo was sunk (in the fall of 1847), Capt. M. W. Lodwick and the present writer went around to the Ohio and bought the Dr. Franklin, a new and very nice boat, to take the place of the Argo between Galena and St. Paul. The Harris brothers sold the War Eagle and bought the Senator, in hopes that they would have the best boat in the trade; but when the Dr. Franklin arrived they found they had reckoned without their host, and the Senator was run from St. Louis to St. Paul until the fall trade commenced. They turned in from Galena to St. Paul and so continued to the close of the season, and quite an opposition grew up between the different parties; but after consultation it was arranged that the Dr. Franklin owners should buy the Senator, with the understanding that the Harrises would go out of the trade and all feeling would subside. During the winter, however, Congress passed

the bill to organize the Territory of Minnesota, which, of course, changed the face of things very much. The future prospect for steamboat trade was a little too much for the retiring party, as appeared by D. S. Harris' going around to the Ohio, where he bought the Dr. Franklin No. 2, which had been built by Capt. John McClure, of whom we had bought the "Old Doctor," as our boat was now called. The No. 2 was the better boat; but the "Old Doctor" had made too many friends during the season to be an easy party to drive.

Capt. Orren Smith, who was a brother-in-law of D. S. Harris, had taken charge of the Senator, and the No. 2 seemed to delight in annoying the Senator during the season of 1849. But Capt. Smith went around to the Ohio, and in the spring of 1850 returned with the Nominee, which was so much faster than the No. 2 that she went into the St. Louis trade. The situation had become interesting, as the emigration constantly increased to Minnesota and Wisconsin. The Harrises had been raised in Galena and were always popular, and through sympathy their friends naturally sided with them. D. S. and R. S. Harris had begun steamboating as soon as Smith Harris was old enough to turn a wheel as pilot, and Scribe to be an engineer. Both these boys were with Capt. David G. Bates on the steamboat Galena in 1829. They commenced building steamboats in 1832, when they built the Jo Davis. They had built afterward the Relief, Frontier, Smelter, Pizarro, Preemption, and Otter, and they owned the War Eagle, when in 1848 they felt that they were being driven off the river by a powerful combination; and the end was not yet.

INCIDENTS IN THE REMOVAL OF THE WINNEBAGOES.

My interest in the Packet Company has led me to forget that there were other matters of historical character that belong to the year 1848. Our old acquaintances, the "Gens de Mer" Winnebagoes, whom we found at the south end of Green Bay in 1654-5, as related in the early part of this paper, again claim our attention. After several changes of domicile, they are again about to seek a new home in Minnesota on a new reservation at Long Prairie. In the summer of 1848 their agent, Gen. J. E. Fletcher, and the other assistants, with the troops from Fort Atkinson, started on this arduous enterprise. Among others interested in this change of base of the Winnebagoes, I remember H. M. Rice, David Olmsted, E. A. C.

Hatch, S. B. Lowry, John Haney, Jr., N. Myrick, Richard Chute, George Culver, and, last but not least, their venerable missionary, Rev. David Lowry, together with many other employees not now recollected.

The bands were divided; part came down the Turkey river in their canoes, and part started by land with the teams of the agent and the ponies of the Indians. The point of rendezvous was at the Wabashaw prairie, where Winona now stands. The tribulations of all parties in making this journey had about exhausted all their physical strength, as well as the patience of all concerned; and when they were again joined at the prairie, the Indians refused to move another foot. The Indians had camped at the south end of the prairie in the timber, in order to have wood handy, and to have a shade over their lodges. The agent, soldiers, and all other parties engaged in this enterprise, made their camp on the highest point of the prairie, south of the present town, where the writer first made the acquaintance of the noted Winnebagoes. The trouble continued to increase rather than to abate. The Winnebagoes had for many years hunted in the bottoms of the Mississippi river to the east and south of them; and the new move was leaving the last of their old hunting grounds.

After the agent had nearly despaired of success, the only alternative left was to send to Capt. Eastman at Fort Snelling for additional troops, which, with a six-pounder, were sent under the command of Lieut. Hall, to see whether he could encourage the fellows to go. In canvassing the situation, Lieut. Hall became suspicious that the chief, Wabasha, whose village was just above the prairie upon the Rolling Stone creek, had in some way encouraged the Winnebagoes not to go. He arrested Wabasha and brought him on board the Dr. Franklin, and chained him to one of the stanchions of the boat on the boiler deck, evidently with the intention of frightening him; but after a short time he thought better of it, and released him. This was regarded as a great outrage to this proud chief, and it was not regarded in favorable light by those having charge of the Winnebagoes, who numbered over two thousand souls, besides Wabasha's band; but it finally passed without trouble. All the men in charge of the Indians were constantly urging them to consent to the removal, and talks were almost of daily occurrence, which would always end in Commissary Lieut. J. H. McKenny's sending down to the camp more

flour, sugar, meat and coffee, realizing that when their stomachs were full they were more peaceable.

One morning the troops, agent, and all in charge, were astounded to find the Indian camp deserted; not an Indian, dog or pony was left. The canoes that had brought part of them were gone as well. Everything in camp that could hunt was started to find them. The Dr. Franklin was sent down the river to overtake them if they had gone in that direction, and I think it was three days before they were found. They had taken their canoes and gone down the river to the mouth of the Slough, and thence had gone over into Wisconsin and were comfortably encamped on the islands and shores of the river, but were nearly starved. They promised to return to their camp the next day in their canoes. About ten o'clock the next day those on watch saw them coming out of the head of the Slough some three miles above the steamboat landing. It was one of our beautiful summer mornings, with not a ripple on the water; and when these two thousand men, women, children, and dogs, passed down, floating without even using a paddle, except to keep in the stream, all dressed in their best, they presented such a picture as I have not seen equaled since. They were disposed to show themselves at their best. Lieut. McKenny met them at their camp with provisions, and the old *status quo* was reëstablished.

The chiefs had said in their talks that they were afraid that the Sioux would not be willing to have them move into their country or their vicinity, and that there would be trouble. In order to remove this impression, it was proposed to have the chiefs of the Sioux bands brought down to the camp to meet them in council, to which they consented. The Dr. Franklin was sent up to bring the chiefs from the upper villages for that purpose. Those from Little Six village were brought to St. Paul, and probably some from the villages above; and there they were fitted out with entirely new suits of clothes from head to foot, each one consisting of a blue frock coat, leggins and moccasins, silk plug hat, white ruffled shirt, and a small American flag for each chief. The Little Crow, Red Wing, and Wabasha bands were all represented at this council.

On the day appointed for holding the council there was another display of Indian pomp and ceremony, which those of us unused to Indian ways were not prepared for. The council was held at the camp of the agent on the prairie, and at the

hour appointed for the meeting of the council, the whole band of the Winnebagoes was seen coming up from their camp mounted upon their ponies and dressed in their best; they advanced in deployed lines extending for many rods from the center of line and led by their head chief Winneshiek, supported by other noted men of the band on the right and left. As they approached the council ground, the chiefs dismounted from their horses and advanced to take their places in the council prepared for them and their braves. After the chiefs had been received with becoming dignity by the agent and the Sioux chiefs, their braves closed up in a circle and took their places within hearing distance of what should be said on this, to them, very important occasion; and, as I know, a very anxious and uneasy body of men were in the camp of the agent and traders, as to the result of this council. It was too great an occasion to be disposed of in a hurry. My recollection is that it was several days before the Winnebagoes were willing to agree to go; but even Indians tire of talking, and eating must perforce have an end. The council was closed with a wedding, the Winnebagoes giving one of their beautiful maidens to some noted brave of the Sioux whose name I have forgotten. The presents that were given by the Winnebagoes to the bride were said to have been quite considerable. The women and children were carried on board our steamboat, the Dr. Franklin, and its barge, as they were ready.

There was another incident that may as well be told here. The Indians of the River bands of the Sioux had learned that the Argo in 1847 had become the property of their friends and traders, H. H. Sibley, H. L. Dousman, and Brisbois & Rice, and she was always welcomed with great cordiality whenever she landed at any of their villages. When she sunk in the fall of 1847, they naturally felt that our loss was theirs. It became known that we had bought the Dr. Franklin, called by them the *Great Medicine*, before that steamboat arrived. When she landed at Red Wing on her first trip, the traders sung out that the Great Medicine was coming. This cry raised everyone in the village, men, women, and children, and all rushed to the bank of the river and onto the boat, shouting "How! how! how!"

The Dr. Franklin had the first steam whistle that came up the river. It was placed just on top of the boiler under the cabin floor, and had an unearthly screech. After we had

landed the freight and I had finally got all the Indians ashore, except the chief Waucota, who was going up to Mendota, they all stood waiting to see her back out. Having on a pretty good head of steam, the temptation to have a little sport was too much for the engineer, Bill Myers. Just as he gave her a turn back on her wheels, he pulled the cord of the whistle, which gave a terrible screech, and instantly every Indian man, woman and child jumped, shed their blankets, and rushed for the top of the bank or some place to hide. As they did so all on the boat shouted with laughter. This was too much for the poor Indians; they had shown that they had been frightened, which was a reflection on their courage, and they felt that we had done it on purpose. The only possible way out of the dilemma was to serve all the villages alike. Then they could not laugh at one another, for all had been frightened. When we returned, the old chief Waucota explained the matter to them and restored their good humor again; but this story got out among the bands of the Minnesota river, and they rather had the laugh on those that had been frightened, until the summer of 1851, when the Dr. Franklin went up to Traverse des Sioux, to the Indian Treaty of that year. The camp of the Indians was upon the second rise or plateau, at some distance from the bank of the river; and it was some little time before the young Indians, and especially those from up the Minnesota, got down to the bank. As they did so the Indians of the Mississippi bands began to shout to me, and imitated the whistle, which some of them could do very well. I at once took the hint, and as I was standing with some of my lady passengers on the hurricane deck, looking at the great village of lodges, I stepped to the cord and gave the wild or Minnesota River boys a terrible salute, which scared them even worse than those they had made so much fun of. When I came down from the deck the young Indians that had called to me came, with Major Forbes, to thank me for the fright I had given the wild Indians, as they called them, and said that they were even now and it was all right.

THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD.

1849.

Some part of my record for 1848 should have been reserved for this year, and I may be pardoned for having outrun the current history, but will endeavor to follow the business of each

year under its proper head. The opening of navigation this year was of especial interest. On March 3rd, 1849, Congress had passed the act to organize the Territory of Minnesota, which was an assurance that immigration would be largely increased, and that law and order would be established; in other words, the country had now passed from an Indian to a civilized condition, a guarantee of progress.

The Galena and Minnesota Packet Company advertised the Dr. Franklin, Capt. M. W. Lodwick, and the Senator, Capt. Orren Smith, as regular packets from Galena to St. Paul for the season; and the Highland Mary, Capt. John Atchison, and Dr. Franklin No. 2, Capt. D. S. Harris, for the St. Louis and St. Paul trade. Sometime in the season, about September, the Yankee, Capt. M. K. Harris, made her appearance in the trade from Galena. I find mention of the steamboats Minnesota, R. A. Riley, and War Eagle, built at Pittsburgh for the St. Louis and St. Paul trade, but am not aware that they ever came into the river. There were other boats, no doubt, from St. Louis; but I do not find trace of them.

Gov. Alex. Ramsey and wife came up to St. Paul on the Dr. Franklin from Prairie du Chien the last week in May. I find mention of the arrival of Mrs. Col. Snelling by the Dr. Franklin on Oct. 25th, 1849. During this season our friends of the Winnebago nation managed to get away from their reservation and went down to the vicinity of La Crosse. The cholera broke out this summer and was bad on the lower river; but St. Paul, so far as I remember, entirely escaped.

1850.

Navigation opened April 19th (the Highland Mary and the Nominee arriving on the same day), and commenced with five boats in the trade, namely, the Nominee, Capt. O. Smith; Dr. Franklin, Capt. M. W. Lodwick; Yankee, Capt. M. K. Harris, from Galena to St. Paul; Highland Mary, Capt. John Atchison; and Dr. Franklin No. 2, Capt. D. S. Harris. The Excelsior, Capt. James Ward, was advertised as a regular boat to St. Louis for the season. The Lamartine made several trips. The Highland Mary was withdrawn on the death of Capt. John Atchison, who died of cholera. The Tiger, Capt. Maxwell, made her appearance this season; she had the machinery of the Otter. The Anthony Wayne should also be mentioned, Capt. Dan Able. There were 2,100 barrels of cranberries

shipped from St. Paul this year. J. C. Burbank commenced his express business on the Nominee this season.

The Dr. Franklin No. 2, Capt. Harris, the Anthony Wayne, Capt. Dan Able, and the Lamartine, went up to near the falls of St. Anthony in the summer of 1850.

The Governor Ramsey commenced regular trips from St. Anthony to St. Cloud this summer. This steamboat was built by Capt. John Rollins. Her machinery was built in Bangor, Maine, and was brought to the Territory by way of New Orleans.

The Anthony Wayne and Yankee made the first trips up the Minnesota river this year.

Mr. H. M. Rice had contracted to return the Winnebagoes to their reservation; and the Dr. Franklin and Nominee gathered them up on their regular trips.

1851.

The season opened earlier than usual, the Nominee being the first boat, arriving April 4th. Capt. Smith was welcomed cordially. The first arrival had been a noted occasion, being the commencement of navigation. The following boats were advertised for the season, as packets from Galena: Dr. Franklin, Capt. M. W. Lodwick; Nominee, Capt. O. Smith; and the Yankee, Capt. M. K. Harris. The Dr. Franklin No. 2, Capt. D. S. Harris, and the Excelsior, Capt. J. Ward, were regular packets from St Louis. The Uncle Toby, Capt. Cole, made several trips from St. Louis. The De Vernon, Robert Fulton, Minnesota, and Oswego were transient visitors.

The Indian treaty was made at Traverse des Sioux; and the Dr. Franklin took a large party of ladies and gentlemen up to the treaty grounds on July 21st.

Willoughby & Powers, and Patterson & Benson, ran stages from St. Paul to St. Anthony during the summer. Willoughby & Powers also ran stages to Stillwater this season.

1852.

Navigation opened in St. Paul April 16th. The Nominee, Capt. Smith, was welcomed by the hearty shouts of nearly all the men, women and children in town. This great outburst of feeling was on account of the season's being twelve days later than the year before; the patience of all was quite exhausted by the delay. The Galena and St. Paul packets were the Nominee, Capt. Orren Smith; Dr. Franklin, Capt. R.

STEAMBOAT NOMINEE.

At Galena, on the Fever (Galena) River, looking west.

Blakeley; the Caleb Cape, until the new boat should arrive, the Ben Campbell, Capt. M. W. Lodwick, to replace the Cape; and the Dr. Franklin No. 2, Capt. D. S. Harris, until the new St. Paul should arrive, when she was sold. The Black Hawk, Capt. Kennedy Lodwick, was bought by the Packet Company for low water; and the Greek Slave was bought by Capt. Louis Robert.

This season was expected to be a terror for opposition; but the Ben Campbell and the new St. Paul were both too slow and too deep in the water, and were therefore soon sold, both parties being supremely disgusted with the result. The Harrises and their friends, who had taken a hand with them, realized that something had to be done. Capt. Harris felt it was life or death now, and went around to the Ohio to buy a boat which would surely beat the Nominee. He soon returned with the West Newton and placed her alongside the Nominee, feeling sure he could beat her easily. This anticipation was not realized, and the difference was hardly apparent; but, to make things hot, they advertised to make two trips a week to St. Paul. By this time everybody on the river from Galena to St. Paul had taken sides in this fight, and after the close of navigation the friends of both parties insisted that there was enough for all in the trade, and that the fight must be compromised and the interest joined in a new organization. This was done in the winter of 1852-3, when the Galena & Minnesota Packet Company was founded, with Capt. Orren Smith as President, and J. R. Jones as Secretary.

IMMIGRANTS TO ROLLING STONE.

In the spring of 1852, on the first trip of the Dr. Franklin, a man came on board who wanted to pay his passage to Rolling Stone. George R. Melville, who was my clerk, and who was having his first experience on the river, looked at the list of landings so as to know what to charge him for his passage. He could not find the place on the list, and told him he would have to see the Captain, as he could not tell him the price of passage. It was very near the time for the boat to start and the passenger waited until I was at liberty, and finally said that my clerk did not know how much his fare would be to Rolling Stone. I looked at the man in rather an inquiring way, as if to ask if he had not made a mistake in the name; and as he said that was the right name, I replied that there was

no such place on the river. He evidently thought I was quizzing him, and with a look of disgust put his hand in his coat pocket and took out a large map of the town of Rolling Stone, upon which were represented several houses, a large hotel, a warehouse and dock, and the steamboat Dr. Franklin lying at the landing and putting out passengers and freight with the usual activity of such occasions. After he had exhibited his beautiful map with my own boat at the landing, he looked at me as though he thought it was time for me to apologize for my bad treatment. I at once acknowledged that I was surprised, and politely asked for an explanation, saying that I did not know any such place, and asked him to please be seated while I would try to see if I could recognize the town, further asking him to give me its history so that possibly I might recognize it.

He then told me that Mr. William Haddock had been out in the country the year before, and had made this selection for a colony which had been founded during the winter in the City of New York; that a crowd of men had gone out during the winter to build the hotel and the houses and dock and warehouse, as he had shown me on the map; that Mr. Haddock had assured him that the Dr. Franklin ran right by the place, and had told him to get on my boat, because I knew just where the town was and ran right by it every trip; and that he had come out early with a large lot of apple seed to plant a nursery. By questioning and guessing I finally located the town, or rather where it ought to be. I said that this was an Indian territory, and that the Government would not permit a settlement on the land; that the location, as I gauged it, was about three miles above Wabasha Prairie, and, as near as I could make out, it was the present home of Wabasha's band of the Sioux, and I thought possibly immigrants would get a warm reception; and that there was only one white man living within ten miles of the place, and there could not possibly be any such buildings as he described. He answered, "Why, you will find at least one hundred men, women, and children, waiting in Galena for the return of your boat, to come up to their future home!" I explained to him that the boat had been up the slough or channel adjoining that shore, looking for the Winnebago Indians in 1848, and had nearly had its chimneys knocked down by the overhanging trees.

When I went off watch, I said to the pilot that there was a man to be landed at Wabasha Prairie, as near to Johnson's claim as he could, and directed him to blow the whistle to wake Johnson, so that the man would have somebody to care for him. When I came on deck on my morning watch, I found my friend still on board, and asked him why he had not landed at the Prairie. He answered that he wanted to be landed at Rolling Stone, and kept on the boat until we came back from St. Paul.

On my return to Galena, I found, as he had told me, quite a large number of persons who wished to engage passage to Rolling Stone, well-to-do looking people, with much evidence of comfortable living at home. They had bought teams, wagons, and farm implements, provisions, and a general outfit, as they supposed they would want them. Some of the ladies had their canary birds and other family pets, and they were all as happy as anyone could wish to be. Mr. B. H. Campbell had said to them that Captain Blakeley knew all the river in the day or night, in answer to their questions about me and my boat; and no one asked a question, but all were anxious to go as soon as possible to their new and happy home. I was, as usual, very busy in port and did not ask any questions, as they appeared to be intelligent persons; and I supposed that possibly I might be mistaken, and might not quite understand the situation. The boat left late in the day, and when we left Dubuque it was quite dark, so that I was on my watch and did not have any talk with my passengers for the Rolling Stone colony.

After breakfast the next day, which was a fine day, almost all the ladies and gentlemen of my colony friends came on the hurricane deck to look at the country and river, and to make inquiries of the captain about their new home. After answering many of their questions, I began to ask some questions in turn. They made much the same answers as my apple seed friend of the last trip; and, as our mutual questions and answers were exchanged, they became somewhat interested in the discussion. I finally asked whether any of them were farmers. They said, "No!" they had always lived in New York City, and during the winter they had held meetings and had lectures on the subject of colonies in the West, and had founded this colony venture, which had some politics in it. One of their

watchwords was, "*Vote yourself a farm.*" They acknowledged that they did not know what they should find where they were going, or whether provision was made for their reception or not; but stated that a committee had gone out during the winter to make ready for them.

I then said that it was not possible that there had been any buildings built, as there were only two white men that lived within fifty miles of the place, and no lumber to build with could be obtained nearer than Black River Falls or the Chippewa river, all in Wisconsin; and that I was sure they would not have a place to put their families in out of the weather. I explained to them, as well as I could, what they would have to do; that they would be landed at Wabasha Prairie, about three or four miles from the Rolling Stone, where a Mr. Johnson had located a town site claim and had a little cabin big enough for himself, which he had built during the last fall; but that my advice to them all was to go to St. Paul, except that a committee should be left to see for themselves, who, when the boat returned, would tell them better what to do.

They were quite too enthusiastic to take advice; and all, or nearly all, landed on the bare prairie without a thing to protect them from the weather but the goods they landed. Other boats brought others to join the colony, and in all some three or four hundred persons must have landed for Rolling Stone. Not a house, nor the sign of a house, had been built; nor was there any provision for their protection. They got some lumber off the rafts as they came down from the Chippewa, and made a floor to lie down on, and made a kind of roof to shed the water from their goods and themselves. The men folks went up to the Rolling Stone, and some of them built sod houses or dug holes in the banks to shelter themselves from the sun and weather. Sickness attacked them; many died during the summer and fall; and when winter set in, the place had been almost entirely abandoned. Some part of the suffering of this unfortunate people was told by Elder Ely, who lived in Winona; but I am not aware whether any part of his lecture is in print, and I have felt that this short story about an unfortunate experience in the early days of the immigration to Minnesota should have a record.

There were some other curious things of this colony. My recollection is that the village was to be laid out in a fanciful

manner, with a large greenhouse, a large lecture hall, and a library; and that the colonists were each to have a house lot in the town, and each a farm laid out in the surrounding country; but I am not able to give a full and intelligent description at this day, because many of their projects as explained to me have passed from memory.

1853.

In the winter of 1852-3 the Senate had approved the amended Sioux Treaty of 1851. This information was scattered to the four corners of the United States, and on the opening of navigation in 1853 the usual rush to the new Indian purchase began. The Packet Company's boats for this season were the Nominee, Capt. R. Blakeley; Ben Campbell, Capt. M. W. Lodwick; West Newton, Capt. D. S. Harris; and the Dr. Franklin, Capt. P. Lodwick; with the Black Hawk, and possibly some others, for low water. The first boat of the season was the West Newton, April 11th.

This was quite a notable year to those interested in the location of river towns. Winona, Mount Vernon, Minneiska, Wabasha, Reed's Landing, Lake City, Red Wing, Hastings, and other towns not now remembered, made earnest appeals to the Packet Company to give their locations friendly and considerate attention. Reed's Landing had been started about 1850 to accommodate the Chippewa River lumbermen, who found the bottomlands on the Wisconsin side too low in high water seasons. The St. Louis boats paid us more attention this season, and the Minnesota river claimed the attention of immigrants.

The following is a list of the steamboats of the upper Mississippi river, with the number of arrivals of each at St. Paul during the season: The Nominee, 29; Dr. Franklin No. 2, 28; West Newton, 27; Greek Slave, 18; Black Hawk, 10; Shenandoah, 5; Grand Prairie, 3; Die Vernon, 1; Hindoo, 2; Humboldt, 11; Henrietta, 2; Iola, 5; Jennie Lind, 1; Asia, 12; Excelsior, 13; Luella, 7; and the Clarion, 23, the last being from the Minnesota river. There may have been others from the Minnesota river in this list. It will be noticed that the old Dr. Franklin does not appear in the list of arrivals made.

1854.

Mr. Henry W. Farnham, of the firm of Sheffield & Farnham, contractors for the construction of the Chicago & Rock Island

Railroad, asked some one of the Packet Company to visit Chicago at the annual meeting of the stockholders of that road in the winter, prepared to make some arrangement with them to furnish a line connection from Rock Island to Galena and upper river points, as the railroad would be finished early in the spring. I made the visit and concluded the arrangement for business as soon as their road should be completed.

While the conversation about the line to meet them progressed, it became known that we were building two new and very nice boats for business the next summer; and the inquiry was made, "Can you promise us the exclusive charter of one of these new boats to take ourselves, families, and friends, to St. Paul and back in pleasant high water season?" I replied, "Most certainly, at any time that suits your convenience, if you give us a week's notice." They promised to give notice in due time.

This season's opening was rather early, and the Nominee, Capt. Blakeley, arrived on April 8th. The Packet Company's boats for the season were the Nominee, Capt. R. Blakeley; War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Galena, Capt. D. B. Morehouse; Royal Arch, Capt. E. H. Gleim; and the Dr. Franklin, Capt. P. Lodwick.

The new boats were very nice ones. The experience in building the Ben Campbell and New St. Paul was not lost in the plans for the new boats. Capt. M. W. Lodwick had sold his stock to Capt. D. B. Morehouse, an old steamboat man. I was the youngest boatman of the lot. Capt. Harris we knew. Capt. Morehouse had lived in Galena in an early day, and had been engaged in the New Orleans trade for some years. Capt. Gleim was a clerk on the steamboat Warrior with Capt. Throckmorton at the Battle of Bad Axe; and my first pilot, Capt. William White, was a pilot on her at the same time. Capt. Preston Lodwick, on the "Old Doctor," had become a very popular man in the season of 1853. I think I may say without challenge that the whole outfit of the Packet Company this season could not be beat in its general appearance anywhere on the western waters. Other steamboats plying to and from St. Paul this year were the Black Hawk, Capt. R. M. Spencer; Grey Cloud; Navigator, Capt. A. T. Champlin; Globe, Capt. Haycock; Greek Slave; Rebus; Black Hawk, Capt. O. H. Maxwell; Excelsior, Capt. T. Owens; New St. Paul, Capt.

STEAMBOAT WAR EAGLE.

At La Crosse (in the Slough), looking east.

Bissell; Admiral, Capt. John Brooks; Minnesota Belle, Capt. Humbertson; Luella; Editor, Capt. Smith; Henrietta, Capt. C. B. Gall; Alice; Grand Prairie; Iola; Sangamon, Capt. R. M. Spencer; and probably some others that I cannot remember or find record of. Some of these boats ran up the Minnesota river, and some went down the Mississippi as far as to St. Louis.

Burris & Hartzel, of Point Douglas, shipped 2,000 bushels of wheat this year, the first shipment recorded.

EXCURSION OF EASTERN VISITORS.

Mr. Farnham gave us notice that the invited guests on the excursion would exceed the number contemplated, and asked us to be prepared to send two of our packets to take the party; but a little later he asked for another, and finally the number was increased to five boats.

Mr. George W. Moore, at the time one of the proprietors of the *Minnesotian*, published in this city, joined the fleet at La Crosse; and to him I am thankfully indebted for the following report, which was published in the daily *Minnesotian* Friday morning, June 9th, 1854.

According to the programme, about *twelve hundred* invited guests of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad Company assembled at Chicago, on Saturday evening last, to join in the excursion celebratory of the union of the Mississippi with the Atlantic. This immense concourse was passed over the Road on Monday, with a degree of order and regularity that all speak of in the highest degree of commendation. Arriving at Rock Island, the following steamers were in waiting to receive the guests:

Galena and St. Louis Packets.

Golden Era, Capt. Hiram Bersie; G. W. Sparhawk, Capt. Montreville Green; Lady Franklin, Capt. Legrand Morehouse.

Galena and Minnesota Packets.

War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Galena, Capt. D. B. Morehouse.

On these magnificent packets, embarked about one thousand of the company; and at a given signal, bells were rung and whistles sounded, and then the curling waters of the Great River opened to receive the keels of vessels freighted with hundreds of the most distinguished men and women of the nation, who had never before set eye upon the rich beauties which nature has distributed so profusely over our mighty valley. The list of names which we annex shows that the character of the party is such as was never before assembled in one company in these United States. Eminent statesmen; world renowned jurists; the great and celebrated in science and divinity; the famous in art and let-

ters, and the leading men at the helm editorial, are mingled in social intercourse upon this grand occasion.

It was an unfortunate event that the weather proved somewhat unfavorable when the party was landed at Galena on Tuesday morning. Notwithstanding this drawback, the Galenians were on hand to receive the guests in a manner becoming the well-earned reputation of that enterprising city. An excursion was had to the mines, and at the boats addresses were made and happy responses received from Hon. Edward Bates of St. Louis, Ex-President Fillmore, and others. At Dubuque, the same interesting ceremonies took place.

At La Crosse, the boats landed in a driving rain storm from the north, which prevented the citizens from making such demonstration as they otherwise would have wished. Still, a large crowd was at the landing, and when the familiar visage of MILLARD FILLMORE appeared upon the deck of the Golden Era, there were universal and prolonged cheers from the assembled multitude on shore. But a brief stop was made here; and this was the last general call made at any point until the party arrived at St. Paul yesterday morning.

The boats reached our landing about eight o'clock in the morning. The display of the fleet in our river, upon rounding the point below the city, is represented by those who witnessed it from the shore as being grand beyond precedent. The five boats were so arranged that they approached in order as regular as though they were an armed squadron taking their position in line of battle. Two full bands of music were on board, both of which struck up lively airs as the boats neared the landing. This, with the rays of the bright June sun which broke forth in all his glory after three days' storm; the animation of the company on board the boats, and the enthusiasm of the assembled hundreds on shore and on the decks of the Admiral, then lying at the landing, produced a scene of excitement which St. Paul has never before witnessed, and perhaps will not again for many years.

Unfortunately, the fast railroad time of Sheffield & Farnham, on this, as on the occasion of all enterprises in which they engage, was somewhat ahead of their neighbors and contemporaries. The citizens of St. Paul were not expecting the arrival until twenty-four hours later. Consequently, no such arrangements were consummated to receive their guests as had been planned and were in process of execution. But nevertheless, they did the best they could under the circumstances; and we hope the degree of attention so promptly displayed upon the spur of the moment has been satisfactory to the distinguished company.

Many of the party—a large majority, we believe—visited the Falls of St. Anthony and Fort Snelling, and returned highly delighted with the excursion. Throughout, the excursion has been one scene of uninterrupted pleasure and delight to all who have participated in it. To the personal attentions of Mr. Farnham and his amiable lady, and to those of Col. Mix [passenger agent of the railroad], and the officers of the several steamers, we feel authorized to say all are ready to bear grateful testimony. All are in ecstasies of delight with the country, the

scenery, and the grandeur of the occasion. In mingling freely among the vast company, we failed to see a soured visage or hear a complaining remark. To the projectors and executors of this more than regal fete, the Northwest, and the individuals who composed the party, owe a debt of heartfelt gratefulness which can never be repaid.

We will not attempt to-day to narrate the many pleasing and agreeable incidents of this occasion. Below we give the names of such of the distinguished guests as we were enabled to collect while the boats were passing from La Crosse to St. Paul. Many, in all probability, who equally deserve a place in this record, have been inadvertently omitted. In the company are about two hundred ladies, the wives, daughters and friends of the male guests. Among them, we notice the name of Miss CATHARINE M. SEDGWICK, and others, not unknown to fame in the literary world. But we must close our account for to-day, and finish up full particulars hereafter.

In the company that is thronging our streets as we write, are the following gentlemen:

Hon. Edward Bates, of Missouri.
Hon. Millard Fillmore, Ex-Pres't U. S.
Hon. N. K. Hall, [Ex-P. M. General, Buffalo,] N. Y.
Gov. Mattison, of Illinois.
Gen. John A. Granger, Canandaigua, N. Y.
Hon. John A. Rockwell, Ct.
Hon. Geo. A. Babcock, Buffalo, N. Y.
Hon. John R. Bartlett, Providence, R. I.
Hon. John A. Dix, New York.
Hon. George Bancroft, of Boston.
Hon N. Edwards, of Illinois.
Francis P. Blair, Esq., Maryland.
Francis P. Blair, Jr., Esq., St. Louis.
Elbridge Gerry, N. Y.
Rev. Dr. Bacon, New Haven, Ct.
Rev. Mr. Pitkin, New Haven, Ct.
Rev. Mr. Littlejohn, New Haven, Ct.
Prof. B. Silliman, Sr., Yale College, Ct.
Rev. Dr. Fitch, Yale College.
Prof. A. C. Twining, New Haven.
Prof. Hubbard, Dartmouth College, N. H.
J. J. Phelps, Esq., New York.
Hon. C. J. M'Curdy, Conn.
Gov. Roger S. Baldwin, Conn.
Hon. D. B. St. John, Albany, N. Y.
James Brewster, Esq., New Haven.
Hon. Alva Hunt, N. Y.
Rufus H. King, Albany.
Frank Townsend, Albany.
Hon. John C. Wright, Schenectady.
Mr. Cassey, New York.
Mr. C. P. Williams, Stonington, Conn.
V. P. Down, Albany.
H. T. Tuckerman, Boston.
N. C. Ely, New York.
E. H. Tracy, New York.
W. Chauncey, Ex-Mayor, New York.
A. J. Clarkson, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y.
J. Pall, New York.
S. Frothingham, New York.
Judge Oakley, New York.
A. S. Murray, Esq., Orange Co., N. Y.
Col. Abel, Albany, N. Y.
Rev. Dr. Spring, New York.
Rev. Dr. Kennedy, Albany.
Rev. Dr. Vermilliyea, New York.
Charles B. Sines, New Haven.
Judge Wood, New Haven.
Judge Parker, Albany.
Judge S. O. Phelps, Conn.
J. F. Kennett, artist, New York.
Capt. Goodrich, New Haven.
Robt. B. Minturn, New York.

Mr. Bogart, New York.
Wm. Higgins, Liverpool, Eng.
Col. Wm. Davenport, late U. S. A., Philadelphia.
Judge Parker, Prof. of Law, Harvard University.
Hon. A. C. Flagg, Late Comptroller, N. Y.
Moses Kimball, Esq., Boston .
Rev. Messrs. Curtis, Eggleston, Clarkson, and Sheply, of Chicago.
H. W. Farnham, of Chicago & Rock Island Railroad.
Col. Mix, of Chicago & Rock Island Railroad.
Mr. Cook, firm of Cook & Sargent, Davenport, Iowa.
Judge Grant, Davenport, Iowa.
John C. Hamilton, N. Y.
Thos. W. Gale, N. Y.
Nicholas Dean, N. Y.
W. C. Redfield, N. Y.
John Howe, N. J.
John Bloom, Washington Hollow, N. Y.
Capt. Orren Smith, President of Galena & Minnesota Packet Co.
Judge Gale, La Crosse, Wis.
John H. Kinzie, Chicago.
Robt. S. Hilton, Albany.
Benj. M. Hutchinson, Rome, N. Y.
F. F. Marling, N. Y.
John P. Jervis, N. Y.
Dr. J. T. Warner, N. Y.
H. G. Bronson, N. Y.
W. S. Herriman, N. Y.
John J. Mason, N. Y.
Chas. Stebbins, Jr., Cazenovia, N. Y.
J. Phillips, Phœnix.
M. Van Schaick, N. Y.
Hon. E. W. Hamlin, Wayne Co., Pa.
S. S. Smith, New York.
A. M. Knapp, New York.
J. H. Ten Eyck, New York.
Wm. D. Bliss, New York.
Samuel J. Tilden, New York.
Capt. Scribe [R. S.] Harris, Galena, Ill.
Capt. H. H. Gear, Galena.
O. C. Harris, Waterville, N. Y.

EDITORS.

Col. Fuller, New York Mirror.
George H. Andrews, N. Y. Courier and Enquirer.
H. L. Tobey, Kingston Journal, N. Y.
E. Evans, Buffalo Democrat.
Charles Hudson, Boston Atlas.
Charles A. Dana, New York Tribune.
Epes Sargent, late of Boston Transcript.
S. Bowles, Springfield (Mass.) Republican.
A. H. Bullock, Worcester Ægis.
J. H. Sanford, New York Journal of Commerce.
N. W. T. Root, New Haven Register.
James F. Babcock, New Haven Palladium.
Joseph A. Woodward, New Haven Courier.
Carlton Edwards, Albany Express.
Isaac Platt, Poughkeepsie Eagle.
A. S. Pease, Poughkeepsie Telegraph.
Charles Hale, Boston Advertiser.
A. P. Cummings, N. Y. Observer.
W. C. Prime, N. Y. Journal of Commerce.
D. E. Wagner, Rome Daily Sentinel.
John S. Boswell, Hartford Courant.
H. H. Van Dyck, Albany Atlas.
Col. Wm. Schouler, Cincinnati Gazette.
E. D. G. Prime, N. Y. Observer.
Caleb Foot, Salem (Mass.) Gazette.
Mr. Aiken, N. Y. Evening Post.
A. S. Evans, Chicago Journal.
John A. Bross, Chicago Dem. Press.
Dr. Ray, Galena Jeffersonian.

F. A. Moore, Springfield (Ill.) Journal.
Col. Danforth, Rock Island Republican.
Wm. Duane Wilson, Chicago Courant.
Charles Welden, N. Y. Daily Times.
Lewis McIver, Utica Telegraph.
John Lockwood, Jr., N. Y. Home Journal.
Ellis H. Roberts, Utica Herald.
A. Fitch, N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.
C. Cather Flint, Chicago Daily Tribune.

R. L. Wilson, editor of the Chicago Journal; Thurlow Weed, of the Albany Journal; and Hugh Hastings, of the Albany Knickerbocker, left the party for St. Louis, at Rock Island.

Capt. H. H. Gear made the speech of welcome at Galena, which was responded to by Ex-President Fillmore, N. K. Hall, Ex-Postmaster General, and Prof. Silliman of Yale College. Speeches were made from the boats at Dubuque by Ex-President Fillmore, Hon. Edward Bates, Judge Parker, General Lawrence, Rev. Dr. Bacon of New Haven, Charles Hudson of the Boston Atlas, A. T. A. Davis of the New York Tribune, Gen. John A. Dix, and Mr. Black of St. Louis. The response was by Mr. Samuels, in most felicitous terms.

When the boats were under way they were at times lashed together in order to make things more pleasant with music and dancing. Boats went to Mendota and returned at seven o'clock P. M. Citizens had made preparations for a reception at the Capitol, which was to have come off Friday evening; but by the exertions of the committees which had been appointed by the citizens, and especially by the efforts of Gov. Gorman, W. G. Le Duc, and Col. Mix of the Rock Island Railroad, the preparations were nicely completed for Thursday evening. By eight o'clock a large portion of the visitors had assembled at the Capitol, and Gov. Gorman happily presented Ex-President Fillmore to the citizens of Minnesota, and Hon. H. H. Sibley greeted the distinguished party with a hearty welcome. The Ex-President, Hon. George Bancroft, and others, responded in hearty thanks for this kind reception, highly complimented the country, and rapturously extolled the magnificent scenery on the river as they had seen it in their coming on the beautiful boats in which they had been so regally cared for. After the ceremony of the reception was over, the people of the cities of St. Paul and St. Anthony were severally presented to the guests; and with all their ability the ladies and gentlemen vied with each other in doing honor

to their guests until nearly eleven o'clock, when the party proceeded to the boats. They were accompanied to the river by our citizens *en masse,* who, on the departure of the excursionists, gave them all a good-bye and their ardent hopes for their safe arrival home.

The writer may be indulged in a reflection or two on the completion of this great event for Minnesota. As has been mentioned, the expectation of both parties in the arrangements for this excursion contemplated the accommodation of probably not more than two hundred persons at most; but the responses to the invitations of Mr. Farnham came in with thanks, and permission was also asked for the friends of those who were complimented to go with them. Many, as a matter of course, did not know whether they could go or not until near the time to start. It was quite easy for the railroad company to find the cars to take them over the road from Chicago; but where were the boats to come from to accommodate such a host of ladies and gentlemen in comfort, and with credit to the occasion? My own boat, with of course myself, was up the river, and I did not know what a rush had been made to respond to the anxious request of Mr. Farnham. I arrived in Galena only a very short time after the excursion, when I learned of the grand success that had attended the effort to accommodate this host of the most noted ladies and gentlemen of the nation, with five of the best boats on the river between St. Louis and St. Paul, under the care of the most experienced captains and crews in the trade. You may well believe, but you cannot realize, my feeling of relief to find this distinguished party in the hands of men so capable, and on board boats that I knew would not only carry and return them safe, but in the greatest comfort then known to steamboat travel on the Mississippi river. It was said at the time that this was an advertising dodge to influence immigration. There is no truth in such a supposition, but the success of this visit and the character of the people, especially the editors of the daily press of the country, did more than the best laid plan for advertising the country that has ever been made since. It cost nothing, but the great papers of the day and the magazines of the country were all full of the most laudatory literature in relation to the country, the scenery on the river, and the pleasure and comfort of the journey. Good results came back to us in a thou-

sand ways and for many years, as immigration commenced to turn its attention to Minnesota.

1855.

Navigation was opened to St. Paul April 17th, by the arrival of the War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris. The following were the Galena & Minnesota Packet Company's boats:

War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Galena, Capt. R. Blakeley; Golden Era, Capt. J. W. Parker; Lady Franklin, Capt. J. H. Malone; Greek Slave; City Belle, Capt. K. Lodwick; Royal Arch, Capt. E. H. Gleim; and Alhambra, Capt. W. H. Gabbert.

The Fanny Harris, Capt. Jones Worden, commenced running from Dubuque and was the beginning of the Dubuque line of boats.

The Falls City made her appearance in June, having been built by our St. Anthony friends to prove that the Falls was the head of navigation. She was a stern-wheel boat, 155 feet long, 27 feet beam, with three boilers, and was commanded by Capt. Gilbert.

This was a very low water season for most of the year; and it seemed as though all the light draft and stern-wheel boats of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers had come to St. Paul. The immigration that was now in full tide to the new lands west of the river in the Sioux purchase was becoming widely known, and the rush made for choice homes kept everybody busy.

The following was the list of boats in the trade this season, as complete as I can trace them: War Eagle, Galena, Lady Franklin, Golden Era, City Belle, Greek Slave, Royal Arch, Alhambra, Minnesota Belle, J. B. Gordon, Time and Tide, Kate Cassel, Black Hawk, Luella, Hamburg, Julia Dean, York State, Berlin, Globe, Dan Canouse, Henrietta, Navigator, Clarion, Fanny Harris, Equator, Reville, Excelsior, Oakland, Falls City, Audubon, Latrobe, Laclede, Badger State, Regulator, Fire Canoe, Dubuque, Montellis, Vienna, New St. Paul, Parthenia, Conewago, Editor, Ben Bolt, G. W. Sparhawk, Prairie State, Jas. Lyon, A. G. Mason, Kentucky No. 2, Montauk, Grey Cloud, Sam Gaty, Ben West, Belle, Golden Prairie, Rose, Flora, H. M. Rice, Twin City, H. T. Yeatman, Adelia, Gossamer, Osceola, Col. Morgan, Gipsy, Shenandoah, H. S. Allen, Iola.

The number of boats was thus sixty-eight. The number of arrivals from Galena was 300; from St. Louis and the Ohio,

120; and from the Minnesota river, 143. The total number of steamboat arrivals at St. Paul was thus 563.

The Illinois Central Railroad was finished to Dunleith in the summer, and the present writer was appointed agent and traffic manager for this railroad at Dunleith in the fall of 1855.

1856.

Navigation was opened April 18th by the steamboat Lady Franklin, Capt. M. E. Lucas. The Galena, Dunleith and Minnesota Packet Company, of which Capt. Orren Smith was President, and J. R. Jones, Secretary, ran the following boats: War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Galena, Capt. Kennedy Lodwick; Northern Belle, Capt. Preston Lodwick; Golden Era, Capt. J. W. Parker; Lady Franklin, Capt. M. E. Lucas; Ocean Wave, Capt. E. H. Gleim; City Belle, Capt. A. T. Champlin; Granite State, Capt. J. Y. Hurd; and Alhambra, Capt. W. H. Gabbert.

The Dubuque and St. Paul Packet Company ran the following boats: Fanny Harris, Capt. J. Worden; Excelsior, Capt. Kingman; Kate Cassel, Capt. S. Harlow; Flora; and Wyandotte, Capt. Pierce.

The Northern Belle was a very nice boat built at Cincinnati under the supervision of Capt. Lodwick, and was especially well adapted to the trade, being 226 feet long, 29 feet beam, beautifully finished, and of very light draught. She became a very popular boat.

Mr. E. H. Johnson, a man whom Capt. Orren Smith landed at Winona, as they called their new town, in the fall of 1851, to make a claim for himself and one for Capt. Smith, both at the expense of Capt. Orren Smith, had by this time become dissatisfied with the captain and thought it his duty to buy a steamboat to run against the old Packet Company, and in that way return some of the money he had made by Capt. Smith's assistance, seeing meanwhile whether he could break the Packet Company. By the advice of some one who was anxious to run a boat at somebody's else expense, he bought the Tishemingo, which had a pretty good reputation for speed, and she commenced a packet line from Winona to Galena; and after having lost the Packet Company some money, she was sold in Galena to pay her debts;—not a very profitable venture.

STEAMBOAT NORTHERN BELLE.

AT WINONA, LOOKING EAST.

The following is a list of boats run in the trade this season: Equator, Wave, Galena, Golden Era, Fanny Harris, City Belle, Northern Belle, Ocean Wave, Kate Cassel, Flora, Excelsior, Lady Franklin, Time and Tide, Alhambra, Ben Carson, War Eagle, Falls City, Clarion, Reville, H. T. Yeatman, Metropolitan, Berlin, Granite State, Hamburg, Laclede, Luella, Conewago, Jas. Lyon, Globe, Oakland, A. G. Mason, Minnesota Belle, Lucy May, Arcola, Mansfield, Thos. Scott, Royal Arch, Golden State, Jacob Trabor, York State, Editor, H. S. Allen, Matte Wayne, Sam Young, Rochester, Montauk, Greek Slave, Ben Bolt, Gipsy, Fairy Queen, John P. Luce, White Bluff, Des Moines Valley, Violet, Minnesota Valley, Diomed, New St. Croix, Forest Rose, Fire Canoe, Brazil, Gossamer, Badger State, Henrietta, Grace Darling, Tishemingo, America, Julia Dean, Atlantic, Delegate, St. Louis, Henry Graff, Carrier, Bongo, W. G. Woodside, Chart, Vienna, New York. The whole number of boats was seventy-nine; and the number of arrivals at St. Paul, 759.

Capt. E. H. Gleim died at the De Soto House in Galena early in the season this year. He was a very popular boatman and an estimable gentleman.

1857.

Navigation opened May 1st, the latest date ever known up to this time, the first arrival being the Galena, Capt. W. H. Laughton.

The great activity of the steamboating during the years 1855 and 1856, and the promise of immediate railroad connections at Prairie du Chien this season, the reputation which the Territory had acquired for its climate and fertility of soil, and the commerce that had grown up so fast between Galena, Dubuque, and the upper Mississippi, so stimulated everybody connected with it that the Galena, Dunleith and Minnesota Packet Company, realizing that more new boats would be necessary to control the trade, resolved to build three larger and nicer boats to meet the trade of 1857. Capt. Orren Smith went to Ohio in the fall of 1856, and contracted for the construction of the Grey Eagle, Milwaukee, and Northern Light. Almost at the same time the Dubuque and Minnesota Packet Company made its appearance on the Ohio to build two new boats as well. Each company had supposed that it was the only one to have new boats in the spring of 1857. The mutual

discovery that each of the companies was building large and expensive boats put a damper on the outlook for the coming season's business, and resulted in a reorganization of the Galena Company under the name of the Galena, Dubuque, Dunleith and Minnesota Packet Company, with Capt. Orren Smith, President; J. P. Farley, Vice President; J. R. Jones, Secretary; and Capt. R. Blakeley, General Agent at Dunleith. All the boats were transferred to the new company.

The following is the description of the five new boats: Grey Eagle, 250 feet long, 35 feet beam; Milwaukee, 240 feet long, 33 feet beam; Northern Light, 240 feet long, 40 feet beam; Itasca, 230 feet long, 35 feet beam; and Key City, 230 feet long, 35 feet beam. Their tonnage measurement was from 350 to over 400 tons each, and no better boats were ever built for the upper river.

The business season commenced with the following boats and officers: Grey Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Milwaukee, Capt. Stephen Hewett; Northern Light, Capt. P. Lodwick; Itasca, Capt. D. Whitten; Key City, Capt. Jones Worden; War Eagle, Capt. Kingman; Galena, Capt. W. H. Laughton; Northern Belle, Capt. J. Y. Hurd; City Belle, Capt. K. Lodwick; Ocean Wave; Granite State, Capt. W. H. Gabbert; Fanny Harris, Capt. Anderson; and Alhambra, Capt. McGowen.

When the Milwaukee and Prairie du Chien Railroad was ready for business, the Milwaukee, Capt. S. Hewett, the Itasca, Capt. D. Whitten, and the Ocean Wave, were assigned as the packets for that line; and for the Galena, Dubuque & Dunleith line, the following steamboats: Grey Eagle, Capt. Harris; Northern Light, Capt. P. Lodwick; Key City, Capt. Worden; War Eagle, Capt. Kingman; Galena, Capt. W. H. Laughton; City Belle, Capt. K. Lodwick; Granite State, Capt. W. H. Gabbert; Golden Era, Capt. Scott; Golden State, Capt. S. Harlon; Fanny Harris, Capt. Anderson; and the Alhambra, Capt. McGowen. These boats made double daily lines from Galena, etc., some of them being special packets and others for freight.

The St. Louis and St. Paul steamboat men decided to divide the time between them so as to form a regular line to St. Paul. Prominent in this line were the following boats: Canada, Capt. James Ward; W. L. Ewing, Capt. M. Green; Denmark, Capt. R. C. Gray; Metropolitan, Capt. T. B. Rhodes; Minnesota Belle, Capt. Thomas B. Hill; Pembina, Capt. Thomas H.

STEAMBOAT GREY EAGLE.

At St. Paul, near (close above) Jackson Street, looking south.

STEAMBOAT MILWAUKEE.

At Winona, looking east.

STEAMBOAT NORTHERN LIGHT.

At Winona, looking east.

STEAMBOAT ITASCA.

At Winona, looking east.

STEAMBOAT KEY CITY.

At Winona, looking east.

Griffith; Northerner, Capt. P. Alford; Lucy May, Capt. J. B. Rhodes; and the Aunt Letty, Capt. O. G. Morrison.

The following boats were advertised for the Minnesota River trade: Capt. Davidson's Line, consisting of the Frank Steele and some other boat not remembered; Capt. L. Robert's Line, consisting of the Time and Tide and the Jeannette Roberts; and, besides, the Antelope, Clarion, Medora, Equator, J. Bissell, and Wave.

There were more boats in the Mississippi river above St. Louis, plying to and from St. Paul, during this season than at any time before or since. The following is believed to be a very accurate list of them: Grey Eagle, Northern Light, Milwaukee, Itasca, Key City, War Eagle, Galena, Northern Belle, City Belle, Ocean Wave, Granite State, Golden Era, Golden State, Fanny Harris, Alhambra, Canada, W. L. Ewing, Denmark, Metropolitan, Minnesota Belle, Pembina, Northerner, Lucy May, Aunt Letty, A. G. Mason, Audubon, Antelope, Adelia, Brazil, Arizona, Atlanta, Belfast, Bangor, Ben Coursin, Ben Bolt, Cremonia, C. H. Wilson, Conewago, Clarion, Chippewa, Cambridge, Courier, Dew Drop, Earlia, Equator, Tunis, Envoy, Editor, Endeavor, Fred Lorenz, Fire Canoe, Frank Steele, Falls City, Freighter, Genl. Pike, Glenwood, H. S. Allen, H. T. Yeatman, Hermonia, Hamburg, Henry Graff, Henry Clay, Isaac Shelby, Jacob Poe, J. Bissel, Jas. Lyon, Jacob Trabor, Jeannette Roberts, Jemima Whipple, Key Stone, Kate French, Kentucky No. 2, Key West, La Crosse, Montauk, Messenger, Minnesota Belle, Minnesota, Mansfield, Medora, Orb, Oakland, Progress, Red Wing, Reserve, Rosalie, Rocket, Reville, Saracen, Sam Young, Skipper, Time and Tide, Tishemingo, Vixen, Wave, Mt. Deming, White Cloud. Some of these boats ran to Fulton City. There may have been some other boats this season, but in the main the list is correct.

The last boat of the season arrived November 14th; the number of days of navigation was 198; the whole number of boats recorded for the year, 99; and the number of arrivals, 965.

PERIOD OF STATEHOOD TO THE CIVIL WAR.

1858.

Navigation opened earlier this spring than in any former record, on March 25th, the Grey Eagle, Capt. Harris, being the first to arrive.

The Galena, Dubuque, Dunleith, and Minnesota Packet Company's boats were as follows: Grey Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Northern Light, Capt. Preston Lodwick; Key City, Capt. Jones Worden; Milwaukee, Capt. Stephen Hewett; Itasca, Capt. David Whitten; Northern Belle, Capt. J. Y. Hurd; Galena, Capt. W. H. Laughton; War Eagle, Capt. W. H. Gabbert; Ocean Wave, Capt. Scott; Golden Era; and City Belle.

Of these boats the following composed the Prairie du Chien Line: Milwaukee, Capt. Hewett; Itasca, Capt. Whitten; and Ocean Wave, Capt. Scott.

The Northern Line from St. Louis comprised the Canada, Capt. James Ward; Denmark, Capt. R. C. Gray; Henry Clay, Capt. Charles Stephenson; Metropolitan, Capt. Rhodes; Minnesota Belle, Capt. J. B. Hill; Pembina, Capt. Thomas H. Griffith; and W. L. Ewing, Capt. M. Green.

The Minnesota River boats were Frank Steele, Time and Tide, Jeannette Roberts, Isaac Shelby, Fire Canoe, Antelope, Freighter, Clarion, and Wave.

Above St. Anthony were the Enterprise, Capt. Isaac Young; and H. M. Rice, Capt. William Harmon.

The names of the steamboats in the St. Paul trade in 1858 are Adelia, Alhambra, Antelope, Atlanta, Brazil, Canada, Castle Garden, Challenge, Chippewa, City Belle, Clarion, Col. Morgan, Conewago, Casnovia, Denmark, Dew Drop, Envoy, Eolian, Fire Canoe, Frank Steele, Fred Lorenz, Freighter, Galena, Golden Era, Grey Eagle, Hamburg, Hazel Dell, Henry Clay, Isaac Shelby, Itasca, Jacob Trabor, Jas. Lyon, Jas. Raymond, Jeannette Roberts, Keokuk, Key City, Laclede, Lake City, Lucy May, Medora, Metropolitan, Minnesota, Minnesota Belle, Milwaukee, Northern Belle, Northern Light, Oakland, Ocean Wave, Panola, Pembina, Red Wing, Rosalie, Sam Kukman, Tigress, Time and Tide, Vixen, War Eagle, Wave, W. L. Ewing.

The whole number of boats was 62; of arrivals, 1,090. The last boat arrived November 16th, the number of days of navigation having been 236.

1859.

Navigation was opened April 20th by the Key City, Capt. Jones Worden. The Galena, Dubuque, Dunleith & Minnesota Packet Company's boats were the Grey Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Northern Light, Capt. P. Lodwick; Milwaukee, Capt. Stephen Hewett; Ocean Wave, Capt. Scott; Itasca, Capt. D.

STEAMBOAT CANADA.

AT WINONA, LOOKING EAST.

Whitten; Golden Era, Capt. W. H. Laughton; Northern Belle, Capt. J. Y. Hurd; Key City, Capt. Jones Worden; the War Eagle; and others not now remembered.

This year opened with three railroads to the Mississippi: The Illinois Central, Milwaukee & Prairie du Chien, and the Milwaukee & La Crosse. The Packet Company had agreed to run a line of boats to each railroad. The boats running to the Illinois Central were the Grey Eagle, Northern Light, Key City, and some other boats for freight and low water; to the Milwaukee & Prairie du Chien line, the Milwaukee, Itasca, and Ocean Wave; and to the Milwaukee & La Crosse line, the War Eagle, Northern Belle, and Golden Era.

The Northern Line Packet Company ran the following steamboats: Canada, Capt. James Ward; W. L. Ewing, Capt. M. Green; Denmark, Capt. R. C. Gray; Metropolitan, Capt. Thomas B. Rhodes; Minnesota Belle, Capt. J. B. Hill; Pembina, Capt. Thomas H. Griffith; and the Northerner, Capt. Pliny Alford. Some others were added as the season advanced.

The Minnesota River Line included the Frank Steele, Capt. J. R. Hatcher; Favorite, Capt. P. S. Davidson; Eolian; and the Freighter, Capt. John Farmer.

Capt. Robert's Independent Line had the Time and Tide, Capt. Nelson Robert; and the Jeannette Roberts, Capt. F. Aymond.

The enumeration of the boats in the trade is as follows: North Star, Frank Steele, Antelope, Wave, Equator, Berlin, Genl. Pike, Metropolitan, Fred Lorenz, Favorite, St. Louis, Chas. Wilson, Northern Light, Milwaukee, W. L. Ewing, Ocean Wave, Grey Eagle, Itasca, Canada, Minnesota Belle, W. S. Nelson, Chippewa, Golden Era, Lucy May, Denmark, Northern Belle, Isaac Shelby, Northerner, Freighter, Pembina, Bangor, Lake City, Snow Drop, Henry Clay, Conewago, Belfast, Rosalie, Jenny Lind, H. S. Allen, Ben Campbell, Kate Cassel, Vixen, Keokuk, Black Hawk, Hastings, Goody, Friends, Angler, Saxon, Ida, May, New Golden State, Clarima, Time and Tide, Jeannette Roberts, Key City, Chippewa.

The whole number of boats was 54; of arrivals, 808. Navigation closed November 27th, the number of days of navigation having been 222.

1860.

Navigation opened March 28th, with the arrival of the steamer Milwaukee, Capt. John Cochran. The boats of the Galena, Dubuque, Dunleith & Minnesota Packet Company were the Grey Eagle, Milwaukee, Northern Light, Itasca, Key City, War Eagle, Ocean Wave, Northern Belle, Golden Era, Keokuk, Fanny Harris, and Alhambra. They were assigned in the spring as in the following lists; but, owing to complications that developed during the summer, they were badly deranged, and it is probable that I may not be able to follow them during the summer.

The boats that ran from Dubuque, Dunleith, and Prairie du Chien to St. Paul were the Milwaukee, Capt. J. Cochran; Northern Belle, Capt. J. Y. Hurd; Golden Era, Capt. W. H. Laughton; and Ocean Wave, Capt. N. F. Webb.

On the Milwaukee and La Crosse Line were the War Eagle, Capt. J. B. Davis; Keokuk, Capt. E. V. Holcombe; and the Fanny Harris, Capt. W. H. Gabbert.

The Minnesota Packet Company and the Northern Line Packet Company agreed to jointly run the great United States Express from St. Louis to St. Paul, Stillwater, and St. Anthony, to be double daily, and to leave St. Paul as follows:

Northerner, Capt. Alford, Monday morning; Gray Eagle, Capt. Harris, Monday evening; Canada, Capt. J. W. Parker, Tuesday morning; Northern Light, Capt. Lodwick, Tuesday evening; Metropolitan, Capt. J. B. Jenks, Wednesday morning; Itasca, Capt. Whitten, Wednesday evening; Sucker State, Capt. T. B. Rhodes, Thursday morning; Key City, Capt. J. Worden, Thursday evening; Pembina, Capt. J. B. Hill, Friday morning; W. L. Ewing, Capt. J. H. Rhodes, Saturday morning; New Hawkeye State, Capt. R. C. Gray, Saturday evening.

On the Minnesota river were the Favorite, Capt. P. S. Davidson; Frank Steele, Capt. J. R. Hatcher; the Antelope; and probably others.

In the summer of 1859 the Milwaukee & La Crosse Railroad was so unfortunate as to have to go into court in Milwaukee, and the court appointed Mr. Hans Crocker of Milwaukee, Receiver. Mr. E. H. Goodrich was placed in charge of the road, and Mr. Harvey Rumsey was agent at La Crosse. The business of the boats appeared to be prosperous, and these gentlemen, through Mr. Rumsey, asked the writer for an interest in

STEAMBOAT SUCKER STATE.

At Winona, looking east.

the business. This proposition was duly presented to the directors of the Packet Company and was respectfully declined. These gentlemen finally invited Capt. W. F. Davidson to send down his boats, the Favorite and Frank Steele (which had been shut out of the Minnesota river by low water), to La Crosse, stating that they would give him the business of the railroad. Capt. Davidson promptly accepted this very promising invitation.

The freight was transferred to Capt. Davidson, which had been consigned to the Minnesota Packet Company; and a ticket agent was put on the cars to take up the tickets for the old line and to give new ones for the Davidson boats. This action of the representatives of the court, in breaking a written contract without cause, created the natural result in such cases, and the present writer and Mr. J. R. Jones, the Secretary of the Packet Company, were directed to make them put the business back on the Packet Company's boats. Believing the best way to do that was to make the fight sharp from the start, we made the passage for all persons from above La Crosse to Milwaukee and Chicago three dollars and fifty cents, and the rate for all grain shipped from above La Crosse to Milwaukee and Chicago four cents per bushel; and we announced that all freight from Milwaukee and Chicago to points above La Crosse would be carried free on the Packet Company's boats. The price for passage from points above La Crosse to Milwaukee and Chicago was soon made one dollar, which made the trustees of the bondholders of the railroad call upon the court to know what was being done with the road. In making answer, the court, as in duty bound, ordered Mr. Hans Crocker to restore the business of the railroad to the Packet Company's boats according to the contract.

There were some other boats in the upper river trade this season, including, I think, the Henry Clay, Capt. Charles Stephenson. This summer's business started with a good class of boats, especially from St. Louis to St. Paul, the best that ever ran in the trade of the upper river. The Hawkeye State and Sucker State were new, and they all were in good shape; but the demoralization caused by the men in charge of the Milwaukee & La Crosse Railroad prevented anything like a profitable season. It, however, furnished some excitement for railroads, steamboats, and the public for about sixty days.

Navigation closed about November 23rd. The number of arrivals at St. Paul was 776; the number of boats, 45; and the season of open navigation, 240 days.

1861.

Navigation was opened April 8th, by the arrival of the Ocean Wave, Capt. N. F. Webb. The La Crosse Line ran the Keokuk, Capt. E. V. Holcombe; Northern Belle, Capt. W. H. Laughton; and Ocean Wave, Capt. N. F. Webb.

The St. Paul, Prairie du Chien, Dubuque & Dunleith Line ran the Milwaukee, Capt. John Cochran; Golden Era, Capt. W. H. Gabbert; War Eagle, Capt. Charles L. Stephenson; and Itasca, Capt. J. Y. Hurd.

The St. Louis, St. Paul & Stillwater Line ran the Northerner, Capt. P. Alford; Pembina, Capt. Thos. B. Hill; Metropolitan, Capt. Thos. B. Buford; Sucker State, Capt. T. B. Rhodes; Canada, Capt. J. W. Parker; W. L. Ewing, Capt. J. H. Rhodes; Grey Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Northern Light, Capt. John B. Davis; Key City, Capt. J. Worden; Hawkeye State, Capt. R. C. Gray; Henry Clay, Capt. C. B. Gall; and Denmark, Capt. J. J. Robinson.

The Davidson Line to La Crosse ran the Frank Steele, Capt. W. F. Davidson; Favorite, Capt. P. S. Davidson; and Winona, Capt. J. R. Hatcher.

The Minnesota River boats were the Albany, City Belle, Jeannette Roberts, Antelope, and Ariel.

The following were transient boats: Fred Lorenze, Fanny Harris, La Crosse, and Alhambra.

The Grey Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris, was sunk at the Rock Island bridge at five o'clock P. M., May 9th, in going down stream heavily loaded with wheat and a large number of passengers. The steamer and cargo were a total loss. Capt. Harris, who had run the river and rapids so successfully for so many years, was standing at the wheel with his pilot, with the utmost confidence in the Grey Eagle's making the passage of the bridge. He was so hurt in his pride as a successful boatman, that he abandoned the river forever and sold his stock. On the 22nd day of June, the writer, under contract, shipped on board the War Eagle and Northern Belle, the First Minnesota Regiment for Washington, D. C., under the command of Col. Gorman.

Navigation closed November 28th; the number of arrivals was 972; and the season of open navigation, 233 days.

1862.

The years 1861-2 made a great many changes in the personnel of the old Galena and Minnesota Packet Company. Capt. D. S. Harris had sunk his great favorite steamboat on the Rock Island bridge and sold his stock. Mr. J. R. Jones was appointed United States Marshal of the northern district of Illinois, and removed to Chicago. Mr. James Carter also removed to Chicago. Mr. Henry Corwith also sold his stock. The writer also had removed to St. Paul.

The spring of 1862 found Mr. B. H. Campbell and Nathan Corwith as the principal owners in this Company, with Capt. Orren Smith, R. S. Harris and Meeker Harris in the active management. The summer business opened in the spring with some arrangements that surprised some of us who had not had time to attend the meeting in the winter of 1861-2. The first thing that challenged the attention of the writer was the advertisement of the Davidson Line from La Crosse to St. Paul, with the War Eagle, Northern Belle, and Moses McClellan as the regular boats, under direction of Capt. W. F. Davidson, President, and Capt. W. H. Rhodes as agent. It thus appeared that Capt. Davidson had two of our boats in his line, himself being in control of the line. On inquiry it was found that Capt. Davidson had organized a new company, that the old company owned one-half of the stock, and that Capt. Davidson was to run it. In addition, the boat store of R. S. & Meeker Harris was, on the opening of navigation, removed to St. Paul. This business was doing so beautifully well, that during the summer Messrs. B. H. Campbell and Nathan Corwith took authority to sell off the stock of the old Company, which they did forthwith, and called a meeting of the stockholders to ratify the sale, which was done notwithstanding the protest of the minority of the stock. The minority holders took their money and gracefully retired. The final result of these two *honorable* transactions was that Capt. Davidson became the owner of all the steamboats of the old line, very much to the disgust of the men who had made these sharp bargains without the consent of their old associates.

It was found in the fall of 1862 that St. Paul was not a good place for a boat store, and the remnants of the stock were removed down the river again.

The opening of navigation was April 18th, with the arrival of the Keokuk, Capt. J. R. Hatcher. The Davidson Line to La Crosse consisted of the Moses McClellan, Capt. Martin; Northern Belle, Capt. W. H. Laughton; and Keokuk, Capt. J. R. Hatcher.

The St. Paul, Prairie du Chien, Dubuque & Dunleith Line had the Milwaukee, Capt. E. V. Holcombe; Itasca, Capt. J. Y. Hurd; War Eagle, Capt. N. F. Webb; Northern Light, Capt. W. H. Gabbert; Key City, Capt. Jones Worden; Alhambra, Capt. William Faucett; and probably some others.

The St. Louis & St. Paul or Northern Line ran the Sucker State, Capt. James Ward; Denmark; Canada; Hawkeye State; and Northerner, Capt. P. Alford. The steamboat Davenport was added to this line in 1863.

The Minnesota River steamers were the Frank Steele, Favorite, Jeannette Roberts, and probably some others.

Navigation closed November 15th, the season of open navigation having been 212 days. I think that the boats named did most of the business this season.

There are many persons whose names should be mentioned in this paper for their long and faithful service in connection with this history of the navigation of the upper Mississippi river. I only regret that in the nature of the case I shall omit many that are justly entitled to a record here. I am entirely dependent upon my memory for those that are named, as there is no record for reference.

Among the clerks who were employed on the boats of the Packet Company, I remember, with the greatest pleasure and high respect, Messrs. Daniel V. Dawley, John H. Maitland, John Brooks, John S. Pym, A. C. Monfort, Geo. R. Melville, Robert Melville, Chas. T. Hinde, Ed. Halliday, George A. Hamilton, George S. Pierce, John Cochran, Mr. Cooley, Joseph D. Du Bois, Geo. C. Blish.

The pilots are also among the responsible and courageous men on a steamboat who should always be remembered with the highest respect. No one knows better the obligation that all souls on board a steamboat are under to them than the man on watch on the deck with them, in dark and stormy

STEAMBOAT DAVENPORT.

At Winona, looking east.

weather. Among this class of men I am gratified to be able to remember, among my early acquaintances, Moro and De Mara, the French pilots at Prairie du Chien, for their faithful service; and, with these and in later years, Pleasant Cormack, William White, John Arnold, Joseph Armstrong, John King, Rufus Williams, E. A. West, E. V. Holcombe, Hiram Beadle, William Cup, Jerome Smith, Henry Gilpatrick, T. G. Dreming, William Tibbles, Jackson Harris, Stephen Hanks, Stephen Dalson, Charles Manning, Peter Hall, George Nicholas. Many of these men worked during many years for the Packet Company. I deeply regret that my memory does not reach the others.

STATISTICS.

Below are given, in regular succession, the dates of the earliest steamboat arrivals as furnished by Mr. Philander Prescott, the interpreter at the Indian Agency at Fort Snelling, from 1844 to 1849, and as given in the St. Paul newspapers after 1849:

1844.	Otter	Capt. D. S. Harris	April 6.
1845.	Otter	Capt. D. S. Harris	April 6.
1846.	Lynx	Capt. J. Atchison	March 31.
1847.	Cora	Capt. J. Throckmorton	April 7.
1848.	Senator	Capt. D. S. Harris	April 7.
1849.	Highland Mary	Capt. Atchison	April 9.
1850.	Highland Mary	Capt. Atchison	April 19.
1851.	Nominee	Capt. O. Smith	April 4.
1852.	Nominee	Capt. O. Smith	April 16.
1853.	West Newton	Capt. Harris	April 11.
1854.	Nominee	Capt. Blakeley	April 8.
1855.	War Eagle	Capt. D. S. Harris	April 17.
1856.	Lady Franklin	Capt. M. E. Lucas	April 18.
1857.	Galena	Capt. Laughton	May 1.
1858.	Grey Eagle	Capt. D. S. Harris	March 25.
1859.	Key City	Capt. J. Worden	April 20.
1860.	Milwaukee	Capt. Cochran	March 28.
1861.	Ocean Wave	Capt. N. F. Webb	April 8.
1862.	Keokuk	Capt. Hatcher	April 18.

The number of arrivals each year were as follows: 1844, 41; 1845, 48; 1846, 24; 1847, 47; 1848, 63; 1849, 85; 1850, 104; 1851, 119; 1852, 171; 1853, 235; 1854, 310; 1855, 536; 1856, 759; 1857, 965; 1858, 1,090; 1859, 802; 1860, 776; 1861, 772; 1862, 846.

The average close of navigation was about November 22nd; and the average number of days of navigation, 222.

All persons who read this history of forty years of steamboat commerce in Minnesota will agree with me that there must have been an immense amount of valuable material that has been left out of the record, which would be very interesting. No one can be more painfully aware of that fact than I am. I have known almost every man named in the list of boatmen that I have given, have taken them by the hand, and their persons come back in very familiar form to my recollection, but they are nearly all gone; very few are left, and those are of the younger men that came into the trade as I left it.

Those that are gone have left no record, although some of them spent a lifetime in the business. There is but one of my corporate associates of the Packet Company left, and but very few of the employees; and they are the younger men who came in at about the time I was retiring, thirty-five years ago. All are gone, and there is no one that can supply what has been forgotten. I am gratified that I have been able to preserve so much.

The plates accompanying this paper, prepared from photographs, show some of the principal steamboats of the early commerce of the Mississippi river. On these and the other steamboats whose records appear in the foregoing pages, the majority of the immigrants during these early years of the Territory and State came to Minnesota.

Many of my readers may regard this as a sudden end of the history of steamboating in Minnesota.

It is not an agreeable thing to relate the events that followed the summer of 1862; but on the whole I am tempted to say a word or two. Capt. W. F. Davidson entered into an arrangement with the old Galena Company, which finally resulted in his becoming the owner of the stock of that company. The construction of railroads caused him to send some of his boats to St. Louis, which, as a matter of course, brought him into competition with the Northern Line and with the St. Louis and Keokuk Line.

Captain Davidson finally held a controlling interest in all the business on the river above St. Louis. But the holders of a large portion of the stock of the Northern Line became dissatisfied, and applied to the court for a receiver to manage the business, by which Capt. Davidson was compelled to fight for

his property. This took so long that the boats and barges were worn out before he again got possession (to say nothing of the cost of litigation). The business was ruined; his health was broken; and the remnants of what had been a grand industry, building up the commerce of the Northwest, were destroyed.

In conclusion, I regard it as appropriate to notice some of the oldest and earliest boatmen in the commerce of the Upper Mississippi, by adding the following:

OBITUARIES.

Captain David G. Bates. The first trace that I can find of Capt. Bates is when he was going into the lead mines on a keel-boat, with a crew of Frenchmen, in the summer of 1819. In 1822 he engaged in Indian trade and smelting near Dubuque. In 1824 he went to St. Louis and bought the steamboat Rufus Putnam, on which he came to Fort Snelling in 1825. Later he built the Galena, and is reported to have visited the Fort with her in 1828. He was a genial gentleman; was born in Virginia; died November 22, 1850, aged fifty-eight years; and was buried in the old cemetery on the hill in Galena.

Captain Joseph Throckmorton was born June 16, 1800, in Monmouth county, New Jersey. As a lad he entered into mercantile business in a house in New York. Later, in company with others, he purchased the steamboat Red Rover on the Ohio. She was sunk, but was finally raised and taken to St. Louis, and was employed in the Galena trade about 1830. In company with Capt. George W. Atchison, he built the Winnebago and employed her in the Galena trade until 1832, when he built the Warrior in Pittsburgh, which had a barge that she towed for the accommodation of passengers. When he was in command of her, the Black Hawk War broke out. She was chartered to take troops and supplies to the Bad Axe battle ground, and she took an active part in that battle. Capt. Throckmorton continued on the upper Mississippi river, and in 1835 built the steamboat St. Peter, in 1836 the steamboat Ariel, in 1837 the Burlington, and in 1842 the General Brooke.

In 1845 he sold the Brooke to the American Fur Company, and commanded the Company's steamer Nimrod; but, after purchasing the Cecilia, he relinquished his command. In 1848 he purchased the Cora, and was in command of her a year or two, being succeeded by Capt. O'Gorman, and then engaged in the insurance business at St. Louis. He returned to his former occupation as steamboat captain and built the Genoa and commanded her until 1856; in 1857 he built the Florence; and in 1864 the Montana. In 1868 he purchased the Columbia and ran her in the St. Louis and Fort Benton trade, subsequently made several trips in the Illinois trade with the Illinois Packet Company, and finally sold the Columbia to the Arkansas River Packet Company. During the last two years of his life he was in the employ of the United States under Col. Macomb on the upper Mississippi river. He died in December, 1872.

This sketch is taken from Scharf's "History of St. Louis City and County."

Captain Daniel Smith Harris was born at Cartwright, Delaware county, New York, July 24, 1808. His father, James Harris, moved to Connecticut and finally to Cincinnati, Ohio. From Cincinnati he removed with Dr. Moses Meeker on the keel-boat Col. Bomford to Galena, Ill., in 1823. The family were descended from Mayflower Pilgrims. Mr. Harris was engaged with Dr. Meeker in erecting his lead furnace in Galena, and during the doctor's absence had charge of his business. The foregoing pages give the personal history of the Harris brothers, and it need not be repeated here.

D. S. Harris married, May 22, 1833, Miss Sarah M. Langworthy, sister of Mrs. Capt. Orren Smith, and sister of the brothers James, Lucius, and Solon Langworthy, early and well known settlers in the mines and Dubuque. Mrs. Harris died on the island of Cuba, January, 1850. He was again married to Miss Sarah Coats in August, 1851. She died February 23, 1886. The children by the first wife were Mrs. M. M. Dodge, Mrs. C. T. Trego of Chicago, Mrs. Amelia C. O'Ferril, Chatfield, Minn., Mrs. T. G. Maupin of Portland, Ore., and D. S. Harris, Jr., of Madrone, Washington; and by the second wife, Mrs. J. V. Hillman, Galena; Mrs. C. F. Taylor of Warren; Mrs. Irene Gillette; Mrs. H. L. Jenks; and Paul Carrington Harris. Captain Harris died March 17, 1893, and was buried in Greenwood Cemetery in Galena.

The following is from the *Dubuque Telegraph:*

CAPTAIN ORREN SMITH, well known to the early settlers of Galena and Dubuque, and in fact along the Upper Mississippi, died October 31, 1881, at the residence of his brother, Sam T. Smith in La Crosse, Wis. Capt. Smith was born in Hamilton county, Ohio, near Cincinnati, in August, 1806, and was over seventy-five years old. Before he was eighteen he emigrated to the lead mine region with Moses Meeker in the capacity of a clerk at Galena or vicinity. After a year or two he engaged in mining with James Langworthy, and they discovered the famous Phelps lode near Hard Scrabble, Wis., since known as Hazel Green. About 1827 he married Miss Mary Ann Langworthy, a sister of the Dubuque Langworthys. In 1833 he removed his family to Dubuque, and still engaged in the lead trade by building a smelting furnace near the Wilson grove, now better known as the William Y. Stewart farm. Two years later he went with Lucius H. Langworthy to spend the winter in Cincinnati. In the spring of 1835 he bought the steamer Heroine and engaged in river commerce. In that and other navigation enterprises, aided by the Langworthys, he was so successful that he commanded and largely owned a number of steamboats in the course of the next twenty years, and was for a long time president of the Minnesota Packet Company. About 1866 he removed to Chicago and engaged in manufacturing and commercial affairs. He returned to Dubuque a year or two ago. His wife died about five months since. One daughter and two sons survive. The remains of the deceased arrived at Dubuque November 1st and were interred November 2nd at Linwood.

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REMINISCENCES OF PERSONS AND EVENTS IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

BY WILLIAM H. KELLEY.

The writer was appointed Actuary of the Historical Society in May, 1858. Disappointed in farming, in the vicinity of Crow river, he had come down to St. Paul in the summer of the year 1856, and obtained a position as book-keeper in the clothing store of G. G. Griswold on Third street, near Cedar street. Early in 1857, the directors of the St. Paul Bridge Company, a company organized to construct the Wabasha street bridge, appointed the late D. A. Robertson managing director; and that gentleman having made known to Mr. Griswold that he wanted some one to be secretary of the Bridge Company, who could also be a clerk to him, Mr. Griswold recommended me to Col. Robertson, and I received the appointment. The financial crash of the year 1857 caused the suspension of work upon the bridge; and it also stopped the sale of city lots, which was Colonel Robertson's business. Therefore I was out of work, and, the position of Actuary of this Society being offered me, it was immediately accepted, having been proposed by Col. Robertson.

The Historical Society then had a small collection of books, and a cabinet containing a few curiosities. An open case of shelves extended across one end of the room, and it was only partly filled with the books. The room was in the capitol, on the Exchange street side.

Soon after the room was open to visitors, a barometer was brought in that had belonged to Nicollet, who came to this country in 1836 and explored the upper Mississippi. The barometer had belonged to the Society for some years, but had

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, September 14, 1896.

been loaned to Mr. William Markoe at the time he made his balloon ascensions. It had been left in charge of the occupants of the room used by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. One of the employees, in relating an amusing anecdote, wanting a cane to help him in his illustration and seeing the barometer in a corner, seized that and broke it in his stampede about the room.

The Society's library included ten volumes of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, which were placed upon the shelves and were consulted by a few visitors. One in particular, Mr. John H. Bowes, found matter that interested him. In the January number of the volume for the year 1856 there was a letter from an Englishman, with the name of Bowes, who had seen copies of the Register in the British Museum, and wished to learn something of his relatives in America, as his ancestor had left the country at the time of the War of the Revolution.

While I was acting as clerk to Col. Robertson, he was collecting material for a work on anthropology. From his library he would select the needed book and dictate, in his own language, such items as applied to the matter, to be put into writing. Then, after my reading it to him, he would make changes in the phraseology in many instances, as the work was intended to be a Cyclopædia of Anthropology. On the day that he had promised to deliver a lecture, the object and date being now forgotten, it was incomplete late in the afternoon and remained unfinished a half hour before the time it was to be delivered. He continued to dictate, his carriage was in readiness, and the lecture was finished and delivered at the hour advertised.

The Rev. Edward D. Neill published his History of Minnesota in 1858. On page 295 is the description of the outfit that was furnished to the men employed by the American Fur Company, about the year 1816, one item being a "three point or triangular blanket." Mr. Neill's attention was called to the statement, and he said it was copied from the reminiscences of Hon. James H. Lockwood of Prairie du Chien. In the second volume of the collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society the original article can be found, with the same statement of a triangular blanket. English Mackinaw blankets were never made triangular. They were of different qualities, the

coarsest having two short black lines woven in a corner of the blanket, and the finest having five short lines. These lines were designated as points, the three point blankets being the quality that traders sold to the Indians. American Mackinaw blankets were first made near Buffalo, N. Y., in 1831, and in these similar points were used to represent the size.

It was the Legislature of 1858 that passed the $5,000,000 Loan Act, and I was employed by Gov. Sibley to number the bonds and coupons and to write in the name of the railroad company to which they were issued, one hundred at a time. Being in Louisville, Ky., at the time when Mr. Chamberlain made his proposal to take one-half of the principal and interest of the large number of the bonds in his possession, and the *Courier-Journal* having alluded to Minnesota as a Republican state that repudiated its bonds, my Minnesota pride was aroused and I prepared from memory a statement showing that the people, without regard to party, were largely in favor of amending the state constitution to admit of their issue, and were nearly unanimous when they voted to repeal the amendment. This statement was published in the *Louisville Commercial.*

Returning to St. Paul shortly afterward, I consulted documents and made a longer article which was published in the *St. Paul Dispatch.* Before the publication, it was shown to the late J. F. Williams, for the correction of any errors it might contain, one statement being that all the judges of the supreme court were in favor of the writ to compel the governor to issue the bonds. The paper being returned without any comment, I was mortified to learn, after it had been published, that Judge Flandrau did not concur in the issue of the writ and had been unjustly accused of favoring it.

Employed as a clerk in the state auditor's office when the railroad bonds were retired, I remember that the agent of Mr. Chamberlain, coming to exchange his old bonds for the new issue, said to Auditor Whitcomb, "Now we will make an application for the other half." The reply was, "You will have to be satisfied with what you have got; we have had to do too much hard work to get it."

August 5th, 1858, the laying of the Atlantic cable between Ireland and Newfoundland was completed. St. Paul, with other cities, celebrated the event on the first day of September;

but the cable ceased to work a few days afterward, and the successful cable was not laid until 1866. The idea of such a celebration by a city only nine years from a wilderness may excuse a condensed account of it made from the *Daily Minnesotian.*

Wednesday was a great day in St. Paul, and one long to be remembered as an occasion when the entire population met together, to celebrate the greatest achievement of science, skill and energy, accomplished by man in this or any other age.

A procession was formed along St. Anthony and Market streets, under the direction of Col. A. C. Jones, who had, for his aids, Andrew J. Whitney, H. M. Slade, Howard Lindsley, Samuel G. Sloan, Chauncey C. Hoffman, William C. Gray, Samuel S. Smoot, John B. Olivier, and Charles Rauch.

The military, consisting of the Pioneer Guards, Lieut. J. F. Roche, the City Guard, Capt. John O'Gorman, and the St. Paul Light Cavalry, Capt. Joseph S. Starkey, formed in front of the City Hall, for the purpose of receiving Governor Sibley, who was accompanied by the other state officers.

The procession was headed by the military above mentioned and the Citizens' Battery, which was a nine-pounder attended by a squad of gunners. Then came the Fire Department, with Charles H. Williams as Chief Engineer, in the following order: Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company, having on the front end of the truck an American flag, and under it a boy, Master John A. W. Foerster, dressed to represent a Yankee sailor, while on the rear end of the truck were an English flag and a miniature British sailor, personated by Master Frankie Day; Hope Engine Company, No. 1, M. Levoy, foreman; Minnehaha, No. 2, H. P. Grant, foreman; and the engine of the Rotary Mill Company.

Following the Fire Department came a series of tableaux illustrating the period of the American Revolution. First were three horsemen abreast. The center rider, personating General George Washington, was Mr. A. M. Carver, dressed in the costume of the Continental Army. On his right hand—emblem of the peace and amity which the era of the telegraph establishes between old foes—was Mr. Thomas A. Dow, dressed in the old British uniform, as Lord Cornwallis; and on the left rode General Putnam represented by Mr. Robert E. J. Miles.

Next came a car, driven by a young man named Grandelmyer, in the citizen dress of 1776. On the car was a Temple of Liberty, in which sat Miss Azlene Allen, a girl of fifteen years, who personified the Goddess of Liberty. On her right hand, one of the Smith sisters, with her eyes bandaged and holding a pair of small scales, personated Justice; and her sister, on the left of the Goddess, with a book in her hand, represented Genius.

On the same car, immediately behind the Temple, was a tableau dedicated to the memory of Benjamin Franklin F. M. Ramaley was dressed as the apprentice boy, in the clothes of the period, with a loaf

of bread under each arm; Thomas A. Bingham appeared as Franklin the type-setter; Orville G. Miller personated him as the editor; then, as the patriot, Franklin was represented by H. C. Coates; and, finally, as the foreign ambassador, by Mr. Louis Fisher. One of the old Franklin printing presses, worked by H. I. Vance as pressman, with Stephen Grandelmyer as inker to work the balls, threw off extras during the procession, which were distributed to the crowd. Miss E. L. Dow accompanied this car, riding on horseback, appropriately costumed to represent a lady of the Revolutionary period.

Following was a car whereon were several bookbinders, representing different stages of their work. Then came sixty or seventy boys on horseback, as an escort to a carriage containing President Buchanan and Queen Victoria. Our president was represented in the person of Master George Folsom, and we doubt if the "Sage of Wheatland" himself ever looked more grave and dignified. Queen Victoria was represented by Miss Rosa Larpenteur (the first child born here after the town site of St. Paul was laid out in 1847).

Next was a floral car bearing seventeen young girls, representing a May party. Following came four wagons on which were tableaux representing the Four Seasons.

Right after these came the Car of States, drawn by six white horses, and containing thirty-two young ladies, dressed in white, emblematical of the thirty-two states of the Union, in the order of their adoption of the Constitution or date of admission, as follows:

Delaware, Miss Helen Sibley;
Pennsylvania, Miss Lilly Mortimer;
New Jersey, Miss Olivia Brooks;
Georgia, Miss Hattie Tilden;
Connecticut, Miss Helen Shaw;
Massachusetts, Miss Emma Kelley;
Maryland, Miss Sarah Cavender;
South Carolina, Miss Emma Judson;
Virginia, Miss Mary Lanpher;
New Hampshire, Miss Gertie Burbank;
New York, Miss Mary Welch;
North Carolina, Miss Lizzie Wilson;
Rhode Island, Miss Anna Brennan;
Vermont, Miss Dora Gardner;
Kentucky, Miss Jeannette Roberts;
Tennessee, Miss Mary Lewis;
Ohio, Miss Rosa Collins;
Louisiana, Miss Isabella Wollam;
Indiana, Miss Lizzie Amidon;
Mississippi, Miss Addie Dean;
Illinois, Miss Alice Morrison;
Alabama, Miss Jane Hamilton;
Maine, Miss Frances Illingworth;
Missouri, Miss Annie Gibbens;
Arkansas, Miss Rosilla Turnbull;
Michigan, Miss Mary Grindall;
Florida, Miss Sarah Painter;
Texas, Miss Florence Pratt;
Iowa, Miss Delvia Cazeau;
Wisconsin, Miss Josephine Kelley;
California, Miss Rose Painter;
Minnesota, Miss Helen F. Kelley (five years old).

When the procession halted, the Car of States was in front of the City Hall, and while the firemen and the military were encircling each other in dense order in front of it, someone in the car held up before the people the child representing Minnesota, when three of the loudest

cheers went up, which so frightened Minnesota that she took refuge in the lap of Massachusetts.

The last division of the procession was made up of Odd Fellows and other societies.

Short speeches were made by Col. Jones, by Gov. Sibley, and by Gen. Emerson, who was chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, and Acting Mayor;—Mayor Kittson being out of the city.

The exercises at the park, after the introductory remarks by Gen. Emerson, were the singing, by the girls in the car, of the "Telegraph Song" to the tune of "America;" then a speech by Ex-Governor Gorman, which was followed by the band playing the "Star Spangled Banner;" and then Ex-Governor Ramsey delivered the principal speech for the day. A few remarks in German were made by Mr. Samuel Ludvigh; and the singing of "Hail Columbia" closed the proceedings.

An illumination and fireworks had been planned for the evening; the former was successfully carried out, but rain prevented the latter.

Minnesota having been admitted into the Union on May 11th, 1858, the state officers were sworn in on the 24th of that month. Early in September, the Auditor of State having selected the room occupied by the Historical Society for his office, the collection was removed to a small room at the end of the right hand side of the hall that led to the Cedar street entrance to the capitol, and was closed from the public.

Mr. Alfred J. Hill was the only person who took any interest in the collection after the room was closed. He was a topographical draughtsman, and was probably employed at that time in the Land Department of the state. He was a man well informed on a variety of subjects. His fondness for gardening led him to plant many trees and shrubs to test their ability to live in our climate. So few proved hardy that he invited friends to visit his garden to see his failures. His interest in the Historical Society continued until his enlistment in the Sixth Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers, in August, 1862.

My acquaintance with the Rev. E. D. Neill commenced at the time of my appointment as Actuary of the Historical Society. When the First Regiment was ordered to join the Army of the Potomac, Mr. Neill was appointed chaplain, and on the 22d of June, 1861, he marched with it down Third street to the levee, where steamboats were ready to convey it on its way to Washington. After his return to St. Paul, some years after the war was over, whenever we met he always had something to say that was of interest. On one occa-

sion, when he had a small church at Macalester, he was met walking in from there, and after his usual greeting, he pointed to a small wooden building, about a mile from where we were standing, and said it was his cathedral. Mr. Neill was well known as an educator, a historian, and a public spirited citizen, as well as a minister; and no grand cathedral, of any size or age, ever sheltered a more devoted worshipper than the clergyman of the cathedral on the prairie.

The organization of the St. Paul Library Association, in the autumn of 1863, led the writer to make an effort to awaken an interest in the Historical Society so far as to have its collection placed in charge of the Association. The act allowing five hundred dollars a year to the Society had been left out of the Revised Statutes, but had never been repealed; and both organizations would be benefitted if the allowance could again be obtained. The late D. A. Robertson entered into the project with his usual spirit, and through his efforts the Historical Society was revived, the collection was removed to one of the rooms of the Association, and it was not necessary to put it in charge of the Library Association in order to obtain pecuniary aid. The Society allowed a yearly rent of one hundred and twenty-five dollars, besides ten dollars a month to the Association's librarian for keeping the collection open to the public at such hours as the Association's library was open. Some of the early members of the Society took an active part; and the addition of new members, with the election of Charles E. Mayo as secretary, gave an impetus to the increase of the collection that has continued to the present time.

In my being associated with Rev. John Mattocks on the St. Paul school board for five years, he was found to be all that his friends have said of him; and at times I saw the boy side of the man, which is perhaps the real man, as the every-day work of life makes us artificial and we have to be on our dignity. I was sitting by his side on the occasion of the closing exercises of the Franklin School, previous to the summer vacation, while a pupil was demonstrating a problem in algebra on the blackboard. On my asking him whether he understood what the boy was doing, his reply was, "Not a word of it," with an expression on his face as if he appreciated the joke of members of a school board attending exercises of which they knew nothing.

In December, 1864, General Le Duc, while stationed at Chattanooga, sent home to the Historical Society various articles that he thought might be of sufficient interest to be preserved in its cabinet. At the meeting when they were presented by Mr. Driscoll, of the *St. Paul Press*, there were present, with others, Rev. Mr. Mattocks and Rev. Dr. Sterling Y. McMasters. One of the specimens, resembling some kind of mineral, was handed to Mr. Mattocks for examination, as he was chairman of the committee on mineralogy. Placing his spectacles in position, he scrutinized the article and remarked, "Its formation resembles granite, but it is very light and has evidently been under the action of fire. It is so very light that it would float on water, if it had a large chip under it." Then, passing it to Dr. McMasters, he waited attentively for his remarks upon the subject. Without much apparent examination, his comments were something as follows: "The formation is evidently porphyritic gneiss, its porousness indicates volcanic action, and that action has produced a pumice. It is a valuable specimen and of high interest, as coming from a section of the country where volcanic action has long since ceased to exist. It is of as much interest to the geologist as the remains of the Mastodon or the Plesiosaurus, as it was undoubtedly in existence long before those extinct monsters were created." At this point he was interrupted by Mr. Mattocks, who asked for the reading of the letter that came with the specimen. It began as follows: "This piece of corn bread was brought to Atlanta by an exchanged Union prisoner, and is declared by him to be the full daily ration issued to the prisoners."

The growth of the society's collection requiring more time than Mr. Mayo could devote to it, Mr. J. Fletcher Williams was elected secretary on January 21, 1867; and, a suitable room having been prepared in the basement of the capitol, the library and cabinet were removed there in November, 1868.

FORT SNELLING FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY GEN. RICHARD W. JOHNSON.

That portion of Minnesota lying west of the Mississippi river was acquired by the Louisiana purchase of December 20, 1803. Thomas Jefferson was president of the United States at that time, and took steps to bring it under the authority of the general government. To this end Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike was detailed to visit this region, drive out the British traders, and make alliance with the Indians.

Pike ascended the Mississippi river in a batteau in the month of September, 1805, and arrived on the 21st of September at the trading house of J. B. Faribault, believed to have been under the bluff a short distance below the present site of Mendota. On September 23d he held a council with the Sioux where the town of Mendota now stands, and obtained from them a grant of land embracing 100,000 acres, which Pike valued at $200,000. This land was to be used for military purposes. There seems to have been nothing paid for this large tract of land except $200 worth of presents and 60 gallons of whiskey.

It was designed to establish a military post at the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peter rivers, but for various reasons it was delayed. Among those reasons was the war of 1812-'15 with England. The planting of Selkirk's colony on the northern border of the United States called attention to it again, and resulted in an order issued by the Commanding General of the Army for the concentration at Detroit, Michigan, of the Fifth Infantry, preparatory to its transfer, under the command of Lieut. Col. Henry Leavenworth, to the junction of the two rivers named, for the purpose of establishing a military post in that vicinity.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, March 8, 1897.

After a long and tedious journey, Leavenworth and his command arrived some time in September, 1819, and debarked on the Mendota side of the Minnesota (St. Peter) river, where a cantonment was formed for occupation during the winter of 1819-20. There are some reasons for believing that it was the intention of Leavenworth to place permanent improvements on or near the site of his cantonment; but in the spring of 1820 the river, which had been held in icy chains for months, was unloosed by the floods, and an overflow of the cantonment was threatened. Securing all the boats possible, Col. Leavenworth transported the command across the river and pitched his tents near the spring from which the present garrison obtains its supply of water. This camp was called "Camp Cold Water."

It was not a difficult matter to determine where the permanent post should be erected, as nature had fortified two sides of it; and so upon this projecting point the work of construction began. Col. Leavenworth designated it "Fort St. Anthony." All the materials used in its construction were gathered by the soldiers, who performed all of the labor necessary to house themselves, the officers, and the public stores. A saw mill was established at the Falls of St. Anthony, where was manufactured all the lumber used in the construction of the fort. The first federal grand jury ever assembled in the Territory of Minnesota on the west side of the Mississippi river convened in this old mill, and the late Franklin Steele was foreman thereof.

I have in my possession an old military map showing the location of all United States forts in 1840. At that date Fort Snelling was the most extreme northwestern point occupied by white men. All west of a north and south line running through that point was then an unexplored country, known only to the Indians. The Census of 1890 shows a population of ten millions of people west of that line. What growth in a period of fifty years! Away beyond that line cities have been built, churches erected, schools and colleges established; and far beyond all these the reaper is heard in the season of harvest on every plain and in every valley. The iron horse inflates his lungs on the Atlantic seaboard and rushes onward with the rapidity of the winds, through mountain passes, over hills, along the valleys, and in six days quenches his thirst in the

blue waters of the Pacific ocean. Contrast this with the time it took Col. Leavenworth to bring his command from Detroit, at the rate of twenty-five miles a day, and we can form some idea of our country's development in the means of transportation.

Before the work on the fort was completed, Col. Leavenworth was promoted to another regiment, and Col. Snelling succeeded him. Gen. Winfield Scott visited the fort, and was so pleased with the energy and activity with which Col. Snelling had pushed forward the work of construction that he recommended that the post be called "Fort Snelling," in honor of its builder. Gen. Scott's recommendation was approved, and an order was issued to that effect in 1824.

Let us consider the conditions surrounding this remote station at that time. The country was occupied by large bands of Indians, and the troops were constantly on the alert to avoid surprise and consequent massacre. There were no settlements north or west; those on the south and east were many miles away, and were separated from the fort by an immense district occupied and roamed over by numerous tribes of warlike savages. Surrounded as we are to-day by every comfort and convenience, can we conceive of the desolation, destitution, and loneliness of those early military pioneers? They had no libraries, no lectures, no churches, no amusements outside of themselves, and only an occasional mail, by no means regular. If those old walls could only speak, how many tales they could tell of joy and sorrow!

Joseph R. Brown and James McClellan Boal came to the fort as drummer boys with Col. Leavenworth's command. Both of these men were known to most of the members of this society. The former, by self-education, became one of the most forcible political writers of his day. For some time he was the editor of the *St. Paul Pioneer*, and his writings, full of thought, concise in diction, were eagerly looked for and read with pleasure and profit. The latter was usually called McBoal. He was a man of character and influence in his day and generation. McBoal street in St. Paul was named for him, and thus the error in his name is perpetuated.

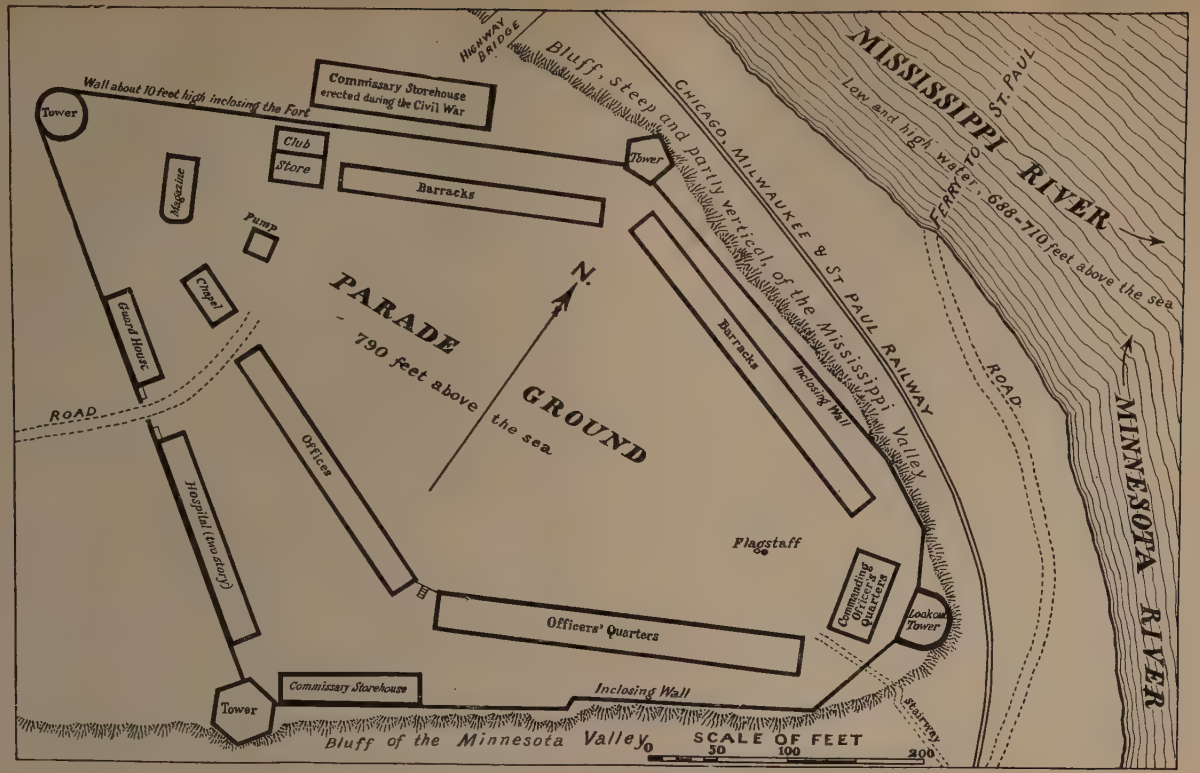
For security against a sudden attack from Indians, the buildings were surrounded by a high stone wall, as shown on

the accompanying map kindly furnished me by Capt. Arthur Williams, Third U. S. Infantry. Through these walls were loop-holes for firing from within in case of an assault. In the west corner a round house was erected, which still stands, and through its vine-clad walls can be seen the loop-holes and other arrangements for defense. The stone walls were removed a few years since, and thus some of the old landmarks connected with Fort Snelling were destroyed by the vandalism of civilization.

I am indebted to the Adjutant General of the army for the following list of the commanding officers of Fort Snelling from the establishment of the post in 1819 to May 27, 1858, when the troops were withdrawn:

Commanding Officers, 1819 to 1858.

Lieut. Colonel Henry Leavenworth, from September, 1819, to June, 1821.
Colonel Josiah Snelling, 5th Inf., June, 1821, to May, 1825.
Captain Thomas Hamilton, 5th Inf., to June, 1825.
Lieut. Colonel Willoughby Morgan, 5th Inf., to December, 1825.
Colonel J. Snelling, 5th Inf., to November, 1827.
Major J. H. Vose, 5th Inf., to May 24, 1828.
Lieut. Colonel Zachary Taylor, 1st Inf., to July 12, 1829.
Captain J. H. Gale, 1st Inf., to May 28, 1831.
Captain W. R. Jouett, 1st Inf., to October 1, 1832.
Lieut. Jefferson Vail, 1st Inf., to May 30, 1833.
Major John Bliss, 1st Inf., to May 9, 1836.
Lieut. Colonel William Davenport, 1st Inf., to July 15, 1837.
Captain Martin Scott, 5th Inf., to August 20, 1837.
Captain Joseph Plympton, 5th Inf., to January 26, 1841.
Captain C. S. Sibley, 5th Inf., to September 30, 1841.
Captain Seth Eastman, 1st Inf., to November 22, 1841.
Major Greenleaf Dearborn, 1st Inf., to June 8, 1843.
Captain Electus Backus, 1st Inf., to October 24, 1843.
Lieut. Colonel Henry Wilson, 1st Inf., to May 7, 1844.
Captain E. Backus, 1st Inf., to August 21, 1844.
Lieut. Colonel Henry Wilson, 1st Inf., to September 18, 1844.
Captain S. Eastman, 1st Inf., to October 26, 1844.
Captain E. Backus, 1st Inf., to September 21, 1845.
Major G. Dearborn, 1st Inf., to April 24, 1846.
Captain S. Eastman, 1st Inf., to May 14, 1846.
Major J. B. Clark, 1st Inf., to March 31, 1847.
Captain S. Eastman, 1st Inf., to September 30, 1848.
Captain J. B. S. Todd, 6th Inf., to November 16, 1848.
Captain Samuel Woods, 6th Inf., to June 21, 1849.
Lieut. Colonel Gustavus Loomis, 6th Inf., to February 22, 1850.



FORT SNELLING.

From a survey and draft by CAPT. ARTHUR WILLIAMS, Third U. S. Infantry. The buildings of the fort and the inclosing wall are shown as they were before the Civil War. The railway was built later, in 1865, and the highway bridge in 1879. The fort wall has been removed, excepting a few feet of extent at the points adjoining the round tower. The buildings designated by *Italics* have also been torn down; but the others remain and are used as dwellings and storehouses at this date (1898).

Captain Samuel Woods, 6th Inf., to May 20, 1850.
Captain James Monroe, 6th Inf., to June 29, 1850.
Lieut. R. W. Kirkham, 6th Inf., to September 25, 1850.
Lieut. Thomas Hendrickson, 6th Inf., to May 31, 1851.
Lieut. Colonel Francis Lee, 6th Inf., to May 4, 1853.
Lieut. W. T. Magruder, 1st Dragoons, to June 27, 1853.
Lieut. Colonel Francis Lee, 6th Inf., to July 4, 1853.
Captain T. W. Sherman, 3rd Artillery, to October 19, 1853.
Lieut. Colonel Francis Lee, 6th Inf., to June 23, 1854.
Captain T. W. Sherman, 3rd Artillery, to November 1, 1854.
Lieut. Joseph Stewart, 3rd Artillery, to April 30, 1855.
Captain T. W. Sherman, 3rd Artillery, to October 20, 1855.
Colonel E. B. Alexander, 10th Inf., to June 24, 1856.
Lieut. Colonel C. F. Smith, 10th Inf., to July 13, 1856.
Captain T. W. Sherman, 3rd Artillery, to July 24, 1856.
Major E. R. S. Canby, 10th Inf., to September 10, 1856.
Captain T. W. Sherman, 3rd Artillery, to September 23, 1856.
Major E. R. S. Canby, 10th Inf., to November 28, 1856.
Lieut. Colonel C. F. Smith, 10th Inf., to June 17, 1857.
Captain T. W. Sherman, 3rd Artillery, to June 29, 1857.
Captain J. G. Martin, A. Q. M., to July 31, 1857.
Captain Martin Burke, 2nd Artillery, to October 7, 1857.
Captain H. C. Pratt, 2nd Artillery, to May 27, 1858, when the troops were withdrawn.

The abandonment of the post was due to the fact that Mr. Franklin Steele and others had purchased all the lands included in the reservation with the buildings thereon. A more particular reference to this purchase I will make hereinafter.

I arrived in St. Paul on the fourth day of October, 1849, having ascended the river on board of the little steamer Senator, commanded by Capt. Orren Smith, a man who would not allow his boat to turn a wheel on the Sabbath day. The boat was delayed some hours at St. Paul in order to discharge the freight, and I started out to view the town. The new Territory had been thoroughly advertised, being represented as having already cities of mighty proportions, with a climate equal to that of Italy, so that I expected to find St. Paul second only to New York. Imagine my surprise to find a rough frontier village, containing less than 400 inhabitants, most of whom were housed in one-story buildings, or rather, I should say, in shacks or shanties. In my stroll through the sparsely settled thoroughfares, I happened to step into the office of the *Pioneer*

and met the editor, Mr. James M. Goodhue, whose imagination was vivid enough to predict the future greatness of the city of St. Paul. While in conversation with him, I noticed an old hen sitting on a nest she had made in one corner of his office, and I ventured to ask him if he intended raising his own poultry. He replied, "The old fool is sitting on two brickbats, but should she hatch out a brickyard it will be just what we need, and she will not be for sale at any price."

Hearing the sound of the steamboat bell, I hastened on board, and was soon steaming up the river. About nine o'clock that evening the boat arrived at the foot of the bluff upon which Fort Snelling is situated. I was soon permanently located and became a part and parcel of the garrison.

There were stationed at the fort at that time the following officers whose names are familiar to many of you: Lieut. Col. G. Loomis; Maj. Samuel Woods; Capt. James Monroe; Capt. R. W. Kirkham; Lieuts. Gardiner, Carter, and Wetmore; Lieut. Nelson, who mustered in the state volunteers; Surgeon A. N. McLaren; Chaplain E. G. Gear; and Col. J. H. Stevens, now of Minneapolis, who was associated in business with Franklin Steele. In the following year Mr. J. A. Wheelock, now the able editor of the *Pioneer Press*, joined our circle. These, with the families of Henry H. Sibley, of the American Fur Company, and Franklin Steele, the post sutler, constituted the society at the post. Death has claimed them all except Stevens, Wheelock, and myself.

At that time game in abundance could be found within a mile or so from the fort. In passing from the post to St. Paul I often saw deer, while prairie chickens in great number seemed to cover the country. Not having a shot gun, one beautiful day I loaded a government musket with shot, and with a good dog started out on my first bird-shooting excursion. Soon the intelligent dog came to a dead point. I said, "hie on," when two birds arose, flying about eight feet apart. I shot at one and missed it, but killed the other; and from that day to this I have not gone gunning for prairie chickens. The junction of these rivers was a favorite place for ducks. Gen. Sibley kept account of those he killed in three years, and the sum total was 1,798. I mention these things to show how

abundant was the game until the "pot hunters" came to wage a war of extermination against every kind of animal or bird that could be eaten.

In the early spring of 1849 the Winnebago Indians around Prairie du Chien were removed to their reservation at Long Prairie; but they became dissatisfied with their new surroundings. There is something pleasant to us in the memories of home. There our ancestors lived and died. There their precious dust reposes within the quiet walls of some cemetery, or under the shade of some old ancestral tree; and it is there that we hope some day to return, and again to become familiar with the scenes of our childhood. The Indian being human, his heart is influenced by the same sentiments, the same emotions, which move our own. Is it strange then that he should have the same longing desires that we have? Is it not reasonable that he should wish to return to the home of his childhood and of his early manhood, to see the graves of his ancestors and of his own children, to drink from the same pure fountains, and to visit old and familiar places where he enjoyed the happy days of boyhood? Acting upon this thought, the entire body of these Indians started to return to their old homes. Lieut. Col. Loomis ordered a lieutenant and a small squad of men to proceed to head them off and cause them to return to their reservation. This was done, and they never afterward attempted to return to Prairie du Chien.

In early times Fort Snelling was a valuable post for troops to look after local affairs; but in more recent years, on account of its location and the readiness with which troops can be rapidly despatched by railroad to all points of the compass, its occupancy becomes a necessity. It is idle to entertain the thought of the willingness of the government to relinquish its possession. In 1849 an effort was made by C. K. Smith, the Secretary of the Territory, to have the government establish a western branch of the Military Academy within its walls. Of course the effort failed. Since then many other propositions of like nature have been made, all of which have been refused. As long as we have an army, Fort Snelling will be required for military purposes.

In 1849 the present Reserve township in Ramsey county was included in the military reservation. A report gained cre-

dence that the reservation was to be reduced, and that all that portion on the east side of the river was to be thrown upon the market. As if by magic hundreds of claim shanties went up in a single night. As soon as Col. Loomis found that his territory had been invaded, he ordered a lieutenant in charge of twenty mounted men to proceed to pull down every shanty and to remove the invaders. Henry Jackson, for whom Jackson street in St. Paul was named, caused it to be circulated abroad that if any soldiers came around his shanty to destroy it, or to dispossess him, there would be a fight. The lieutenant therefore approached his possessions with some misgivings, but you can imagine his disappointment when Jackson came out and said, "Lieutenant, I suppose you have come to tear down my house; but, before you do it, come in and have some whiskey." I will not tell you what the lieutenant did, but leave you to infer that he complied with the habits and customs of the country at that time.

As the winter closed in around us in 1849, shutting out all visitors, life in the garrison became very monotonous; but one little event, outside of the regular routine, occurred to vary the sameness of our every-day life. Just outside of the walls of the fort resided Mr. Philander Prescott, connected with the Indian Department as interpreter. His wife was a full-blooded Sioux, by whom he had one or more children. One was a pretty maiden, reasonably well educated. Invitations were extended to the officers and their wives to attend her marriage to Mr. Eli Pettijohn. The ceremony was to take place at eight o'clock in the evening of January 1, 1850. Promptly at the appointed time, I was on hand, taking with me the young lady who afterward became my wife.

Such an assemblage as I met at Mr. Prescott's I never saw before nor since. There was the dignified, venerable Loomis; the elegantly dressed officers, their wives, and daughters; civilized Indians, and Indians not civilized; elaborately dressed women, and women scantily attired. The bride and groom shone out by their elegant and tasteful adornments. She was pretty, as all brides are; and he was happy, as all grooms should be. At the conclusion of the ceremony a sumptuous repast was served; and all departed after wishing the bridal

party a happy voyage over the sea of life, and with the wish that every day might bring such a pleasant occasion.

Philander Prescott was one of the best friends the Indians ever had. He devoted many years of his life to their spiritual and material welfare, but his efforts in their behalf were not appreciated. In the Sioux outbreak in 1862 they killed him; and, severing his head from the body, they placed it on a pole where it was discovered a short time after the commission of the revolting deed. This occurred near the Redwood agency.

Prior to June, 1857, the Fort Snelling reservation had been reduced in area to between 7,000 and 8,000 acres. Franklin Steele on the 6th day of June, 1857, offered to John B. Floyd, then Secretary of War, the sum of $90,000 for the reserve and all the buildings thereon, $30,000 to be paid at the date of purchase, and the balance in equal installments at the end of one and two years. There were quite a number associated with Steele in this purchase, and among them was one Dr. Archibald Graham of Virginia, who, as it afterward became known, represented John B. Floyd. Think of the Secretary of War being a party to such a transaction! With a knowledge of this fact, we are now prepared to understand his conduct in robbing the armories and arsenals of the country and turning their contents over to the southern people to be used against the government which he had sworn to protect and defend against all opposers. Graham, for John B. Floyd, paid no part of the first cash payment, nor was he to pay anything until the profits on sales enabled him to do so. I wish to say that I impute no wrongdoing to Mr. Steele, for he had a perfect right to make the purchase. He paid into the U. S. Treasury $30,000 on July 25, 1857; and on May 27, 1858, the troops were withdrawn, and the fort and reservation were abandoned for all military purposes by the United States government. On July 19, 1858, full possession was given to Mr. Steele.

A member of Congress from Alton, Illinois, by the name of Robert Smith, disappointed in not being a party to the purchase, called for congressional investigation as to the propriety of the government disposing of this vast and valuable tract of land. A committee was appointed, which visited Fort Snelling, and, after a full investigation of all the phases of the case,

reported that it was unwise to dispose of the reservation at that or any other price. Steele from year to year tendered the interest and the annual payments, which were refused; but he was apparently master of the situation, as it is said that "possession is nine points of the law."

When the Civil War began and it became necessary to encamp our volunteers, in this vicinity, Gov. Ramsey and Gen. John B. Sanborn, adjutant general of the state, after considering several locations, decided that Fort Snelling was the most eligible place for a military rendezvous. A conference was had with Mr. Steele, who said he was unwilling to relinquish his hold upon the fort and the reserve to the United States government, but was perfectly willing to let the State of Minnesota occupy it with state troops. Accordingly the first volunteers to take possession were the First Minnesota Regiment, under command of Col. Willis A. Gorman, on April 29, 1861. Subsequently, in September and October, 1861, the Second, Third, and Fourth Minnesota regiments were organized at the fort; the Fifth in March, 1862; and the Sixth in April, 1862. In fact, all of the Minnesota regiments and batteries received their first lessons in the duties of the soldier inside and around the walls of the old fort.

The first regular troops stationed at Fort Snelling after the war were under the command of Capt. R. H. Hall of the Tenth U. S. Infantry. Subsequently the whole of the regiment, or the greater part of it, was concentrated there under the command of Col. E. B. Alexander, Brevet Brigadier General, U. S. Army. He remained in command until he reached the age of retirement, when he located in St. Paul, where he resided till his death, some years ago.

Matters in regard to Mr. Steele's contract remained unsettled long after the war, and to obtain a decision he employed Gen. John B. Sanborn to prosecute his claims. General Sanborn called to see the Secretary of War, Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, and his reply was as follows: "That is one of Floyd's flyblown contracts, and I will have nothing to do with it, unless I am directed to do so by Congress." Sanborn secured the introduction of a bill into the lower house, requiring the Secretary of War to make a satisfactory adjustment of the matter.

The bill was antagonized by Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, then a member of Congress, and was defeated. It was renewed in the next congress, was passed, and commissioners were appointed to arrange the terms of a settlement.

It was decided to set aside for the use of the government, for military purposes, 1,531.29 acres, including all the buildings thereon; and that Steele and those interested with him should have all the other lands embraced in the reservation. The lands deeded to Steele amounted to about sixty-five hundred acres. Allowing interest on the first $30,000 payment, which was tied up for twelve years, it would appear that the cost of the land to Steele and his associates was about $56,000, or in the neighborhood of nine dollars an acre,—a sum far below its true value. Included in this purchase was the land on both sides of Minnehaha creek, embracing Minnehaha Falls, whose beauties have been so well portrayed in verse by Longfellow. It was Mr. Steele's intention, had he lived, to donate the Falls and the lands contiguous thereto to the Twin Cities for a park.

When the lands on the east side of the Mississippi river and opposite the Falls of St. Anthony were thrown open to settlement, about the year 1840, Capt. Joseph Plympton was in command of Ft. Snelling. The information reached him through an official letter received by mail late one evening in winter. He sent for Capt. Martin Scott, to whom he imparted the secret which he thought was known only to himself, and proposed that they should go early on the following morning and make pre-emption claims in that vicinity.

Mr. Steele received the information by the same mail, and although he, too, supposed no one but himself had heard the news, he prudently made up his mind not to wait till morning, but to go at once. Getting a wagon, he loaded it with boards, straw, nails, potatoes and other edibles; and, taking Norman W. Kittson with him, he headed for the Falls, crossing the river on the ice at a point near where the suspension bridge was afterward built. Arriving on the ground about midnight, they hurriedly unloaded the wagon and proceeded to place the boards in such a position as to protect themselves from the intense cold and also to resemble as far as possible a shanty or shack. The straw was placed for bedding; and holes were

made in the snow, and in them potatoes were planted. Then nestling in the straw and covering themselves with buffalo robes, conscious of their high standing as horny-handed sons of toil and genuine tillers of the soil, they slept sweetly and soundly.

Early on the following morning there was an alarm at their door. It proved to have been created by Plympton and Scott. They were invited in and asked to partake of refreshments. While Kittson was preparing breakfast, Steele showed his guests his plantation, calling their particular attention to his field planted with potatoes. Breakfast was soon ready, and was partaken of by four men, two of whom were elated with their success, and two who were chagrined because of their failure to start the night before. Steele proved up his claim and thus it was that the title to the valuable water power passed from the government into his possession.

Probably no decision of the United States Supreme Court has ever been referred to more frequently, or condemned more generally by a part of our people, and commended by some others, than the decision in the Dred Scott case. The parties to the suit resided at Fort Snelling. Dred Scott belonged to Surgeon Emerson, U. S. Army. Emerson purchased from Maj. Taliaferro a negro girl by the name of Harriet. Dred and Harriet were married at the fort in 1836. Their children were Eliza and Lizzie. In 1838 Dr. Emerson was transferred to St. Louis. About that time he sold the four to his brother-in-law, John F. A. Sandford; and soon afterward they brought suit for their freedom, on grounds well known to you all. Having heard so much about the Dred Scott decision, I decided to read it, which I did quite recently. Also I read the opinions of the dissenting justices, and was deeply interested in the arguments of those intellectual giants.

Governor Ramsey, although not of Fort Snelling, often visited the post, and was always gladly welcomed. Well do I remember the first time I met him. He was as straight as an arrow, with dark brown hair, a quick elastic step, and a keen penetrating eye,—a young man. I do not wish to be understood as implying that he is old now; on the contrary, we all know that he is still young, though not quite as young as he was

forty-seven years ago. He called to pay his respects to Major Woods, and was informed by the major that, as governor of the territory, he was entitled, under the Articles of War, to a salute and a review of the troops. Coming, as he had done, from a Quaker settlement, and not having then been Secretary of War, he was not as accustomed to military terms and phrases as he is now; so when Woods asked him if he would review the troops, he declined, and when asked if he would have a salute fired, he also said nay. Woods then said, "Is there anything I can do to show my respect for the chief executive of Minnesota?" Thereupon His Excellency replied, "Have you any hard cider made from corn?" The old brown jug was summoned, and after all hands had refreshed the inner man, the governor was heard to say, "This cider is as good as the Pennsylvania cider made from rye." How glad are we to have him with us this evening! If the people of the state had the power to determine the length of his days, he would rival Methuselah in longevity.

Lieut. Col. Loomis was stationed at Fort Snelling as captain in the Fifth U. S. Infantry in 1835, though not the commander of the post. It was during that year that Rev. Dr. Williamson united in marriage Lieut. E. A. Ogden and the daughter of Captain Loomis. It is stated in Neill's History of Minnesota that this was the first marriage service in which a clergyman officiated in the present State of Minnesota.

The first Presbyterian church in what is now Minnesota was organized inside the walls of this old fort in 1836. By deaths and removals it was lost to the church, but in 1849 another was created and placed on wheels, as it were, for it was moved out to Minnehaha Falls, and then was moved again to Minneapolis, where it was united with the First Presbyterian church of that city.

Col. Loomis was an enthusiastic Christian, and desired all the officers and men under his command to attend divine service at least once every Sabbath. The Articles of War required every commanding officer to endeavor to get those under him to attend church service, but in no case were they to be forced to do so, contrary to their wishes. Sunday morning inspection was always brought to a close at the hour for church. On one

occasion when Col. Loomis had the command in line preparatory to dismissal, he said, "All those who desire to attend church can step two paces to the front." Only a half dozen expressed such a desire, and they were permitted to go. The ranks were closed up, and Loomis said, "Private Powers is a fair reader, and he will read the Articles of War to those who do not wish to go to church." This reading continued long after the benediction had been pronounced. On the following Sabbath the same option was allowed them, when about half of the command stepped to the front and attended church. On the next Sabbath the same routine was gone through; and you can imagine Loomis' surprise and joy at seeing every one step to the front and thereby express a burning desire to join with the Christian people in the worship of God. Loomis did more in two weeks to fill the church edifice with willing hearers of the Word, than could have been accomplished by a half dozen evangelists in twice the length of time.

It seems to me that church discipline was much more severe then than now. One evening a party of us were playing whist, when Loomis came in and took a seat just behind me, so that he could see my hand. I was about to make a lead that his better judgment did not approve of, and he said, "No! no! lead this one," pointing to a certain card. By some means, unknown to me, this little incident was brought to the notice of the church session, and he was called before it for reprimand and discipline.

Among those who have commanded the fort from its establishment to its abandonment, we find many distinguished names. Zachary Taylor, the "Rough and Ready" of the Mexican War, and subsequently president of the United States, was in command as lieutentant colonel from May, 1828, to July, 1829, when he was promoted and took his post at Fort Crawford. Taylor had four daughters, all of whom married in the army. Drs. Randall and Wood each married one; Capt. Bliss, a third; and Lieut. Jefferson Davis secured the remaining one by eloping with her. The young men of to-day would not care to have their prospective fathers-in-law quite so attentive as Taylor was to his prospective sons-in-law. He insisted on being present on the occasion of their visits; and when tattoo

was sounded, he would yawn and say, "It is time for all honest people to be in bed." That meant that the young man had to leave.

Seth Eastman, another commander, while a fine soldier, was an artist of national reputation. It was said that he greatly excelled in painting the portraits of Indians, and that he was the best delineator of Indian character this country has ever produced.

Among others stationed at Fort Snelling at different times, were Canby, the hero of Mobile; Francis Lee, the gallant soldier of the Mexican War; and Woods and Kirkham, who went to the Pacific coast, each making a large fortune by judicious investments in real estate in San Francisco and Oakland.

The names of many who stood loyally by the flag, some of whom sealed with their blood their devotion to our country, might be given.

Some upon whom we relied to stand by the government in the dark, bleak days of 1861, left us and joined in the rebellion against the United States. I will mention three of these. There was Buckner, the vice-presidential candidate in last autumn's campaign, placed in nomination at Indianapolis. Lewis K. Armstead, who fought and fell before the brave First Minnesota Volunteers at Gettysburg, was once a subordinate officer at Fort Snelling. Lieut. W. T. Magruder was also there. When the war began between the North and South, he felt sure that the North would succeed, and not wishing to risk the chance of losing his job, he remained in the Federal army; but after the battle of Bull Run, his mind underwent a change, and he resigned and joined in the rebellion against the government which had educated and prepared him for the duties that might become his in case of a foreign or a domestic war. He was appointed colonel in the Confederate army, and was killed within thirty days after he joined the southern cause.

Mr. Steele got possession of the Fort and the reserve lands in 1858. Business was then at a standstill. The years 1857 to 1859 were very much like the recent years 1893 to 1896. People lost confidence in each other. There were no sales of real estate, and hence Mr. Steele could not dispose of his lands. Not wishing to let them lie idle, he purchased a large herd of

sheep, and actually established a sheep ranch; and in order to have the herd protected at night, it was driven inside the walls and permitted to occupy the houses.

Persons visiting the fort have seen along the sides of the bluff, and in the valley below, a luxuriant growth of what is called wild hemp. It is wild, but when closely analyzed it will be found to be identical with the cultivated Kentucky hemp. It was brought to this country by some of the ladies of the garrison who had caged birds, which they fed on bird seed in which hemp seed formed a part. In cleansing bird cages, the refuse was thrown over the edge of the bluff, where the hemp seed took root and produced seed of its kind, which, borne by the winds and birds to the surrounding country, introduced this species to nearly or quite every part of the state. In rich soil it grows very luxuriantly.

During the war Fort Snelling was a busy and important post. Among the distinguished citizens and officers of the state who were either stationed at the fort or had something to do with its affairs, let me mention our own war governor, Alexander Ramsey, who was the first to offer to President Lincoln troops for the suppression of the rebellion; Generals H. H. Sibley, C. C. Andrews, J. T. Averill, J. H. Baker, and J. W. Bishop; that gallant old hero, Col. William Colvill; with Hubbard, Gorman, Miller, Sanborn, Sully, and many others who earned places in our country's history.

With this distinguished list of gallant men, I must mention that brave soldier, Josias R. King, who was the first man to volunteer in this State, in fact, in the United States. He was mustered in at Fort Snelling as a private in Company A, First Minnesota Volunteers, but was at once appointed first sergeant of his company. His bravery was conspicuous in every battle, and he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel, honoring every grade through which he passed. After the war he was appointed inspector of the State Guard, with the rank of brigadier general. It may be safely affirmed that King shed the first blood in the Union cause. It was in this wise. The position of the first sergeant when the company is in line is in rear of his captain. The captain, Alex. Wilkin, was small in stature, but a giant in courage. When King was in his proper

place, he could look over the head of the captain and see his feet. Wilkin had an immense sword, and in order to draw it he had to stand on tiptoe. In bringing it to position the first time he had occasion to draw it, the point of the sword struck King in the face near his eye, inflicting a small wound which bled profusely. The brave Wilkin was appointed colonel of the Ninth Minnesota, and was killed at the battle of Tupelo, Mississippi, while gallantly leading his regiment.

How many brave men, graduates of Fort Snelling, so to speak, went forth from those old walls to save the country from wreck and ruin! It makes the heart sick to think of the number of them who lost their lives that the country might live.

Before the organization of the Territory of Minnesota and the creation of courts for the trial of offenders, the authority of the commanding officers was absolute. From it there could be no appeal. To illustrate this, I copy as follows from the admirable address of General E. C. Mason delivered on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the establishment of Fort Snelling.

> The Indians from the upper Mississippi and the St. Peter were accustomed to assemble in considerable numbers, in the spring and autumn, under the walls of the fort, to trade the spoils of their chase for the white man's goods and trinkets, and, doubtless without authority of the commanding officer or the Indian agent, to purchase, at whatever cost, the white man's whiskey. The feuds between the Chippewas and the Sioux, or Dakotas, would occasionally break out, and the war whoop would rouse the garrison to the fact that blood had been spilled. In 1826 a party of Chippewas were treacherously murdered in their lodges, while entertaining a number of Dakotas, who had sent proposals of peace and friendship to their camp. Eight Chippewas were wounded in the fray, a part dying in the post hospital a few days afterward. The commanding officer sent out a force and captured a part of the guilty party, and others were surrendered. They were confined in the guard house for a few days, and then were turned over to the Chippewas by Col. Snelling, to run the gauntlet. On yonder plain they were turned loose just at sunset, and fled for their lives; but one after another fell before the fire of their enemy's rifles and their bodies were thrown over the cliff into the river below.

Another account says that they refused to run, but faced the Chippewas and called upon them to shoot. Two of the

Sioux who were parties to the murder of the Chippewas were surrendered by their tribe, and hand in hand they marched to their execution. One of these showed signs of fear, and the other cast his hand out of his own, saying, "I am ashamed to hold the hand of a coward."

On May 20, 1829, there was a peace dance at Fort Snelling by about a hundred relatives of the Sioux who had been delivered up to be executed by the Chippewas. Refreshments, not so elaborate as those furnished by Bradley Martin, were served, consisting of an uncooked dog hung on a stake, and each dancer came up and took a bite. Long before the establishment of Fort Snelling, the confluence of these rivers seems to have been a favorite resort for the Indians, and history records many bloody battles fought in that vicinity.

Thus far I have referred to Fort Snelling from its foundation up to and including the period of the Civil War. Now, in conclusion, let me speak of its later history. The troops which have occupied the post since the war are the following:

Tenth U. S. Infantry, Col. and Bvt. Brigadier Gen. E. B. Alexander;
Twentieth U. S. Infantry, Col. and Bvt. Major Gen. George Sykes;
Seventeenth U. S. Infantry, Col. Gilbert;
Seventh U. S. Infantry, Col. and Bvt. Major Gen. John Gibbon;
Twenty-fifth U. S. Infantry, Col. George L. Andrews;
Third U. S. Infantry, Col. and Bvt. Brigadier Gen. E. C. Mason.

On the retirement of General Mason, Col. John H. Page succeeded to the command of the regiment, and at this date commands the post. All the above mentioned regiments, with their commanders, participated in the war for the union, and all were distinguished for gallant and meritorious services.

It was at the suggestion of the late Major Gen. Alfred H. Terry that an appropriation was asked for the purpose of erecting suitable buildings west of the old fort for the accommodation of the officers and attachés of the department headquarters. Work on these buildings was commenced in 1879. It was a fortunate circumstance that our fellow citizen, Hon. Alexander Ramsey, was Secretary of War at the time, as he made liberal allowances, so that the buildings should have all the modern improvements and the grounds beautiful lawns, with garden plats, making the headquarters a desirable home

for those who occupy them. The officers of the Third Infantry are under obligation to Alexander Ramsey for the comforts and conveniences by which they are surrounded. The buildings were completed, and the headquarters of the department transferred thereto, in May, 1881.

The citizens of St. Paul later gave to the government the site upon which to erect a building for the use of Department Headquarters. The building was completed and ready for occupancy in November, 1886. On the last day of that month the headquarters were transferred again to St. Paul, and the buildings at the fort were occupied by the officers of the garrison. In 1888 a line of quarters for the enlisted men of the fort was erected, and when completed the troops of the garrison occupied them. Thus the buildings of the old fort were practically abandoned.

I am indebted to Colonel John H. Page, of the Third U. S. Infantry, the present able commander of Fort Snelling, for the following list of officers who have commanded the fort since November, 1865:

Commanding Officers, 1865 to 1897.

Captain R. H. Hall, 10th Inf., to April 29, 1866.
Colonel E. B. Alexander, 10th Inf., to April 21, 1869.
Colonel George Sykes, 20th Inf., to May 1, 1870.
Captain William Fletcher, 20th Inf., to June 6, 1870.
Colonel G. Sykes, 20th Inf., to June 15, 1873.
Captain H. G. Thomas, 20th Inf., to August 4, 1873.
Colonel G. Sykes, 20th Inf., to August 29, 1873.
Captain H. G. Thomas, 20th Inf., to September 10, 1873.
Colonel G. Sykes, 20th Inf., to August 29, 1874.
Captain H. G. Thomas, 20th Inf., to September 16, 1874.
Colonel G. Sykes, 20th Inf., to June 16, 1876.
Captain J. N. Coe, 20th Inf., to July 14, 1876.
Colonel G. Sykes, 20th Inf., to December 20, 1877.
Captain C. E. Bennett, 17th Inf., to December 29, 1877.
Lieut. Colonel J. N. G. Whistler, 5th Inf., to May 21, 1878.
Captain C. E. Bennett, 17th Inf., to October 10, 1878.
Lieut. Colonel C. C. Gilbert, 7th Inf., to May 26, 1879.
Captain C. C. Rawn, 7th Inf., to June 7, 1879.
Lieut. Colonel C. C. Gilbert, 7th Inf., to October 1, 1879.
Major Guido Ilges, 7th Inf., to November 1, 1879.
Colonel John Gibbon, 7th Inf., to September 12, 1880.

Captain D. W. Benham, 7th Inf., to November 12, 1880.
Colonel John Gibbon, 7th Inf., to July 6, 1881.
Captain D. W. Benham, 7th Inf., to August 29, 1881.
Captain H. B. Freeman, 7th Inf., to September 17, 1881.
Colonel John Gibbon, 7th Inf., to October 13, 1881.
Captain D. W. Benham, 7th Inf., to November 25, 1881.
Colonel John Gibbon, 7th Inf., to August 19, 1882.
Major D. H. Brotherton, 7th Inf., to September 4, 1882.
Colonel John Gibbon, 7th Inf., to September 26, 1882.
Major D. H. Brotherton, 7th Inf., to October 20, 1882.
Colonel John Gibbon, 7th Inf., to November 21, 1882.
Lieut. Colonel M. M. Blunt, 25th Inf., to December 14, 1882.
Captain Gaines Lawson, 25th Inf., to January 14, 1883.
Lieut. Colonel M. M. Blunt, 25th Inf., to July 7, 1883.
Lieut. Colonel D. H. Brotherton, 25th Inf., to September 19, 1883.
Colonel G. L. Andrews, 25th Inf., to August 21, 1884.
Lieut. Colonel T. W. Gentry, 25th Inf., to September 10, 1884.
Colonel G. L. Andrews, 25th Inf., to September 26, 1884.
Lieut. Colonel T. W. Gentry, 25th Inf., to June 28, 1885.
Captain Charles Bentzoni, 25th Inf., to July 27, 1885.
Lieut. Colonel J. J. Van Horn, 25th Inf., to November 1, 1885.
Captain Charles Bentzoni, 25th Inf., to January 21, 1886.
Lieut. Colonel J. J. Van Horn, 25th Inf., to October 14, 1886.
Colonel G. L. Andrews, 25th Inf., to December 15, 1887.
Lieut. Colonel J. J. Van Horn, 25th Inf., to April 14, 1888.
Colonel G. L. Andrews, 25th Inf., to May 23, 1888.
Colonel E. C. Mason, 3d Inf., to May 31, 1895.
Colonel John H. Page, 3d Inf., since May 31, 1895.

No account of Fort Snelling would be complete without a reference to Mrs. Charlotte O. Van Cleve. She was born July 1, 1819, at Prairie du Chien (Fort Crawford), about one hour after the troops under Col. Leavenworth reached that point at the end of a two months' journey from Buffalo. Charlotte was the name of her devoted mother, Mrs. Lieut. Nathan Clark, who had accompanied her husband with the troops in this long journey; and Ouisconsin was added at the suggestion and request of the officers of the brave old regiment, the Fifth U. S. Infantry. The French mode of spelling, with "Ou" instead of "W," she has always retained. This name was given in commemoration of the birthplace of this noble woman, being near the mouth of the Ouisconsin river. The same name has been handed down to a grand-daughter. She witnessed the arrival in 1824 of the steamboat whose paddle wheels first disturbed

the waters of the upper Mississippi. Growing to womanhood, she married Lieut. Horatio P. Van Cleve, who soon thereafter resigned and was engaged in civil pursuits up to the War of the Rebellion. Then he organized the Second Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, of which he was appointed colonel. Early in the progress of the rebellion, he was appointed brigadier general, and he served with great distinction throughout the war.

Mrs. Van Cleve's memory of the early settlement of this part of the country is very vivid, and with her ready pen she has done much to hand down to history accounts of the stirring events of a bygone age. She has taken a deep interest in our Indian affairs, and has expended her earnest efforts in ameliorating their condition. The poor, without regard to age, sex, or nationality, are always sure of her sympathy and support in their trials and troubles, and to her they appeal as to a mother. The Northwest has not produced a more noble woman, and her name will be long remembered by those who admire nobility of character and disinterested friendship for the weak and the poor and downtrodden of all races and conditions of men and women.

There is a warm spot in my heart for old Fort Snelling and its precious memories. It was there that I, in common with all young men, labored under the delusion that I knew all things,—nothing more to be learned. It was unreal, of course, but it was very comforting to my pride and vanity. It was there that I first drew my sword as an officer of the army. It was there that I formed so many pleasant friendships whose memories have ever been, and ever will be, among the dearest of my life.

The records of the state volunteer troops who went forth from Fort Snelling during the Civil War constitute a part of its history. The necessity that had made them soldiers of the republic having passed away, they returned with eagerness and earnestness to the homes that had sent them forth, and, with true American enterprise and energy, entered again into the avenues of trade and business. They presented to the world the lofty spectacle of soldiers becoming again civilians; and their history since that time shows conclusively that the stern probation of war did not unfit them for the gentle and beneficent walks of peace.

The arts of peace are better than the arts of war. But the arts of peace can only attain their noblest fruition in a land where the arts of war are widely understood and comprehended. The one is the coördinate of the other. The one requires the moral and physical countenance of the other. A government with no high military traditions, no glorious legends, no lofty exemplars, no great national sentiment, no warm pulse of national honor, is like a huge body without the vitalizing presence of a brave and contented soul. But the nation whose loyal sons are her soldiers, where the people themselves are the bulwarks of military strength, may bid defiance to the march of time and the revolutions of change. External assaults and internal revolts are alike powerless to shake its throne in the affections of its citizens. Enemies without and enemies within can never shatter it. That outburst of popular affection, that exhibition of patriotic resolution, which brought so many men to Fort Snelling to enlist under the banner of the Union, giving themselves to the service of their country through the crimson years of the late war, is the surest pledge of the perpetuity of our republic.

MAP OF MINNESOTA AND DAKOTA

SHOWING ROUTE OF THE NORTHWESTERN INDIAN EXPEDITION OF 1864.

DRAWN BY D.L. KINGSBURY. 1898.

BRITISH POSSESSIONS

MONTANA

DAKOTA

MINNESOTA

IOWA

NEBRASKA

WYOMING

Ft. PEMBINA

LAKE OF THE WOODS

RAINY RIVER

RED LAKE

LEECH LAKE

MISSOURI

YELLOW STONE RIVER

Ft. UNION

MOUSE RIVER

COUTEAU DU MISSOURI

Ft. BERTHOLD

DEVIL'S LAKE

TA-HA-KOUTY RIVER

BIG KNIFE RIVER

BAD LANDS

CORRAL HEART RIVER

Ft. RICE

CANNON BALL RIVER

SECOND BRIGADE

SECOND BRIGADE RETURN

STONE HILL

CHEYENNE RIVER

RED RIVER

Ft. ABERCROMBIE

BRECKENRIDGE

POMME DE TERRE

Ft. RIPLEY

CROW WING

MILLE LAC

ALEXANDRIA

SAUK CENTRE

St. CLOUD

CLEARWATER

PAYNESVILLE

ACTON

MONTICELLO

ANOKA

MINNEAPOLIS

St. PAUL

MISSISSIPPI RIVER

Ft. WADSWORTH

FIRST BRIGADE FROM Ft. RIDGELY TO Ft. RICE

JAMES RIVER

GLENCOE

Ft. SNELLING

Ft. RIDGELY

St. PETER

FARIBAULT

MANKATO

NEWULM

SIOUX CITY

MADELIA

BIG CHEYENNE RIVER

Ft. SULLY

FROM SIOUX CITY TO Ft. RICE

WHITE RIVER

MISSOURI

BIG SIOUX RIVER

BRACKETT'S BATTALION

TO

RIVER

NIOBRARA RIVER

SIOUX CITY

SCALE OF MILES.

SULLY'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SIOUX IN 1864.*

BY LIEUT. DAVID L. KINGSBURY.

The expedition in 1863 under command of Gen. Henry H. Sibley was successful in driving across the Missouri river those of the Indians who had not surrendered, excepting those who had taken refuge in British territory.

The object of the expedition led by Gen. Alfred Sully in 1864, designated in official orders as the "Northwestern Indian Expedition," but more commonly called Sully's expedition or campaign, was to further chastise the Sioux who had massacred the white immigrants of southwestern Minnesota, and, if possible, to compel their complete submission. The Minnesota contingent of this expedition, designated as the Second Brigade, rendezvoused at Fort Ridgely on June 1st, 1864, and was composed of the following Minnesota troops: the Eighth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, mounted, Lieut. Col. Henry C. Rogers in command; six companies of the Second Minnesota Volunteer Cavalry, Col. Robert N. McLaren in command; the Third Minnesota Battery, of one section of six-pounder smooth-bore guns, and one section of twelve-pounder mountain howitzers; forty-five scouts; and a train of ninety-three six-mule teams and twelve ambulances. The fighting force consisted of twenty-one hundred men, all mounted. Col. Minor T. Thomas, of the Eighth Minnesota, was placed in command of the brigade by Gen. Sibley.

Until a short time before the rendezvous at Fort Ridgely, no more than five companies of the Eighth Minnesota (of which the writer was a member) had been together during a service of twenty-one months. The companies were enlisted at Fort Snelling in August, 1862, for service in the Civil War; but none of them were mustered in until three months later. Then, being more needed at home than in the South, as fast as they were ready for service, each company was sent out to the western Minnesota frontier, in citizens' clothes, in most in-

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, December 14, 1896.

stances only half of the company being armed, and those arms being the old Belgian or Austrian muskets, with very little camp equipage of any sort, while the only means of transportation were teams impressed from farmers and others, the impressment often being made under protest and frequently being resisted by force. Vouchers were, in nearly all instances, given for use of teams and for supplies taken. This is a digression, but is related to show the hardships encountered at the outset of our service on the frontier. The murder by the Sioux of citizens at Acton, Meeker county, August 18th, 1862, was four days after our enlistment; and that murder was the beginning of the general Indian outbreak and massacre which caused the death of nearly one thousand men, women, and children, in the newly settled western part of Minnesota, besides the destruction of a large amount of property. The massacre also caused a further loss in population by several thousand leaving the state, a large proportion never to return.

The officers and men in the expedition of 1864 were well prepared, by the discipline and experience of nearly two years' service, for the hardships that were to be encountered. This service of the Eighth Minnesota had been of a desultory character, but not void of danger, for a number of our men had been killed by the Sioux. It was the kind of service to make each soldier familiar with the character of the Indians, and with the terrible atrocities perpetrated upon those who fell into their hands. Every soldier had witnessed scenes to arouse the uttermost bitterness toward those who seemed destitute of any sentiment of humanity, and all were filled with an insatiable desire for revenge. Many of the command had had their families murdered, and were instigated to enlist by the wish to avenge themselves upon the perpetrators of those outrages. I know of two instances wherein this was accomplished with compound interest.

The light artillery, Capt. Jones, had been in the expedition of 1863, and the other organizations had seen more or less service on the frontier, so that, as a whole, the command was well prepared to meet the Indians; and it was hoped to encounter them in so large body that an engagement with them might be dignified as a battle.

The interval of five days between our arrival at and departure from Fort Ridgely was fully occupied in preparations for our long expedition, which was to extend beyond the Missouri river. Its route is shown on the accompanying map.

On the 6th of June the command left Fort Ridgely, and I must confess that to me, and no doubt to others, this seemed more like war than anything we had previously experienced. Few of our regiment had before seen so large a body of troops; and I can also say that, during a year's service in the south, after our return from this campaign, I did not see a finer body of men. Further I may add, quite as truthfully, that we looked much finer on the day of our departure than we did on that of our return, four months later. Our wagon train was increased by a hundred and twenty-five teams, with two hundred and fifty men, women, and children, and their supplies, bound for Idaho, who were to accompany us to the Yellowstone river. These emigrants, from the start to our parting with them, were an encumbrance, causing delay and hampering all our movements.

Our march to the Missouri was not marked by any especially noticeable occurrence; and after the novelty of travelling through a new country wore off, the day's march became tedious. Soon after leaving Big Stone lake, the command began to suffer from the lack of good water, and some days from the scarcity of water of any kind. The few small lakes were impregnated with alkali, and nearly all the streams were dried up, except occasional pools which were stagnant and fouled by buffalo. On one occasion, after getting our tents pitched, the camp was struck by a tornado, levelling it instantly and causing considerable damage, besides stampeding many of the horses and mules, all of which were, however, recovered with considerable difficulty.

After passing the Coteau des Prairies, a few buffaloes and considerable numbers of antelopes were seen; but, as orders had been issued against shooting, only a few of either were secured. Buffalo chips were plentiful, and constituted our fuel until we reached the Missouri river. It was the practice of the soldiers, on nearing the camping location, to collect the chips on their ramrods until they would hold no more, and when the camp was reached to deposit them in a common pile for the cook. These chips made an intense fire and were far preferable to wood, requiring less labor to secure. They were very handy, too, when on the march, if one wished to make a cup of coffee, as it required but a moment or two to make a fire. For heating a "bean hole" the chips were also much superior to wood.

On approaching the Coteau du Missouri, the country became more rolling and the scenery less monotonous; and when it was finally reached, an abundance of good water and excellent grazing for the animals were found. The latter had not only suffered from a lack of good water, but the grazing had been very poor, owing to the drouth. The distance from Fort Ridgely to the Missouri Coteau was accomplished in twenty-four days, an average of sixteen miles a day, Sundays not included. Only an occasional Indian had been seen; these evidently watching our progress. But on going into the Missouri valley, the scouts reported seeing several parties, and several fresh trails indicated their presence a short time before.

The scouts also reported that Gen. Sully was one day's march down the river, and the next day we joined his forces. The day before our arrival, a surgeon attached to Gen. Sully's brigade had been shot by the Indians while out hunting.

On July 2nd the combined commands marched down the Missouri river to a point opposite the mouth of the Cannon Ball river. There we found three steamboats laden with supplies for the command and with material for the post that was to be built on the west bank of the Missouri.

On the 9th of July the command was transferred by the boats to the west side. Gen. Sully's command, now called the First Brigade, was made up of the following troops: eleven companies of the Sixth Iowa Cavalry, Lieut. Col. Pollock commanding; three companies of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry, Lieut. Col. Pattee commanding; two companies of Dakota Cavalry, Capt. Miner in command; the Thirtieth Wisconsin Infantry, Col. Dill commanding; Col. N. Pope's Battery of two sections; and Brackett's Minnesota Battalion of Cavalry.

The Thirtieth Wisconsin was detached to build and garrison the new post, subsequently called Fort Rice.

The Second Brigade comprised the same regiments and companies that formed it when at Fort Ridgely, Col. Thomas being continued in command by Gen. Sully.

On July 19th, the command having been supplied with sixty days' rations, and leaving behind all surplus baggage, marched up the valley of the Cannon Ball for several days, expecting to find a camp, reported by the scouts, of fifteen or eighteen hundred tepees, near the source of the river; but the Indians did not await our coming, and the evidences of their having been there recently were all that were found.

The command then crossed over to the Heart river, which we followed to its source. We were now in an unexplored country. Trails and other signs, and frequently signals, smoke by day and fires by night, indicated the proximity of the Indians, but no large bodies were seen. The country was rough and barren of vegetation, except large tracts covered with cactus, the only thing left by the locusts which had quite lately swarmed over the country. The earth was parched and was soon worked into an impalpable dust, which aggravated our thirst and filled our eyes and nostrils.

Water was very scarce, and when found was vile, adding to our own and our animals' sufferings. The water on the east side of the Missouri was a luxury compared with this. One day all the water we had was what could be squeezed out of the mud of an alkali pond, near which we had camped the night previous. The water in this pond was only about eight inches deep. Guards had been placed around it only ten feet apart to prevent its being wasted; but during the night a large number of the horses and mules broke loose from their picket ropes, and, taking possession of the pond, remained in it till morning. The water that could be obtained from the mud was all that we had in the march to our next camp. Water from the streets of St. Paul would have been better, for it would have lacked the alkali. This alkali water was so strong that it would burn the skin from the tongue; and it soon caused dysentery. The poor animals suffered intensely from it, and from lack of forage. Large numbers of them began to give out, soon becoming unable to carry their riders, and many were shot.

On the 24th of July, the scouts reported a large village at Ta-ha-kouty (Killdeer) mountain, near the headwaters of the Heart river. The teams and the emigrant train were corralled, the tents and every article that could be dispensed with were placed within, and enough men of those who were dismounted through the loss of their horses were left to protect this property. The command, provided with eight days' rations, no tents, and only enough wagons to carry ammunition, made a rapid march northward, in the direction of the supposed camp.

On the 28th of July, a scout reported the camp only a few miles away. In a short time the village could be seen at the base of a high hill heavily wooded. The view of this camp caused

considerable excitement. We all felt elated to know that we had at length reached the enemy, whom we had travelled nearly seven hundred miles to find. The Indians were advised of our approach, but so sanguine were they of being able to whip us, that they did not think it necessary to strike their camp. In fact, so sure were they of victory, that the non-combatants (old men, squaws, and children) assembled in front of the camp to witness our annihilation, which their braves led them to believe was certain.

The plain which lay before us was well adapted to Indian fighting, being somewhat uneven and rising gradually on the east and west into broken hills. On the north it was terminated abruptly by the high Killdeer hill or butte, at the base of which was situated the Indian village. Immediately, on the camp coming into our view, though still two miles away, great activity among the Indians could be observed. It was not long before the low hills on either flank were swarming with the braves in their war paint and dress (or rather with no dress at all except breech-clout and moccasins), mounted on their ponies, and yelling like demons.

Our forces were soon placed in position; the men were dismounted; every fourth man holding his own horse and three others; and we deployed as skirmishers, forming three sides of a parallelogram, with a rear guard and the batteries in the center. The Indians made repeated charges at the full speed of their ponies, keeping up meanwhile their unearthly yelling. In these charges many of them were killed, while no casualties occurred on our side. They soon learned the range of our small arms, and were careful not to come within it.

Our lines advanced slowly but steadily, repulsing the repeated charges of the Indians, and when they collected on the hills, as they frequently did, a shell from the batteries would scatter them with considerable loss.

The cannons were a revelation to these Sioux, or at least to most of them. They had probably never seen, much less heard, one before. After several attempts to turn our flanks without success, they massed their forces between our lines and their village, and made one final and desperate charge on our right, which was within a short distance of their camp. This charge was repulsed in a hand-to-hand fight by Brackett's battalion, and the first casualties on our part occurred here.

The Indians now realized that the battle was going against them and that their village was in danger. This was evident in the efforts the squaws were making to move the tents and supplies. But we were too close to them, and their haste to escape was expedited by shells dropped into the village, which caused great consternation. They soon apparently abandoned all hope of carrying off any of their supplies, but endeavored to hide them, together with immense quantities of buffalo robes and furs, by throwing them into the numerous deep ravines in the neighborhood. About sundown we took possession of the camp, when the Indians were seen retreating up and beyond the hills. Four companies of the Eighth Minnesota were ordered to pursue the stragglers and drive them from the top of the hills. This was successfully done.

When we (I was one of the detachment) reached the summit of the hill, after passing through heavy timber and underbrush, we were stopped by a very deep cañon, which the Indians had crossed by some path known only to themselves. Beyond this cañon the Indians, with their squaws, could still be seen retreating, but they were out of the reach of our guns. Several warriors, who had evidently remained in the cañon to delay our progress, were shot. Our detachment returned to the abandoned camp after dark, and found that the command had bivouacked at some distance back. We were completely fagged out and very hungry, but lay down on our arms and were fairly asleep when we were aroused by the pickets firing; but the camp finally settled down and we were not again disturbed.

At daylight the Indian camp was again occupied, and the trail of the retreating savages was followed until the nature of the country prevented further progress. It was found that two pickets had been killed, being shot with arrows. They had been stripped of their clothing, and their bodies were horribly mutilated. One of these men, La Plant, had eleven arrows in his body. All of our dead were buried where they fell, the command passing over their graves so as to obliterate all signs.

Four companies were detailed to destroy the Indian village and supplies. This was no small task, as there were about sixteen hundred tepees, nearly all standing. A few of the tepees, in the haste to strike them, had been cut around the

base, but they remained where they fell. The destruction of this camp and its supplies was a greater blow to the Indians than the loss of the braves who were killed. With few exceptions the tepees were of rawhide. The amount of supplies, including pemmican, jerked buffalo meat, dried berries, and buffalo robes, that was burned could not be estimated,—it was immense. It was their winter village, well situated as to water and wood, and protected on the north by high hills. Indian against Indian, it would have been impregnable; and it had, no doubt, been their winter home for generations.

A pathetic incident occurred in this connection, which indicates the panic and haste in which the camp was vacated. This was the finding of a papoose, a few months old, which had been abandoned or overlooked by its mother, or she may have been killed. The papoose was shot, by or possibly without an order, but it could not be helped.

In this fight, called the battle of Ta-ha-kouty or Killdeer mountain, our force consisted of twenty-two hundred men; that of the Indians was estimated at from five to six thousand. They were superior to us in numbers and knowledge of the country, and the result might have been different, but for the fact that not more than half of them had guns;—such as they had being of an inferior kind. To prove the latter assertion, only six of our force were killed and ten wounded, two being killed by arrows. The Indian loss in killed was supposed to be from one hundred to one hundred and fifty. No estimate was made of the wounded. It is, however, as all Indian fighters know, difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy the actual number killed, because the Indians generally succeed in carrying many of their wounded and dead from the field, while others are dragged off by their ponies to which they are attached by lariats.

To soldiers, or others, who have not seen or heard an Indian charge, it cannot be described. It is calculated to strike terror into the hearts of the bravest. I have not the command of words to attempt to give any proper description of it, and can make no better comparison (imaginary, of course) than with the imps of hell let loose.

An effort was made to follow the trail of the retreating Indians, but the character of the country and the jaded condition of our animals, together with the fact that our rations

were getting short, compelled Gen. Sully to abandon the pursuit, and the command returned to the corral on July 30th, It had accomplished a distance of one hundred and seventy-two miles in six days, one of which was occupied in the fight.

The march was again taken up by the whole command, and at this time it was discovered that a miscalculation had been made by the commissary at Fort Rice, so that we had but six days' rations left. As it was very uncertain when we should reach the Yellowstone river, our hard bread ration was reduced one-third, and that of meat one-half. This insufficiency of food added to our hardships.

On the 5th of August we came to the Bad Lands of the Little Missouri river. Gen. Sully had been told by all the guides, excepting one, that it would be impossible to pass through this tract even if we had no wagons. To go around it would require more days than we had rations for. One of the guides, a young Blackfoot, said that a passage could be made, and it was undertaken. The character of these lands is well known to-day, and it would take too much time to describe them in detail. At the time of our descent into this basin from the level of the surrounding country, we were undoubtedly the first body of white men that had ever seen it, not to speak of attempting to cross it. Those who have since travelled through that wonderful tract, including probably some here present who have looked upon it from the window of a palace car, will appreciate our apprehensions as to the result of the undertaking.

A brief general description will, perhaps, be necessary to enable those who have not seen these Bad Lands, to understand the difficulties and hardships encountered in passing through them. They consist of a depression or basin, covering an extent of about forty miles, having an average depth of some six hundred feet below the level of the surrounding country, interspersed with buttes whose tops reach the level of the table-lands surrounding the depression. There are many deep and narrow cañons, having no confirmed general direction and forming a bewildering labyrinth, in which one not familiar with the country must inevitably soon be lost.

Gen. Sully described these lands in very terse language as "hell with the fires put out." Many of the cañons had to be widened for the wagons and artillery to pass through them. Immediately upon our entering the Bad Lands, the Indians

again made their appearance and annoyed our advance from the vantage ground offered by the tops of the buttes, but fortunately without loss on our side, though several of the Indians were picked off.

On arriving at the Little Missouri river, which runs through the Bad Lands, dividing them about equally, we found a narrow valley in which were frequent thickets and meadows. The latter were covered with plentiful grass, and the water in the river was excellent. Altogether this valley seemed to us a veritable paradise, and men and animals made the most of it. However, we were not to enjoy it long, for the Indians, having been reinforced, became more bold and in fact, through the guides, dared us to fight. They confined their operations to endeavors to pick off men who were out grazing their horses, and to stampeding our stock. A few horses were lost.

On our leaving the valley and entering the hills beyond, the Indians made an attack in force, but with the same results as previously, notwithstanding that they had the advantage of position on the buttes above us, while we were often in single file, extending our column for miles. The attacks continued until we were well out of the hills, when the Indians suddenly disappeared and were not seen again. In this fight it was afterward learned from the Indians that there were from seven to eight thousand braves. The number of the Indians killed, as was estimated, exceeded three hundred, with about seven hundred wounded. Our loss was nine killed, and one hundred wounded.

I may venture the opinion here, that, if the Indians had been as well armed at this time, or even at the fight at Ta-ha-kouty, as were those at the Custer fight, the result would have been as disastrous, and even more terrible; for what would have been the fate of the women and children in the emigrant train? If any had been so fortunate as to miss being killed by the savages, they would certainly have perished by starvation. There would have been no possibility of succor, for, with the exception of Fort Union, near the mouth of the Yellowstone, there was no place where white men were living within six hundred miles.

The country between the Bad Lands and the Yellowstone was as barren as that crossed east of the Little Missouri; and this continued to be the case until we reached the Yellowstone

valley, on the 13th of August. It was none too soon. Men and animals were nearly exhausted from fatigue, short rations, and bad water or none. I was so weak that, on our last day's march to the river, I fell from my horse twice, and such was the condition of many.

We learned at the river that it was fortunate we took the short route through the Bad Lands; for if the command, taking the longer route, had been able to reach the Braseur House, the objective point of the expedition, on the Yellowstone some eighty miles above where we struck it, we should not have found the three steamboats which had been ordered to meet us there. They had been unable to ascend so far, and indeed we did not know, until the day before we arrived at the river, whether the boats had been able to reach even the point where we struck it. These were the first steamboats to ascend the Yellowstone.

We were put in good spirits, however, by one of the guides bringing to Gen. Sully a chip which he found floating in the river. Ordinarily this small bit of wood found floating in the water would have had little significance, but to us it meant volumes. Although not sufficient to assure us that there were three steamboats above us, or any other number, it was enough to hang our hopes upon. A reconnaissance by the guides soon proved that such hopes were not unfounded. Two boats, the Chippewa Falls and Alone (the third, named Island City, having been sunk below Fort Union), were found two or three miles above, and they soon dropped down to our camp. The arrival of the boats was hailed with cheers and other demonstrations of joy, which under other circumstances might have appeared foolish. We now had plenty to eat. The poor horses and mules, however, had to be content with grass and a very little corn, as much of the forage was lost on the Island City.

Aside from the regular rations, the command had all the fresh meat it needed, and even a surfeit, for the valley abounded with buffaloes, elks, and blacktail deer. There was also an abundance of berries and choke cherries. The cherries were a God-send, as they were better than the doctor's prescriptions for dysentery, which had become prevalent.

After several days' rest, the command was transferred to the northwest bank of the Yellowstone river by the steamboats, and the horses and mules by swimming. A number of

the mules were drowned; and, I regret to add, several men of the emigrant contingent were also drowned while swimming their stock across the river. At this point we parted company with the emigrants, they going up the river and our command down.

We reached Fort Union, one of Chouteau's trading posts, located near the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers, about the 18th of August. There were no troops at this post, it being garrisoned by employees only. The quarters were commodious and protected by a stockade. The crossing of the Missouri river was accomplished in the same manner as that of the Yellowstone, but it was more hazardous to the animals, owing to the quicksands. However, there were no casualties. The distance accomplished since leaving Fort Rice was 460 miles, and the time consumed had been thirty days.

Soon after crossing the Missouri, on our return to Fort Rice, we began to see buffaloes, at first in small groups, and later in immense herds of countless numbers. Buffalo rumps, steaks, and tongues, were our regular diet. On one evening, after going into camp, over fifty of these animals were killed. In one of these hunts, Dr. J. H. Murphy, who was surgeon of the Eighth Minnesota, was unhorsed and severely gored by a buffalo bull. Indeed, the buffalo herds were so great that frequently the command was corralled as a precaution, and on one occasion our train was sadly demoralized by a herd going through it.

When one of those vast herds, often numbering thousands of animals, got started in any given direction, nothing could stop them except a cliff or a river, and then only after hundreds had been killed by being forced over the precipice or into the water. Near Fort Berthold, I saw more buffaloes than I could count lying dead, or dying, at the foot of a high bluff, they having been forced over the brink during a stampede; and at another time a sand-bar, evidently quicksand, in the Missouri river, was seen covered with dead buffaloes, the stench from which was terrible.

The march down the Missouri valley was uneventful, except that a short distance below Fort Berthold a fresh trail was struck, indicating a large force of Indians going northeast towards the British possessions. It was made, evidently, by a part, at least, of those with whom we had fought on the west

side of the Missouri, who had crossed at this point. This trail was followed to the lime springs, and at that point it was found that a very large camp had but recently been abandoned, in fact, so recently that the ashes of their camp fires were not cold. The camp had been warned by their scouts of our coming, but had concluded not to await our arrival. The condition of our animals did not permit the command to pursue them further.

At Fort Berthold we had an opportunity to see the Ree and Mandan villages. The command reached Fort Rice on September 9th. It was there learned that Captain Fisk's Idaho expedition (this is not the train that accompanied our command to the Yellowstone), after leaving Fort Rice with a small escort of troops, had been surrounded about two hundred miles west from Fort Rice by Indians, and had sent for assistance. Two hundred men from the Eighth Minnesota, unmounted, and one hundred of the Second Minnesota Cavalry, were sent to relieve Capt. Fisk. The two hundred men detailed from the Eighth regiment, on their return from Capt. Fisk's relief, went down the Missouri on barges to St. Louis, and joined their regiment at Murfreesborough, Tennessee.

After a much needed rest of four days at Fort Rice, the Minnesota brigade started September 15th on its return, our route being north of our outgoing trail, and comparatively devoid of interest. The command arrived at Fort Wadsworth on September 26th. Companies B, C, D, and H, Second Minnesota Cavalry, Major Robert H. Rose in command, relieved a detachment of the Thirtieth Wisconsin Infantry at this fort, the latter going with our command to Fort Ridgely and thence to Fort Snelling.

The command left Fort Wadsworth on the 29th of September, and arrived at Fort Ridgely on October 8th, after an absence of four months and two days. In that time we had marched sixteen hundred and twenty-five miles; had whipped the savages at an estimated loss to them of four or five hundred killed, and many wounded; and had forever settled the Indian question east of the Missouri river. Thus it was made possible for white immigrants to settle and develop a territory equal in area to the New England states. It was believed at that time to be almost a desert, fit only for Indians and buffaloes; but now it supports a large and prosperous population,

and is one of the greatest wheat and cattle producing regions of the world.

The success of the campaign was due in a great degree to the character of the officers and men. Gen. Sully was an able and experienced officer, having seen service on the plains and in the south. He and Gen. Minor T. Thomas were each held in high esteem, having the confidence of the whole command.

Thirty-three years have passed since the events presented in this paper. Nearly all of the principal officers, many of the subordinate officers, and many of those who filled the humble but necessary positions of non-commissioned officers and privates, are dead. Some lived long enough to witness the marvelous changes which their bravery and hardships made possible. Those of us still living see what the most visionary never dreamed of, a territory, which at that time contained a population of a few hundreds, now possessing several millions.

As a matter of record of my regiment, and I trust of general interest, I will, in conclusion, quote the words of one who has written its history, that my paper may thus include a slight reference to our later service in the closing part of the great Civil War:

> The Eighth Regiment was fortunate in the character of its material; fortunate in the harmony within; fortunate in the variety of its service, mounted and on foot, railroad and steamship; fortunate in the wide extent of the United States it visited at Uncle Sam's expense—from Fort Snelling, via Montana, Alabama, Washington, Fort Fisher, and southwest North Carolina, to Minnesota again; fortunate that in the last year of the war it traveled more miles and saw a greater variety of service and country than any other regiment in the United States army; fortunate that the end of its enlistment saw the end of the Rebellion and a saved country. In a word, the Eighth Minnesota, in that wonderful contest of splendid organizations of men, thinks it honor sufficient to claim only to be the peer of its fellows.
>
> And now, after twenty-five years, a large part of the regiment are still citizens of Minnesota, and are a full average in character and usefulness of the citizens of the towns where they have since made their homes. When we know how they freely gave three of the best years of their lives to their country, and then, returning poor, went to work with a will to secure an independent position in civil life, and how sturdily, how bravely, they have struggled to overcome the obstacles in their way, it is the crowning glory of the volunteer soldier, and the best guarantee of the future of the republic.

Chas. E. Flandrau.

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STATE-BUILDING IN THE WEST.*

BY JUDGE CHARLES E. FLANDRAU.

The progress of our country to the westward since the union of the original thirteen states presents a great many very interesting subjects of inquiry and observation, and none more so than the effect of early associations and character upon the later growth and development of a people. We find in the first settlement of the American colonies the most radical differences in the characteristics of the people, both in social and religious methods of thought and action. Take Virginia and the colonies to the south, and we find the peculiarities of the aristocratic cavalier dominating the people up to the date of our civil war in 1861; while all along the New England coast, originally settled by the Roundheads, we note the stern and unbending qualities of the Puritan fathers giving color to law and society, in the highest degree antagonistic to their southern neighbors. So persistent, ingrained and unyielding was this contrariety of sentiment that, as we all know, it produced a final collision of arms, each side putting the wrong on the other, and no doubt in perfect good faith.

Now that it is all over and we have a united country, it may not be amiss to relate an anecdote illustrative of the southern view of the rights and wrongs of the situation; I never could resist a good story, hit where it may. You remember that the bishops and other representatives of the Episcopal Church assemble periodically in convention to settle their ecclesiastical affairs. When the war broke out, of course there was an interval during which the northern and southern members did not get together; but when peace was declared the first convention was held in some northern city, and the bishops were all very happy to see a united church once more. The Bishop

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, April 12, 1897.

of Louisiana was there, and, coming from the very heart of the confederacy, he was quite a lion. A northern gentleman, while conversing with him, naturally drifted into the war, and said: "Bishop, don't you think this dreadful war might have been avoided had the government adopted such a course?", naming some policy; "No, sir," said the Bishop. "Well now, Bishop, don't you think it might have been prevented had such a course been taken?", pointing out some other policy; "No, sir," said the Bishop, more emphatically than before. "Don't you think there was anything which could have spared us such a fratricidal conflict?" "Yes, sir," said the Bishop. "Do give me your views as to what could have averted such a calamity." "I frankly believe," said the Bishop, "that if Plymouth Rock had landed on the Pilgrims, instead of the Pilgrims landing on Plymouth Rock, there never would have been any trouble at all.

Environment exerts a most potent influence upon a people in the beginning of their career. Both New England and the South began as agriculturists, but the more generous and bountiful soil of the south afforded its people an easier opportunity of gaining a livelihood than the barren soil and inhospitable climate of the New England colonies. It was not long before they both adopted the aid of slaves in the conduct of their pursuits, but it soon became manifest that their assistance was not profitable in the north, while it could be utilized to great advantage in the south; so that it gradually became extinct in one section, while it flourished and increased in the other. The greater facilities for enrichment in the south by agriculture tended to the enlargement of estates and a prodigality of expenditure and luxurious living, while the farmers of the north found themselves forced to the exercise of great economy, frugality, and extraordinary industry, to acquire the necessaries of life; and this condition of things drove them to other means of subsistence than the cultivation of the soil. It was the niggardly return that nature made to their labors on the farm that stimulated their ingenuity and turned their efforts into the channels of invention and the creation of mechanical devices with which to supplement the natural sources of subsistence. When I hear the world extolling the New England virtues of thrift, economy, morality, and the love of an orderly and sober existence, while I acknowledge it all and join in the

general voice of praise, I cannot but feel that environment had much to do with it, and that had the lot of the same people been cast where the surroundings had been less rigorous, the world would have been deprived of their beneficent example. I regard it as the most fortunate thing for the welfare of our country that its settlement should have commenced on the Atlantic coast; for had it begun in the bountiful lands of the west, and our countrymen been deprived of the restraining influences of the east, there is no telling what kind of a people we would have been. Take California as an example of a country that gave everybody a chance to grow rich at a jump; and, judging by its present standard of social morality, we can well conceive what it would have been, had it not been largely populated from New England. I think it was Mark Twain who said that if you plant a New England deacon in Texas, you will find him in about a year with a game chicken under his arm, riding a mule on Sunday to a cock fight. Environment is a very strong force in human affairs.

The Northwest Territory.

We all remember that Virginia, in 1784, ceded to the United States a vast tract of country lying north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi river. She acquired this territory under a royal grant to the Virginia Company, made in 1619. It was known after its cession to the United States as the Northwest Territory. It is a very interesting and somewhat curious feature of this cession, that, although Virginia did not make it a positive condition of the grant that the land should be forever dedicated to freedom, yet she was one of the strongest advocates of the clause in the Ordinance of 1787, passed by Congress for its government, which provided, "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." And for twenty years after the grant, Virginia statesmen took the lead in resisting all attempts to introduce slavery into the territory. Virginia was then a slave state, and its leading products were mainly dependent upon slave labor for their success. There was not a time, from the date of this magnificent gift to the Union down to the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861, when Virginia would

not have fought the world in defense of her peculiar institution; and yet we find her great, far-seeing and patriotic statesmen fully imbued with the knowledge that, having inherited the evil and finding it too intimately interwoven with the social and industrial life of the people to be shaken off, they were determined to prevent its infliction upon future generations. For this wise provision and conscientious action, the West is under boundless obligations to the fathers of Virginia.

The Era of the Fur Trade.

Before entering upon a consideration of the settlement of the Northwest concession, or even the Louisiana Purchase, which I will mention hereafter, I must speak of the commerce with the Indians that was carried on in these regions long before our Revolutionary War, by the great fur companies, by means of their *coureurs des bois* and *voyageurs*. The headquarters of the French traders was at Montreal, and they pushed their adventurous commerce westward through the lake region and Canada. The Roman Catholic missionaries kept abreast, and sometimes in advance, of them. They found their first formidable rivals in the Hudson Bay Company, chartered by Charles the Second in 1670. This company occupied all the country about Hudson bay and west, often extending far to the south. In 1762 the French lost possession of Canada, which left the Indian trade almost exclusively in the hands of the British; but, except that carried on by the Hudson Bay Company, it rapidly declined in extent and importance. The Indians did not like the British as they had liked the French, and it was not until the old *voyageurs* and *coureurs des bois* took service generally with the British that the trade revived, and in 1766 began to resume its old channels. But rivalries sprang up among the traders and produced ruinous collisions and scenes of disorder, which much imperiled the success of the trade.

To remedy this, in 1783 the principal merchants of Montreal formed a partnership; and in 1787 they amalgamated with the rival company, and thus formed the celebrated Northwest Company. This company flourished for a long time and penetrated as far north and west as lakes Winnipeg and Athabasca and Great Slave lake. The operations of the Northwest Company were managed on a magnificent scale, and its chief

men took on the airs and importance of feudal lords. They were principally Scotchmen: the McTavishes, the McGillivrays, the McKenzies, the Frobishers, and many others whose names still exist in the Canadian provinces.

This company was followed by the Mackinaw Company in 1794. While the Northwesters occupied the more northern regions, the Mackinaws pushed down by Green bay, Fox river, and the Wisconsin, towards the Mississippi. The United States, seeing this foreign invasion of its territory, in 1796 sent out agents to establish rival posts to prevent this trade from being diverted from its own citizens; and from this time the Americans took quite an active part in the fur trade.

But the most important movement on our part was when Mr. John Jacob Astor, a native of Germany but an American citizen, embarked in the business in 1807. After a year or two of successful operations, he incorporated the American Fur Company in 1809. He afterwards, and in 1811, in conjunction with members of the Northwest Company, purchased the Mackinaw Company and merged that and the American Fur Company into a new one called the Southwest Company. Then came the war of 1812 with Great Britain, which put an end to the British trading for furs in American territory.

In 1792 the Russians went into Alaska and carried on a very extensive fur trade, and held it until our purchase of it in 1867.

Mr. Astor pushed his trade by land across the continent, and by sea along the Pacific coast, founding the town of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia, which was captured by the British in the war of 1812.

This occupation of the country for the purposes of trading with the Indians left very little impression upon its future population, but it formed a most interesting epoch in its history, and has been very appropriately called by one of Minnesota's first historians, "the heroic age of American commerce."

I have seen a good deal of the old *voyageurs*. Many of them and their descendants were in the Northwest when I first settled in it. They were mostly Scotchmen, Canadian Frenchmen, and half-breeds. It was usual to fit out a crew with boats and a cargo in the spring, and to send them off on expeditions to exchange their goods for furs, not expecting to see them or hear from them again for a whole year. When after this long

absence they returned with their rich load of fine furs, they were absolutely sure to account for every dollar that had been entrusted to them. There was a devotion to duty and a fidelity to their employers displayed by these men that amounted to heroism and chivalry. To risk their lives in the defense or protection of their employers' property, and frequently to die in such cause, was deemed by these loyal men as simply a part of their daily duty. Defalcations or embezzlements were utterly unknown among them. A braver, hardier, truer race of men was never known in any land.

One of the most interesting accounts of this romantic and adventurous period is found in Washington Irving's delightful story of "Astoria." He also notices what has often been forced upon my observation, that the environments of men produce very striking differences even in their physical conformation. I have noticed that the Sioux Indians, who are meat eaters and formerly lived, as you may say, at the tail of the buffalo, whose means of locomotion is the horse, are a tall, thin, muscular race; while the Chippewas, living in the same climate, only a short distance away, but who occupy a water country, traveling in canoes, and living principally on fish, are a soft, fat people. There is an old adage that says: "We are what we eat."

Irving says of the fish-eating tribes on the Pacific coast:

> The effect of different modes of life upon the human frame and human character is strikingly instanced in the contrast between the hunting Indians of the prairies and the piscatory Indians of the sea coast. The former, continually on horseback scouring the plains, gaining their food by hardy exercise, and subsisting chiefly on flesh, are generally tall, sinewy, meagre, but well formed, and of bold and fierce deportment; the latter, lounging about the river banks, or squatting and curved up in their canoes, are generally low in stature, ill shaped, with crooked legs, thick ankles, and broad flat feet. They are inferior also in muscular power and activity, and in game qualities and appearance, to their hard-riding brethren of the prairies.

To return now to the Northwest Territory: out of this grant have been created the five great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, besides a considerable part of Minnesota. Nowhere in the progress of our Union has the original material of which states have been made been more influential in controlling their future than in the states carved out of this territory. We are familiar with the fact that in all

the southern states there was a large element of whites who were landless and living by renting, or who squatted on the land of others. These people were generally known as "poor white trash." They despised the slaves, and the negroes entertained for them the most profound contempt. Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, lying south of the Ohio, abounded with them. Nothing was more natural than that they should seek the cheap government lands north of the Ohio. They poured across the river and settled all the southern portions of what afterward became Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. I suppose there never was a more ignorant, lazy, and unambitious people found in any country. They soon, however, began to better their condition in a material point of view; but they resisted all intellectual and social advancement for many years, and until it was forced upon them by that great civilizer, the locomotive. To this day their architecture and general surroundings bear witness to the low standard of their origin. We have only to recall the epithet that was so long applied to southern Illinois, "Egypt," to be fully convinced that you can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, as the old proverb goes.

While this immigration was flowing into the south end of the great Northwest Territory, another channel was opened into the northern end to a far different class of people. The chain of great lakes covered the entire northern boundary, and afforded a highway for the ingress of the people of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, who soon made a lodgment all along the northern line and peopled it with great rapidity. It also caught the better class of immigrants from the north of Europe, as it is well known that people migrate along the climatic lines that they have been accustomed to. The enterprise and intelligence of these immigrants soon resulted in the building of great cities, the establishment of important commercial interests, and a general prosperity which has continued with marvelous expansion until the present day, proving my assertion that initial influences are potent in shaping after results.

Now that all the objectionable features of our early population in these regions have yielded to the grand march of civilization, we may refer to them as facts with which to prove a theory, without being considered invidious or unkind.

The Louisiana Purchase.

Another vast source of raw material for building states was found in the Louisiana Purchase, which we made from France in 1803. The French had a settlement at New Orleans near the mouth of the Mississippi, and, as with all rights arising from such coastwise settlements, they claimed everything beyond; and it turned out, in the end, fortunate for us that they did. The country north and northwest of the mouth of the Mississippi was at that time a *terra incognita*. It had never been explored, and, like all such unknown quantities, was not valued very highly. Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of the Republic of France, being very hard up and wanting money to carry on his wars, was induced to sell us Louisiana for 60,000,000 francs, or about $12,000,000; and we assumed other obligations amounting to about 20,000,000 francs. The sale was perfected on the 30th day of April, 1803, by treaty made at Paris. We at once took possession, and out of this almost boundless expanse of territory we have successively erected the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, a large part of Minnesota, part of Kansas, all of Nebraska, both the Dakotas, Montana, parts of Wyoming and Colorado, and have laid claim to Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. What composes Oregon, Washington and Idaho, was not really in the Louisiana Purchase, but was acquired by right of settlement, as will appear hereafter.

In the settlement of these states nothing out of the customary order occurred until the act was passed by Congress on March 6th, 1820, to authorize Missouri to form a state government. At this time public sentiment had been worked up in the North to the point of checking the extension of slavery, and a clause was put into this act forever prohibiting slavery in any other part of the Louisiana Purchase lying north of the latitude of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes. This was near the south boundary line of Missouri, and the determination of Congress was to prevent slavery from gaining a footing north of that line. Missouri having been largely settled from Kentucky and other southern states, slavery was a fixed institution there, and Congress made no attempt to interfere with it.

Kansas and Nebraska.

Immigration continued to flow into these new regions without creating any unusual sensation, until the year 1854, when the country west of the Missouri river had gained sufficient population to justify its having a territorial government, and an act was introduced into Congress to create the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. At this time a very distinguished citizen of Illinois, Mr. Stephen A. Douglas, was a senator of the United States and was possessed with a strong desire to become president. To conciliate the South, he inserted into the act a clause repealing the prohibition of the extension of slavery which was contained in the Missouri act, and which had been in force for thirty-four years, and, in the language of that day, injected a little stump speech into the act in explanation of the repeal, which measure became of so much importance in the settlement of the West, in the politics of the whole country, and in the fortunes of Mr. Douglas, that I feel justified in repeating it. After the clause of repeal of that part of the Missouri act, the purpose of the repeal was declared as follows:

> It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof free to form and regulate their domestic relations in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States.

This doctrine was known as "Squatter Sovereignty;" and if any of you are old enough to remember the excitement it created throughout the country, you must regard the recent campaign about the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1 as mere child's play in comparison. A regular old-fashioned abolitionist was as a tornado to a zephyr when contrasted with any form of modern politician; and, with "Bleeding Kansas" for his war-cry, he was irresistible.

This repeal of what was known as the "Missouri Compromise" deeply stirred the antislavery people of the country, and they determined that Kansas and Nebraska should never be admitted into the Union as slave states. They immediately commenced a forced and unnatural emigration, designed to outnumber that from the slave states. Beecher declared that rifles were far more efficacious than bibles in the settlement of

Kansas, and the most intense excitement prevailed. The contending factions were known as the Abolitionists and the Border Ruffians, the latter largely from Missouri. Numerous conflicts occurred with fatal results. Several constitutions were framed, and Kansas was finally admitted into the Union on January 29th, 1861, as a free state. During this conflict, cranks of all kinds and descriptions flocked to Kansas in such numbers as to distinctly impress upon its inhabitants their singular eccentricities, which have clung to them ever since. If you want to raise a crop of isms, no matter how absurd or unheard of, plant your seed in Kansas and your yield is sure. Generations will have to succeed each other before the kinks can be straightened out of Kansas. I simply mention this circumstance in support of my theory of the effect of early impressions. There is an old saying that it takes three generations to make a gentleman from a bad start; and our country will have occasion for rejoicing if it eradicates within that time some of the tares that took root in Kansas soil when in its formative conditon. Kansas adopted for its coat of arms the lofty legend, "*Ad astra per aspera*," and it has been star-gazing and rainbow-chasing ever since. Mr. Douglas never attained his ambition.

The Pony Express.

California came into the Union in 1850 as one of the fruits of the war with Mexico. As we all know, her settlement was immensely accelerated by the discovery of gold, and she became of great importance in many ways long before there was any means of communication between her and the other states, except by slowly crossing a continent by land or going around one by sea. The time occupied in the long and tedious methods of transportation was exceedingly distasteful to the people at both ends of the route; and, like true Americans, they determined to remedy the evil, cost what it would. Out of this decision sprang one of the most daring and adventurous undertakings ever conceived or executed by any people in any country. It was a scheme to carry some of the mails and light and valuable express matter from the Missouri river to San Francisco on the Pacific ocean, a distance of two thousand miles, by means of ponies ridden by young men for distances of sev-

enty-five to one hundred miles, with great rapidity, making changes every forty miles.

The route lay through an uninhabited country, over vast plains and mountain ranges infested by the most warlike and hostile savages on the North American continent. Who could be expected to undertake such service? The idea was conceived by Senator Gwin, of California, Alexander Majors, and Daniel E. Phelps, but was very generally laughed at by the most experienced plainsmen and mountaineers, and was pronounced by them to be foolhardy and impossible. They predicted that the riders would all be killed and scalped before the first trip could be made; but Western enterprise was not frightened by the croakers, and the plan was adopted. Six hundred Texas bronchos were purchased, stations built, and seventy-five riders engaged. A hundred and twenty-five to a hundred and fifty dollars per month were the average wages paid.

The first pony rider started on his trip from St. Joseph, in Missouri, on the 3rd day of April, 1860, and by riding night and day, with only two minutes for pony changes and refreshments or for changes to successive riders, Sacramento, at a distance of two thousand miles, was reached in ten days. The rate charged was $5 per ounce for the full distance, each rider carrying about ten pounds. On the same day and at the same hour that the pony started from St. Joseph, another started from Sacramento; and this continued two years without other interruption than the occasional killing of a rider by the Indians. In June, 1862, the first transcontinental telegraph went into operation, and the Pony Express yielded to its only conqueror, electricity.

The venture was a profitable one to its projectors, and satisfied the hungering of the people for news at the points so distant from each other, and immensely facilitated the transaction of business.

The first pony carried from the President of the United States a congratulatory message to the Governor of California. Colonel Cody, now so well known as "Buffalo Bill," then a stripling, and Mr. Robert Haslam, long and now a resident of Chicago, known as "Pony Bob," were two of the most daring and trusted riders engaged in the enterprise. Both of these

gentlemen are numbered among my esteemed friends. The best time made was when the last message of President Buchanan reached Sacramento in eight and one-half days from Washington,—an immense gain over the first overland expedition sent out by Mr. Astor, which was eleven months in crossing the continent. A talk about the settlement of the west without a mention of the Pony Express would be very incomplete.

In 1864 I resided at Carson City, on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, on the route of the Overland Stages, and although the Pony Express had been taken off for two years, the idea was kept up, but in a different way. The mail was carried by the stages, but the stage that was expected to get the mail to San Francisco on steamer day, which was the day the steamer was to leave for the Isthmus, was always followed by a pony, who kept about two hours behind, to pick up the letters which had not been in readiness for the stage. The pony always arrived in time for the sailing of the steamer.

The Wells-Fargo Company had at a very early day established express lines all over the Pacific coast, and it became a habit of the miners to have all their letters addressed to them at the express office. The habit of calling at the express office instead of the post-office for letters became so general that the company always kept hung on the wall an alphabetical list of names of all persons for whom there were letters. This custom grew into one which was very convenient for the miners, and very profitable for the company. It would buy stamped envelopes at the post-office for $3 a hundred in greenbacks, and stamp on them a notice that the company would deliver them at any point on the coast reached by its lines, and sell them for $10 a hundred in gold, and would deliver any letter contained in one exactly as if it was an express package. As gold was worth three to one in greenbacks for many years all over the coast, the scheme was a very profitable one to the company; but the miners all preferred it, and nearly all the mail was carried in that way.

There was one rather curious feature about Nevada during my residence in the territory, which operated to the advantage of the Wells-Fargo Company. It cost so much to get a safe over the mountains that there was scarcely one in the country

except those belonging to this express company, and the condition of society was so disorderly that no one dared to keep any money on his premises; so all the receipts of the day found their way to these strong boxes for safe keeping, and Wells, Fargo & Co. became the bankers for the whole community, held all the deposits, sold all the exchange, and handled all the money of the country.

In the entire settlement of our country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, not excepting California, there never was a more desperately bad aggregation of people than were attracted to Nevada on the discovery of the Washoe silver mines. The find was immense, and as the distance across the Sierras, which divided Nevada from California, was only about a hundred and fifty miles, the entire floating, disreputable population of California poured over the mountains and filled Nevada with desperadoes of every type. In Carson and Virginia City we had murders daily, interspersed with shooting encounters, stage robberies, and every kind and character of criminality. As we expressed it in those days, we had a man for breakfast every morning.

But there was a relish of salvation even in that community. There were some churches, among which was a very weak attempt at an Episcopal church. I had the honor, with four Englishmen, to be a vestryman of that ecclesiastical body. It held its services in the senate chamber of the capitol building, which room was situated over the biggest saloon and gambling house in the territory. The services were accompanied by a rattling of roulette tables, a clicking of billiard balls, and a fusillade of popping champagne corks; and the proprietor of the establishment, under coercion from his wife, usually attended, and put into the plate a five or ten dollar gold piece. The sessions of the vestry were always held in the saloon, and on one occasion, when the question of raising the salary of the rector was before the board, we all felt so rich from the influence of our environments, that we reached the desired result by simply chipping in the amount necessary ourselves. Whether this generosity of the vestrymen was ever reimbursed by providential luck at the faro bank, I never inquired, but as a general thing bread cast upon the waters comes back through some channel.

How we got Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

It is not generally known that the United States is very largely indebted to Marcus Whitman, an American missionary among the Indians of the Columbia river, for the title to and possession of the present states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

It became known in the eastern states in 1835, that missionary work could be profitably bestowed upon the Indians inhabiting the valley of the Columbia on the Pacific coast, and this work was accepted by Marcus Whitman, a young doctor, living in western New York; and in the summer of 1836, Dr. Whitman and his wife, Henry Spaulding and his wife, and Henry W. Gray, made their way across the continent to the Oregon country. In the course of their very arduous journey they reached the summit of the Rocky mountains on the Fourth of July, 1836, and then for the first time they beheld the promised land beyond the western divide, toward which they were laboriously wending their way. They raised the American flag, knelt down before it, and solemnly took possession of the whole Pacific coast in the name of God and the United States of America.

At this time the whole country west of the Rocky mountains was utterly unknown to our people, except such information as we had obtained from the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804 and that of Capt. Bonneville in 1832, and such as we got through the Hudson Bay Company and the English newspapers, which was intentionally deceptive, as it was to their interest to represent it as an uninhabitable wilderness, fit only for hunters and trappers. It was not until 1843, seven years after Whitman's journey, that John C. Fremont, with an escort of United States troops, crossed this great continental barrier, and descended the western slope through the South Pass; and he gained the name of the "Pathfinder" by these explorations.

The tableau presented by this little band of Christian wanderers, alone in the center of a vast continent, thousands of miles from any man, save savages ready to destroy them, clustered around the flag of their country on its natal day, taking possession of an empire by the right of discovery and inhabitancy, is not only intensely romantic but partakes of the heroic

and the sublime. It was worthy of being the initial point in the vast emigration which followed, and formed the subject of the grand fresco by Leutze, which adorns a panel in our national capitol, bearing the legend, "Westward the course of empire takes its way."

Whitman persisted against the remonstrances of his own party, and the almost peremptory orders of the traders of the Hudson Bay Company, who occupied the country, in taking through with him his canvas-covered wagon. It had broken down many times, but he resurrected it on two wheels, and succeeded in getting it through the mountains, although he had to drag it by hand a great part of the way. It seemed as if he had a presentiment that the passage of the mountains by a wagon would prove a great factor in the future of the Pacific country, and it turned out that he was a true prophet in so thinking.

At this time the boundary line between our country and the British possessions on the north had not been established, and there was a sort of joint occupation in theory, but an actual possession by the British traders of the Hudson Bay Company, of the country which now comprises Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

The little missionary party traversed the continent in safety, and on reaching the valley of the Columbia at Waiilatpu, four miles west of the present city of Walla Walla, Mr. Whitman established his home among the Cayuse Indians, while Spaulding and his wife proceeded up the Snake river to Lapwai, and settled among the Nez Percé Indians.

In the fall of 1842, Dr. Whitman was called to visit a patient at the Hudson Bay trading post at Fort Walla Walla, and while at dinner with the traders a guide announced the arrival of a party of British settlers from the Saskatchewan country, to the north, who were entering Oregon to seize it for Great Britain. On hearing this news, a young priest instantly sprang to his feet, and offered the toast, "Here's to Oregon; she is ours now, and the United States may whistle for her." Dr. Whitman heard this statement with much alarm, both on account of the threatened loss of this beautiful country to our government, and of the destruction of his mission. He immediately announced to his people that he would start at once for Washington, to inform the government of the impending

danger. All entreaties to prevent his departure proved unavailing, and the next morning he mounted his horse and departed just as winter was setting in. He took with him a young white man named Lovejoy, and an Indian. Captain Grant, an English officer in command of Fort Hall, in what is now southern Idaho, attempted to stop him, but he pushed on. On the 3rd of January, 1843, after suffering the most terrible hardships, they reached Bent's Fort on the Arkansas river; Whitman's hands and feet were frozen, but he was undaunted in spirit. Here he left Lovejoy and the Indian, who were exhausted, and pushed on to Washington. He met many Americans who were then pouring into the Mississippi valley, and told them of the fertility and beauty of the Oregon country. Lovejoy scattered handbills setting forth the same facts, and inviting emigration to that region.

On the 3rd of March, 1843, Whitman reached Washington, having been on the road just five months, and having travelled four thousand miles, three thousand of which he made on horseback. He called on Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, and found him engaged in negotiations with Great Britain to exchange our claim to the Oregon territory for a cod fishery, and could not interest him in his purpose. He then saw John Tyler, the President, who listened to him, but insisted that Oregon could not be saved to the United States, because it was impossible to settle it from the east, as wagons could not cross the mountains. At this point appeared the wisdom displayed by Whitman in insisting on taking his wagon over the mountains. He informed the President that he had removed that objection seven years ago and had taken a wagon over the mountains, which wagon was then at his home on the Columbia, and that such other difficulties as existed could easily be overcome. The President answered, "If you can show the accessibility of Oregon, and that the mountains can be crossed by wagons, I will see that the land is not given to Great Britain." Whitman had gained his point. In a week he was on his way west, and that summer he was at the head of the first wagon train that ever crossed the Rocky mountains. It consisted of two hundred wagons, manned by one thousand determined, adventurous and patriotic American citizens, drawn by nearly three thousand horses and oxen. The train reached the Walla Walla valley safely in September, 1843, and saved

what is now Oregon, Washington, and Idaho to the United States of America, as the treaty of July 17th, 1846, with Great Britain, fixed the northern boundary line on the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude.

This adjustment of the boundary was almost entirely based upon the fact that the American settlements extended well up to that line, which settlements were the result of the indomitable pluck and pariotism of Marcus Whitman. If you consult the maps published by the American Geographical Society you will find that Oregon, Washington, and Idaho are all represented as lying west of the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, their acquisition by the United States being based upon "prior settlement." The fact is that none of the territory embraced within either of these three states ever belonged to France, or fell within the Louisiana Purchase. France never claimed any territory on the Pacific coast. It is true that, while the boundary line was under discussion between us and Great Britain, we based part of our claim to Oregon on the Louisiana Purchase, but the true grounds of our title were:

1. The discovery of the Columbia river by Captain Gray, of the American ship *Columbia*, in 1792, who named the river after his ship; which discovery, according to the then prevailing law, gave the nation of the discoverer all the territory embraced within the basin of the river to its source, and to the source of all its tributaries;

2. The discoveries made by Lewis and Clark in 1804 and 1806;

3. Those of Astor in 1811;

4. The treaty between the United States and Spain of February 22nd, 1819, known as the treaty of "Amity, Settlement, and Limits," under which the claim was made, whether right or wrong, that Spain surrendered to us all her remaining territorial rights in North America; and

5. The right of prior settlement induced by Marcus Whitman as before related.

Some maps published in later years place Oregon, Washington, and Idaho within the Louisiana Purchase, but there is no foundation for the position.

The Hudson Bay Company bitterly resented this influx of Americans into the country which they had dedicated to sav-

agery, and they knew that Whitman had caused it. They stirred the Indians up to hate Whitman, and in the end caused him to be murdered, with his wife and twelve of his missionary household; the rest of the mission people were carried into captivity.

The great work of this brave man has been rememberd by his many ardent friends by the erection of a memorial college at Walla Walla, called "Whitman College."

Territories.

It has always been the case that territories seem to offer more attractions to the emigrating class than states. It is probably owing to the fact of their presenting a better opportunity for the selection of lands, and that society, politically and otherwise, is in a formative state. These conditions present superior advantages to the agriculturist and the politician, the latter class always being a large factor in the first settlement of our territories. You remember that Greeley said, "Go west, young man, go west," and that after the young man had been west a short time he discovered so many opportunities lying around loose that he wrote back to his father: "Come out, dad, mighty mean men get office out west," and that the father accepted the invitation.

It was under some such inspiration that I came to the new territory of Minnesota about forty-three years ago; and after getting here, and having the river freeze up behind me so that I couldn't get out, I began to wonder what I came for. It was not long, however, before I struck one of the many opportunities that I have referred to. The Indian title to all the lands west of the Mississippi river had just been extinguished. Some capitalists wanted to start a second Chicago, if they could only find a place for it; so they sent me into the Indian country to look it up. After exploring the Minnesota river and all its tributaries, and finding one of the most beautiful valleys on the earth, I decided to report favorably for the new Chicago.

Among my discoveries I found a young Scotchman, who was all alone and was overjoyed to discover me. He begged me to remain in the country, but I said: "I am a lawyer; how can I live where there are no people?" To this apparent dilemma he had an instant and conclusive answer: "Why, that is the

easiest part of it," said he, "we can hunt a living, and I have a shack." The idea was catching, and as I had already had the experience of three years at sea before the mast, I jumped at it; and when we got to house-keeping I found myself located at a point farther west than any lawyer in the United States east of the Rocky mountains, unless he was in Texas. We literally hunted a living. The first winter, with the aid of a dead pony for a bait, we shot forty-two wolves out of the back window of our shack, and sold the pelts for seventy-five cents apiece. I founded the city of St. Peter, which is now a place of four or five thousand inhabitants. My Scotch friend and one other man, besides myself, were the first inhabitants; and as both of these parties were killed by the Indians in the outbreak of 1862, the Scotchman as a trader among them, and the other man as my first lieutenant in a lively fight we had with them, I found myself in the position of the man they exhibit on the Fourth of July, "the oldest inhabitant." I lived at this point for eleven years, and saw nearly a million people settle west of the Mississippi in the country that belonged to the Indians only a few months before my arrival.

The only reason I have for making these personal allusions is because my early settlement at the point I have mentioned brought me into intimate touch with the Indians, who have been a very important feature of state-building in the West. I shall have something to say of them hereafter.

I have said a good deal about the influence exerted upon the West by the character of the people who first settled it; but I am quite sure that the power the West wields over those who are cast upon its mighty bosom is equally as potent in shaping their destinies.

The great West is an educator. If a young man migrates to a country so new that society is unformed, over which no regular government has yet extended, and where the whole civil organization is yet to be put into operation, he finds himself confronted with all these great problems and is called upon to take an active part in their solution. His individuality, if he has any, must display itself. He is compelled to think and act upon questions which would not have engaged his attention except in a secondary way in an older country, until he had arrived at a much more advanced and mature period of life. He takes his position in society according to his merits, and

not upon the false basis of inheritance or fortune as in old communities. He cannot move on carelessly in some familiar rut in which his father moved before him, because there are no such ruts marked out for his guidance; he is free to think and act for himself, relieved from all conventionalities. He collides daily with astute and independent thinkers, and fundamental and philosophical principles force themselves upon his consideration, and he must grapple with them. His mind expands; he becomes an original thinker himself, and finds a virgin field in which to test the experimental creations of his genius. His new existence is a revelation to him; a mind which might have dragged out a sluggish and routine existence in a city or in an old settled country, when brought face to face with nature in her grandest manifestations of boundless prairies, towering mountain ranges and majestic streams, experiences a new birth, an electric inspiration, utterly unknown to the denizens of perfected communities. The mind of a man can be fenced in as well as the country he inhabits, and it will take its color and habits from its surroundings. When we compare the best productions of human skill with the creations of God, we admit the truth of what the poet says:

> "Nature hath nothing made so base, but can
> Read some instruction to the wisest man."

Who has ever roamed over one of our limitless prairies, through the depths of a majestic forest, or down the wild cañons of some mountain pass, and did not feel his whole nature exalted into harmony with the grandeur which encompassed him? Who can ever forget the sensation of awe, mingled with emancipation, that he experienced on first crossing the mighty Mississippi and knowing that he was in the West? Stolid indeed must be the spirit, and irresponsive the heart, that is privileged to familiar intercourse with the sublime in nature and does not become refined and enlarged.

The Indians.

It was not long after I located at the point I have mentioned in Minnesota, before I was placed in charge of the great and warlike tribe of Sioux Indians by the United States government. I had lived in their midst for several years and knew a good deal about them, and had seen something of the Winne-

bagoes and Chippewas, which tribes were located in other parts of Minnesota, and I subsequently became intimate with the Piutes in Nevada.

As the Indians have largely entered into the question of the westward movement of white settlement, I desire to say something about them. They are a superb race of men. I have studied their characteristics from all points of view, and I venture to say that a better race of aboriginal men never inhabited the earth, than the Indians of the Northwest in America. They are splendid specimens of the animal man. Tall, well-formed, athletic, they excel in all manly traits, such as riding, hunting, and fighting. Like all savages, they will deceive when they expect to be deceived; and in all their relations with the whites they expect to be overreached, and are generally not disappointed.

When we judge of them with regard to their rebellions and depredations, we should be careful to make due allowances for their peculiar relationship to the whites, and nothing will illustrate this point better than the situation of the tribe of Sioux which inhabited Minnesota west of the Mississippi. Their country was an Indian paradise. It held great forests of sugar trees; it abounded in beautiful lakes filled with fish; rice swamps were numerous; buffalo, elk, deer, beaver, and all the animals useful to the primitive man, were plentiful; nothing was wanting to make the country one especially adapted to the Indian. He was induced to sell it; the fact is, he was compelled to sell it. He knew as well as anyone that he had to retire before the advance of a superior race, and that his only hope was to make the best bargain he could. Such transactions are called treaties; but they are treaties only in name. The superior power demands the land and offers the compensation; the inferior power knows perfectly well that, if it does not accept the terms, it will ultimately be forced out of its domains, and it accepts. This comprises the elements of all Indian treaties.

They were given lands that they did not want, which were nearly destitute of game. It is true that they had the freedom of the boundless buffalo range to the northwest, but that was only temporary, as time has shown. Their annuities were

often delayed, which caused much suffering. It was natural, under such conditions, that they should become discontented. I, of course, do not justify their bloody rebellions; but, had I been an Indian, I should have felt very rebellious. They have disappeared with the buffalo they loved so well and depended on so long, and it makes me very sad to think that our great Christian civilization could not have devised some means of assimilating them, and of preventing their utter destruction. They were a gallant race, generous, hospitable, true according to their teachings, and the best warriors this continent ever produced.

It is the one result of a superior race colliding with an inferior one. The lands are wanted and will be had; a fighting people never yield to anything but force; a haughty savage race can never be civilized; labor to them is degradation; they can die fighting, but they will not work. You might as well attempt to put a hoe in the hands of a deposed monarch of France as to make a husbandman of a Sioux warrior.

The remnant of this once splendid race is corralled on various reservations. They are prisoners of war, and the government finds it cheaper to feed them than to fight them. It could not very well be otherwise; but I, who have met the Indian on his native plains, in all the majesty of his royal freedom, must be pardoned if I say that I have great sympathy for poor "Lo."

My intercourse with the Sioux was very interesting. I had seven thousand five hundred of them under my charge, and was brought into frequent contact with many of the wildest tribes of the upper Missouri, Tetons, Yanktons, Cutheads, and others. I have had these tribes make incursions into my territory, ten thousand strong, demanding a share in the distribution of the annuities; I paid out wagon-loads of coin, and steamboat-loads of every variety of goods, from a frying pan to an ox team. Of course, I could not admit the strangers to a share, and much negotiation and many powwows resulted. I always appeared in council, supported by a body-guard of about fifty chosen Indians, fully armed, splendidly mounted on fine American horses, and gayly decked out in feathers and finery. The celebrated Little Crow, who afterwards led the massacres and bat-

tles of 1862, was my captain and ambassador; and with my interpreters and staff, we made a gallant display. General Sully once told me that no officer of the government, civil or military, should ever appear among the savages in less than a major general's uniform. I did not literally follow his advice, but my toggery was as imposing as brilliant colors and glittering arms could make it; and the present young "war lord" of Germany never felt half so grand as I did, when my cavalcade galloped over the plains.

The first serious trouble we had with the Indians was in 1857, when a detached band under Ink-pa-du-ta, or the Scarlet Point, murdered about forty-two people in a settlement in the northwest corner of Iowa and the southwest corner of Minnesota, carrying into captivity four white women. It naturally devolved upon me to attempt their rescue. The only means was by negotiation and purchase, as an hostile approach would have been the death knell of the prisoners. Through my Indians, I succeeded in rescuing two of the women, the other two having been killed before I could reach them. It may be curious for you to know what I paid for them.

I paid two Indians $500 each for bringing in the first woman, and sent them and others with an outfit to purchase the others. It consisted of the following articles: a wagon and double harness; four horses; twelve three-point blankets, four blue, eight white; 22 yards of blue squaw cloth; 37 yards of calico; one dozen shirts; ribbon; one sack of shot; 50 pounds of powder; 20 pounds of tobacco; corn; flour; coffee; and sugar. They succeeded in getting another of the captive women and safely delivered her to me.

When I had to pay the $1,000 for the first woman, I only had $500 in money and could not get any more in the country; so I resorted to a rather novel method of raising it, one, however, that has become quite general since. I issued a bond, and as it was the first bond ever issued in the vast region now composing seven or eight states, and was rather unique in form, I will give it to you:

I, Stephen R. Riggs, missionary among the Sioux Indians, and I, Charles E. Flandrau, United States Agent for the Sioux, being satisfied that Mak-pi-ka-ho-ton and Si-ha-ho-ta, two Sioux Indians, have per-

formed a valuable service to the Territory of Minnesota and humanity by rescuing from captivity Mrs. Margaret Ann Marble and delivering her to the Sioux Agent; and being further satisfied that the rescue of the two remaining white women who are now in captivity among Ink-pa-du-ta's band of Indians depends much upon the liberality shown towards said Indians who have rescued Mrs. Marble; and having full confidence in the humanity and liberality of the Territory of Minnesota, through its government and citizens, have this day paid to said two above named Indians the sum of five hundred dollars in money, and do hereby pledge to said two Indians that the further sum of five hundred dollars in money will be paid to them by the Territory of Minnesota or its citizens within three months from the date hereof.

Dated May 22nd, 1857, at Pa-ju-ta-zi-zi, M. T.,

STEPHEN R. RIGGS,
Missionary A. B. C. F. M.
CHAS. E. FLANDRAU,
U. S. Indian Agent for the Sioux.

One of the principal features in which this bond differed from most of those issued subsequently in the Northwest is, that it was paid strictly at maturity.

I am happy to say that both of the rescued women are now living, one in California, and the other at Lake Okoboji, in Iowa, on the exact spot where all her family were killed, and whence she was carried away. About six months after the rescue of these captives, I succeeded in killing the eldest son of Ink-pa-du-ta with a squad of regulars and some young fellows of my party; and that is all the punishment that was ever visited upon them. The State of Iowa has erected a stately monument of granite on the spot, to commemorate the massacre and rescue, which was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on the thirty-eighth anniversary of the event.

Five years after this episode the Sioux of the Mississippi, the tribes I had previously had in charge, broke into open rebellion, and in one day and a half slaughtered quite one thousand of our people. Of course, we sprang to arms and resisted their advance. The principal battles fought were the siege of Fort Ridgely, which was on their reservation, and which lasted off and on for some nine days, and was vigorously and successfully contested by a small garrison of citizens and volunteer soldiers; and the battles of New Ulm, a German town situated down the Minnesota river about eighteen miles below the

fort. Here there were fought two battles, the last against the whole force of the tribe. In these last battles I had the honor to command the whites, and in both engagements we were successful. Had we not won these fights, the fifteen hundred women and children that were in the town, together with every man of my command, would have been butchered. So you see we had something of a stake to fight for.

In the last and most formidable of these attacks on New Ulm my old friend, Little Crow, commanded the Sioux. We did not need any interpreter on this occasion to make known our wants. His scalp now hangs in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The defeat of the Indians in these conflicts checked their advance and put them on the retreat. They were vigorously followed up by General Sibley with quite an army, and, after several very sharp encounters, were driven across the Missouri river. Over three hundred of them were captured and convicted of murder by a drum-head court martial, and thirty-eight of them were hanged on one gallows.

The State of Minnesota has recognized the battles of Fort Ridgely and New Ulm by very handsome monuments erected on the battle-fields.

The Indian has stood in the pathway of advancing civilization from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He has been compelled to retire before his more enlightened brother; but, could he read the record of his stubborn resistance, he would have the satisfaction of knowing that, for every one of his race that has fallen, not less than a score of his conquerors have bitten the dust. It is often objected that he does not make an open fight, that he is treacherous and cowardly. I have always said in answer to these charges that he is the only fighter who fully understands the philosophy of war, which is to kill your enemy and not get killed yourself. The whole business, at its best, is savagery; but the question whether an abolition of it by the arbitration of international disputes will exalt the race is on a par with the question whether the abolition of duelling in the German army will elevate the tone of that organization. There is room for two opinions.

Requirements for Statehood.

State-building in the west has about reached its limit. All the land has been occupied except Alaska, Arizona, New Mexico, and a few remnants. Have we been wise in the past in the prosecution of our work? I contend that there exist moral laws which are as unyielding as the laws of nature; that if a political party violates an economic or prudential law for purposes of temporary expediency or party gain, the consequences of such violation are just as sure to come back to plague that party as if a man should violate the law of gravitation by jumping from the top of a Chicago sky-scraper with the hope of going up instead of coming down. There have been occasions in our history when it was thought necessary to reinforce a party in the United States Senate for some special purpose; and states have been admitted into the Union which were no more fit for such a dignified position than a Texas steer is to be a guest in a polite drawing-room. The consequence is that the nation is now afflicted with a number of mining camps and cattle ranches called States, represented by senators whose highest ambition seems to be the advocacy of some private interest, and whose entire constituency number about as many people as are found in one ward in the city of St. Paul.

Think of Nevada, with its forty thousand inhabitants, holding down the balance in the United States Senate with New York and its four or five million people. Sit in the gallery of the senate and make a comparison between its present members and those who composed it thirty or forty years ago, and the absurdity and danger of admitting many of these states into the Union forces itself upon the most casual observer. A state of the American Union ought to be a body politic of which anyone should be proud to be a citizen; and yet we find a good many of them in which a self-respecting man would hesitate to cast his lot, or a prudent man to invest a dollar. This unfortunate condition of things is largely the result of party delinquencies, personal ambitions, and the placing of material gain above higher statesmanship. You cannot make a stream rise above its source. The pioneer, with all his courage, endurance and heroic characteristics, is not, as a general thing,

composed of very fine intellectual fiber, nor made of the best material out of which to mould safe political guides. In my opinion, the future of our country would have presented a much more promising outlook had no western state been allowed admission until it had acquired at least half a million inhabitants. It would then have been much more difficult for unfit men to secure responsible positions, and a much better political and social tone would have obtained. There is no objection to absolute home rule in the territories; but when they expand into states, their rule involves the well-being of the nation.

Suffrage.

We have been much too generous in the West with the bestowal of the suffrage. In the infancy of our state life our great desire was to secure population. We wanted men to fill our waste places, and we did not care very much who they were. In this, our anxiety, we violated every safeguard of our well-being, and held out to the world an invitation to come into the family on the easiest possible terms. There was a sort of auction of citizenship, and it went to the lowest bidder. One year's residence in the United States, a few months in the state, a declaration of intention, and anybody could enjoy all the advantages of American citizenship. In Minnesota, up to the last election, a man could be governor or chief justice of the state, and at the same time be a subject of Great Britain, of the Sultan of Turkey, or of any other foreign power. Such a statement seems impossible, yet it is an alarming truth. An effort was made at the last election to confine the suffrage to full citizens of the United States; this remedy comes very late, but is better late than never. No man should be allowed to participate in the grand function of governing himself and his fellow men until he has proved himself worthy of the privilege. If there is a danger menacing our institutions of free government, it is a too liberal suffrage. This question is beginning to force itself on the consideration of our people. Time alone can prove whether we have the wisdom coupled with the power to rectify our early mistakes. To convey an idea of the extent to which the suffrage has been extended in Minnesota, I need but to say

that the model ballot prepared for the information of the voter at the last election had the directions printed on the back of it in nine languages, one of which was Finnish.

Immigration.

Universal and unrestricted suffrage, supported by universal and unrestricted immigration, will as surely destroy our institutions as the sparks fly upwards. No country can long stand it, and even America, with its vast powers of digestion and assimilation, must ultimately succumb to it. We pride ourselves upon having created a splendid nation, and no man is more proud of it than I am; but is it not our duty to endeavor to perpetuate to our posterity the fruits of our handiwork? Will our past advance towards greatness and wealth continue uninterruptedly in the future as in the past? Are our political and economic methods on a solid basis? Are there not worms gnawing at the roots of our supposed security that some day may overthrow all we have achieved, threaten the foundations of our liberties, and plunge us into civil war and anarchy? I try to take the roseate view of passing events as far as possible, but we cannot shut our eyes to the serious questions that are daily forcing themselves upon our consideration.

The whole Union is convulsed with a strife between capital and labor, and very few countries could stand the strain without disastrous consequences. Our safety-valve for the evils of too great latitude in the suffrage and immigration has been heretofore our unoccupied territory, which carried off surplus population and left room in our older and more densely settled communities for labor to find remunerative occupation. This safety-valve has not yet been wholly closed, but with the rush of immigration, consequent upon the greater facilities afforded by ocean transportation, it soon will be closed, and all labor will find itself cribbed and cramped as in Europe.

Is there any remedy for these evils? I hope so, but fear that there is none. We started wrong and the evil has grown to such proportions that all avenues seem to be cut off. The privilege of sharing in the government of this nation, which should be regarded as an inestimable boon, and only to be enjoyed by those who have proved themselves to be worthy of

it, is now largely in the possession of people who are alien to our traditions, alien to our language, and hostile to all forms of government. If this power cannot be recalled, may it not be checked before it is too late?

I have always been inclined towards the doctrine of free trade, but the subject of free trade and protection has heretofore been confined to the products of labor and not to labor itself. We have protected cotton, sugar, wool, iron, and thousands of other things, much to the impoverishment of our agricultural interests, and of the multitude of our consumers in all classes and conditions; but no one has ever yet presented any plan for the protection of labor. On the contrary, until the Chinese exclusion laws were enacted, the effort of all our people has been to throw our doors wide open to increasing competition in all branches and grades of labor, and consequently to lessen its value and oppress the laborer. It has been a common thing to import labor by the cargo to supplant our American operatives, and with the one result of driving them to the wall, to poverty and want, or out of their natural channels of occupation. So unbearable did this condition of things become in our Pacific states that the Congress of the nation decreed that Chinese immigration should stop; and everybody responded, Amen,—none more gladly than the laboring man.

Now, when you come to reflect on the subject, the Chinaman was only offensive because he undermined our American labor. That was his only fault. He did not carry any red flags, nor clamor for the blood of everybody who had been industrious enough in life to accumulate some property. He did not want to subvert the government and substitute the rule of the proletariat. Not at all. He was a patient, submissive, hard worker, and an orderly man; but his competition was ruinous, and he was wisely told that for this sin alone we did not want him and would not have him. Now, where is the justice or sense of expelling the Chinaman, if the gates of the nation are to be thrown wide open to all the rest of the world, and if they are to be invited to swarm into our labor field, and not only to drive our laborers to poverty and starvation, but to flaunt their bloody emblems in the faces of our people, and to threaten destruction and chaos?

If it was a good thing to exclude the Chinamen because our labor could not stand their competition, then it must be an equally good thing to cut off other streams of competition that bring with them not only distress to our laborers, but danger to our institutions. I am aware that some restrictive laws have been passed by Congress on the subject of immigration, but am convinced that they are all utterly impotent to check the growing evil. We have only to read the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for the last fiscal year, which shows that 340,468 were admitted to our shores during the year, and that out of this number 78,130 could neither read nor write in any language. Think of nearly 23 per cent. of the enormous supply for this year being stolidly, densely ignorant, and that within perhaps five or six years they will all be engaged in shaping our laws and institutions.

Our working men are well organized for their own protection, and the last election has proven that they understand pretty well where their own interests lie. They know that members of Congress who want re-election are ready to respond to their slightest demands. Why do they not insist that they shall not continue to be overwhelmed by this ever increasing flood of cheap competition? There is no more difficulty in cutting it off than there was in the case of the Chinese. All it wants is that the people most interested shall say the word, and the result will be accomplished. When the country was vacillating over the best means of resuming specie payments after the late civil war, Horace Greeley cut the matter short by proclaiming to the struggling financiers and philosophers, "The way to resume is to resume;" and resumption became an accomplished fact without further bother or nonsense. Let the laboring people of America say, "Stop all immigration for a period of ten or twenty years," and the thing will be done without discussion or cavil, and the nation will be relieved of one of the most dangerous and threatening questions that has afflicted it since the war, that of unemployed labor.

There is no danger of interfering with the growth of the country while we have 70,000,000 of people to breed from. There is such a thing as a too rapid growth, and that is the very prob-

lem that we are now confronted with. Do not understand me to refer to emigration from the east to the west in our own country, or from the urban to the rural districts. These movements deserve encouragement. If we could transplant the surplus population of the congested sections of the east to the more sparsely settled west, and from the cities to the country, it would prove a great blessing to the laboring people and to the country at large; but we all know the difficulty attending such distribution of population; all that can be done in that direction is by an intelligent presentation of the advantages which the emigrant will gain by such movement, leaving the matter to work out its own solution.

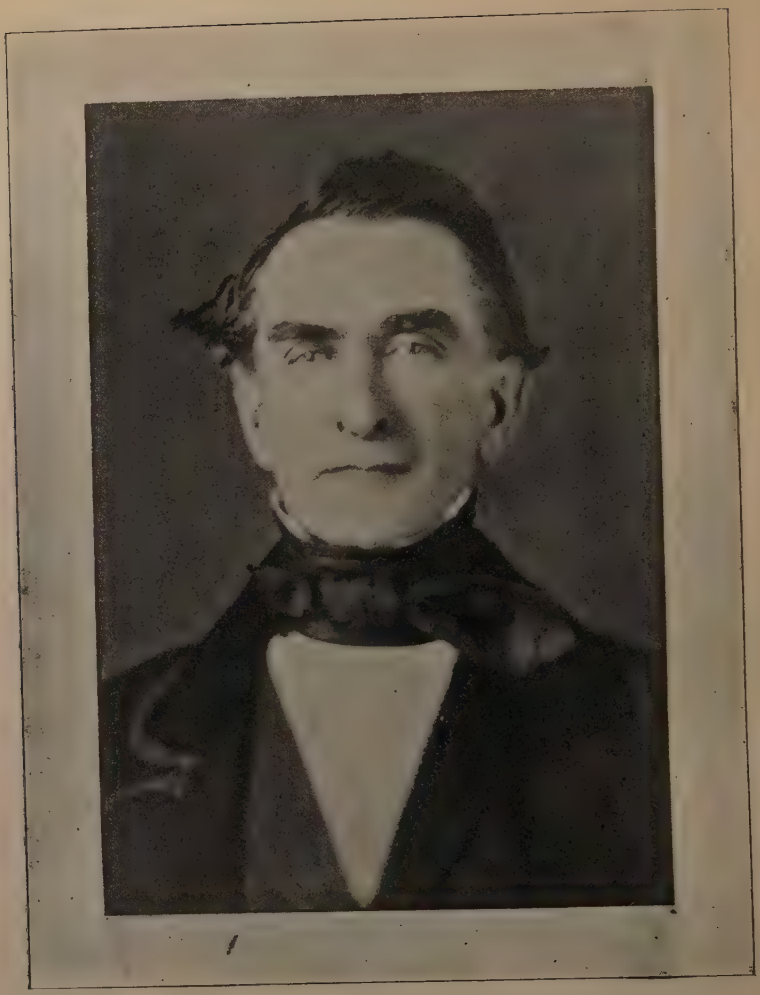
But we hear the advocates of unrestricted immigration, who are either employers of labor, or blatant patriots who love to talk about our country as an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, drawing comparisons between America and Europe, as to the number of people that can be sustained to the square mile. They will prove that Europe sustains hundreds, where we have only fives and tens; forgetting that the density of population in Europe is the cause of its pauperized labor and the desire of its people to flee from its depressing influences, while the sparsity of settlement in America is the wealth and hope of the laborer.

They omit from their estimates, also, the fact that there is in the west a vast area of unproductive lands, which are utterly incapable of sustaining any considerable population by agriculture. This immense region, which is fatally deficient in rainfall, lies within the following boundaries: on the north, the forty-ninth parallel; on the east, the one hundredth meridian; on the south, the northern boundary of Mexico; and on the west, the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains. It comprises an extent of country measured by seventeen degrees of latitude, and by nineteen degrees of longitude; and it contains about a million square miles of territory. In 1875, General W. B. Hazen, of the United States Army, in a published brochure, characterized this region as "Our Barren Lands," and asserted its absolute unfitness for successful agriculture. His statement was challenged by interested parties, and he sus-

tained its truthfulness by the most ample proofs, presenting all the facts then known, the correctness of which time and experience have fully verified. Hundreds of thousands of emigrants have since been wrecked in hopes and fortune by venturing within its inhospitable limits; and millions of capital have been lost in investments in its arid lands, until its unsuitableness for agriculture has been so thoroughly demonstrated that the eastern boundary which I have mentioned has acquired among all investors the name of "the dead line," and now not a dollar can be induced to cross it. It is only habitable for cattle-herders and miners, and can never support more than a very sparse population.

Shall we yield our advantages, or hold fast to the generous gifts which nature has bestowed upon our country as a heritage of prosperity for our coming generations? I believe it was sound statesmanship to invite immigration when our country needed it, and it was a boon both to those who were here and those who joined them. And I also regard it as better statesmanship to put a stop to it when we find that a superabundance of it is inflicting upon our laboring people all the evils of the withering and killing competition that they fled from. The subject is of vastly more importance than either currency or tariff.

We have taken a look at the conditions under which our states have been built up in the west, and also at some of the defects in their architecture, with a suggestion of the remedy to insure their perpetuation; and, as "an honest confession is good for the soul," I freely admit that I have had my full share in producing the evils of which I complain. With my present clearer light, however, I promise faithfully never to do so again, and to devote the balance of my life to making reparation for my past delinquencies, pleading youth in mitigation of my errors.



With great respect & Consideration
Charles K Smith
" "

OBITUARIES.

CHARLES KILGORE SMITH, the first secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, to whom the formation of the society was due more than to anyone else among its founders, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, February 15th, 1799.

The following sketch of his life and work is abridged from an address given by Dr. George R. Metcalf, of this society, president of the Masonic Veteran Association of Minnesota, at its fifth annual reunion, in St. Paul, January 13th, 1897, as published in the Proceedings of that Association, with the accompanying portrait, which also is kindly supplied by Dr. Metcalf for the present publication.

In 1805 his father removed with his family to a farm near Hamilton, Butler county, Ohio. In the crude schools of the vicinity he received his first educational training, and then he was sent to a grammar school at Oxford, Ohio, out of which institution has since evolved Miami University. Three years of discipline in this school fitted him to become, in 1815, assistant to the clerk of the supreme and common pleas courts of Butler county. This position he held until 1821, when he was elected recorder of Butler county, to the duties of which were added in 1827 those of treasurer. Both of these offices he filled until he resigned them in 1835, to become the cashier of the Bank of Hamilton. He was admitted to the bar in 1840, and in 1842 his connection with the bank terminated and he entered actively upon the duties of his profession. In March, 1848, he was elected an Associate Judge. He resigned from the bench on his appointment by President Taylor to the position of Territorial Secretary of Minnesota.

We gain a clear conception of the man by following the enterprises for the advancement of Minnesota in which he was a moving spirit. He was the founder and organizer of the first Masonic Lodge in the Territory. As an Odd Fellow, also, he was a charter member of the first lodge established in St. Paul. He was the originator of the public school system of

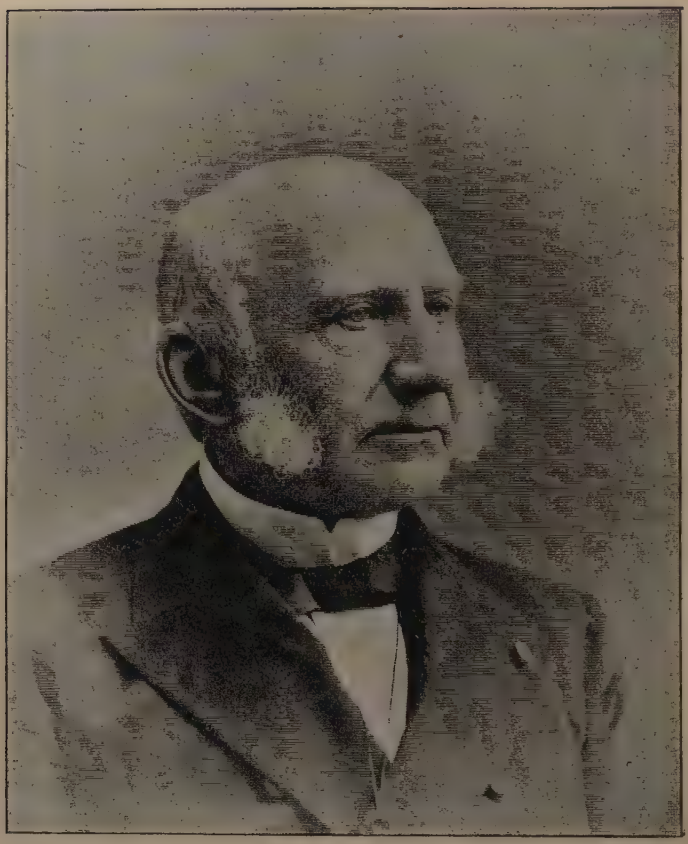
the Territory, culminating in the Territorial University, of which he was appointed one of the first Board of Regents. Furthermore, it was largely through his efforts that two of the churches of St. Paul had their beginnings.

He joined with others in the organization of the Minnesota Historical Society, and mainly through his exertions it was incorporated by the first territorial legislature. The first and second numbers of its Annals (32 and 184 pages, respectively) were issued under his supervision in 1850 and 1851, and were widely distributed by him, as secretary both of the territory and of the society, to induce an interest among the people of the older states in the history, condition, and undeveloped resources of the new territory, and to attract immigrants to it.

But in a new country where a certain pliancy of disposition and a large measure of political finesse were necessary to insure success in life, it may be easily understood that a man who always said what he thought, and acted up to the level of his convictions, found many ready to antagonize his schemes of building up the varied interests of the infant commonwealth. The newspapers of the time fairly bristle with items aimed at the Territorial Secretary, and from the same sources it may be readily proved that he paid back his tormentors in their own coin with more than legal interest. Careful inquiry has failed to find a reasonable explanation of these contests, for no two informants agree as to the causes.

Mr. Smith resigned his secretaryship in 1851 and returned to Hamilton, Ohio, where he purchased the old homestead of his father in Butler county. The remainder of his life was devoted to the cultivation of his farm, with very little attention to public affairs. Apoplexy was the cause of his death September 28th, 1866, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

An old and life-long friend said of him after his death: "He was a man of intensified character and most strongly marked individuality, though far less selfish than such men are apt to be. There was very little of compromise in his disposition. What he was, he was decidedly. His friends were unqualifiedly such, and his enemies, for such a man could not well be without enemies, were equally pronounced. His friendship was strong and enduring, while his remembrance of



Edw. D. Neill

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wrong and injuries seemed never to survive an offer of reparation or reconciliation—and now those who most intimately knew him, most earnestly cherish his memory."

GEORGE R. METCALF.

EDWARD DUFFIELD NEILL, the ninth in the family of ten children of Henry and Martha R. [Duffield] Neill, was born in Philadelphia, August 9th, 1823. His father, born at Snow Hill, Md., March 12th, 1783, was a distinguished physician of Philadelphia. His grandfather, John Neill, born June 3d, 1749, also a physician, was the son of John Neill, lawyer, of Lewes, Delaware, who in 1739 came from Tyrone in Ulster, Ireland.

His mother's father, Benjamin Duffield, was a prominent physician of Philadelphia; and her grandfather, Edward Duffield, an early member of the American Philosophical Society, was a personal friend of Benjamin Franklin, who appointed him one of the executors of his will. This line of the Neill ancestry is traced to Robert Duffield, born in 1610, who came from Sussex or Kent, England, in 1682, settling near Philadelphia, with his children, on land purchased in the tract which had been granted the previous year to William Penn.

The subject of this sketch, who was to be the first Protestant clergyman in St. Paul and the historian of his adopted Territory and State of Minnesota, studied in the grammar school of the University of Pennsylvania and spent there also the first two years of his collegiate course, which was finished at Amherst College, with graduation in 1842, at the age of less than nineteen years. Next he spent a year in Andover Theological Seminary, but completed his theological studies at his home in Philadelphia under the supervision of his pastor, the Rev. Albert Barnes, and of Dr. Thomas Brainerd.

In choosing the field of his ministerial labors, young Neill came to the frontier settlements of the Northwest. He was licensed in 1847 by the Presbytery of Galena, Illinois, and commenced preaching among the lead miners of that vicinity. In the spring of 1848 he was ordained, and a year later he came to the new territory of Minnesota, reaching St. Paul, which thenceforward was his home, April 23d, 1849. In September he completed a church building, the earliest Protestant house of worship in St. Paul, and in November organized the First

Presbyterian Church, of which he was pastor until December, 1854.

On the first day of the year 1850, in accordance with the request of the Minnesota Historical Society, Mr. Neill gave an address at its first annual meeting. This address, on "The French Voyageurs to Minnesota during the Seventeenth Century," is the first article in volume I of this society's Historical Collections. In the same volume, including the society's publications issued from 1850 to 1856, Mr. Neill contributed five other papers; and later contributions of his writing are in volumes II, III, and V of this series. The manuscript of volume V was also revised and edited by him. On November 18th, 1851, he was elected as the second secretary of this society, in which position he served twelve years, being much aided through the later half of this time by Mr. William H. Kelley. The society during Mr. Neill's secretaryship received large increase of its library and museum; published the third, fourth, and fifth numbers of its Annals, which, in five parts, originally separately paged, have since been mainly reprinted, in 1872, as the first volume of its Historical Collections, with consecutive paging and index; and began the publication of the papers which form its second volume.

In 1851 Mr. Neill became the first Superintendent of Instruction in the Territory of Minnesota, and held this position for about two years. In 1853 and the two following years, with the financial support of his friend, M. W. Baldwin of Philadelphia, he founded the Baldwin School and the College of St. Paul, for which a large building was erected, Mr. Neill becoming president of the college.

In December, 1855, he organized the Presbyterian church called the "House of Hope," in the rapidly growing western and upper part of the city of St. Paul. Of this church he was pastor until June, 1860, resigning then to give all his time to his duties as the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

After the admission of Minnesota to the Union, in 1858, Mr. Neill was elected chancellor of the State University; and during the ensuing three years he was very actively engaged in building up the common schools and higher educational institutions of the young state, including the establishment of its first Normal School at Winona.

At the breaking out of the Civil War, in 1861, he volunteered his services as Chaplain of the First Minnesota Regiment, and was present with his regiment in the first battle of Bull Run, in the fight at West Point on the Pamunkey river, in the two days' battle of Fair Oaks, and in the seven days of conflict terminating at Malvern Hill. Col. Gorman, in his report of the battle of Bull Run, wrote: "My chaplain, Rev. E. D. Neill, was on the field the whole time, and in the midst of danger, giving aid and comfort to the wounded." The well-known newspaper correspondent, W. A. Croffut, who witnessed that terrible battle, wrote: "It was mainly through the determined efforts of Chaplain Neill . . . . that an ambulance was procured and protected for Captain Acker and other wounded Minnesotians. I met the chaplain again at 1 o'clock that night. He looked like all the rest, careworn and footsore, and I invited him to get up behind me on the quadruped which I had found, without saddle or bridle, in an adjacent field. With very little urging the chaplain put his foot in the hand of a friend, and leaped upon the back of my patient Rosinante. He had not been seated two minutes when he began to grow uneasy of the privilege he was taking above the privates, and accused himself of indulging in a luxury which was not general. I tried to convince him of the propriety of an officer riding a horse. He confessed the relief. 'But,' said he, 'those men are disheartened; I must walk at their head and encourage them to keep up; if they see me walking, they will persevere.'"

In 1862 Mr. Neill was appointed by President Lincoln as a hospital chaplain, and was assigned to the South Street Military Hospital, Philadelphia. He resigned the chaplaincy in January, 1864, and the next month was appointed by Lincoln as one of his private secretaries. He continued also in the same duties through the term of President Johnson. In 1869 he was nominated by President Grant to be United States Consul in Dublin, which position he held nearly two years.

He returned to Minnesota in December, 1870, and began the work of establishing Macalester College (previously called the College of St. Paul, before mentioned), of which he was at first president, and afterward professor in history, literature, and political science, until his death.

In 1874 he united with the Reformed Episcopal Church, and held the first services of this denomination at St. Paul and Minneapolis. Concerning this change of denominational relations, Dr. Henry M. Field wrote in the Presbyterian *New York Evangelist:* "One thing we know of our brother Neill, that whatever he may be, in whatever denomination he may worship and minister, he will never be anything else than a beloved brother in the Lord, who, for his pure life and earnest work, for his culture and refinement, for his learning and devout piety, deserves and will receive the respect of the whole Christian Church."

During all the forty-six years of his life from the date of his coming to the Northwest, Mr. Neill was almost continuously engaged in historical researches during whatever time might otherwise have been leisure. The first fruit of these persevering labors was his History of Minnesota (628 pages, with three maps), published in 1858, of which the fourth edition, revised and enlarged (958 pages, with numerous maps and portraits), was issued in 1882. An abridgment of this work, entitled "Concise History of the State of Minnesota" (303 pages), was issued in 1887. Minnesota and the Northwest also have a prominent share in the "Transactions of the Department of American History of the Minnesota Historical Society" (148 pages), comprising a series of papers, some of which were written and others edited by Mr. Neill in the year 1879. Again, in the years 1889 to 1892, he published two similar historical series, each including twelve papers, entitled "Macalester College Contributions" (273 and 307 pages).

Other books and pamphlets of Mr. Neill's authorship treat of the history of Maryland and Virginia, and of family genealogy, the larger works being as follows:

Terra Mariæ; or Threads of Maryland Colonial History (260 pages, 1867).

The Fairfaxes of England and America (234 pages, 1868).

History of the Virginia Company of London (432 pages, 1869).

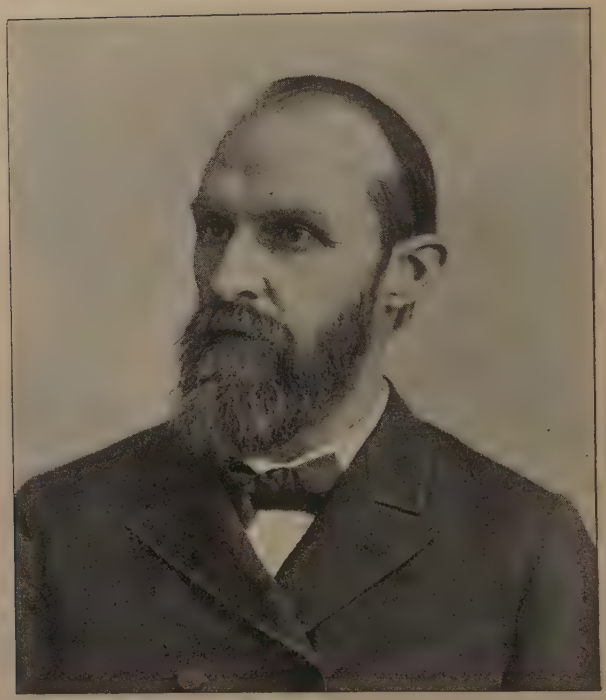
The English Colonization of America during the Seventeenth Century (352 pages, 1871).

John Neill, of Lewes, Delaware, 1739, and his Descendants (127 pages, 1875).

The Founders of Maryland (193 pages, 1876).

Virginia Vetusta, during the Reign of James the First (216 pages, 1885).

Virginia Carolorum: the Colony under the Rule of Charles the First and Second (446 pages, 1886).



J. Fletcher Williams

Dr. Neill twice received the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and he was elected a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and an Honorary Vice President of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

He was married October 4th, 1847, at Snow Hill, Worcester County, Maryland, to Nancy Hall, daughter of Richard Hall of that county. Their children are a daughter, Minnesota, born March 28th, 1850; Samuel, born December 10th, 1852; Henry, born April 15th, 1855; Edward Duffield, born August 1st, 1858; and John Selby Martin, born March 25th, 1860.

In preparing this sketch, much aid has been derived from the Neill genealogical records, anonymously published, noted in the foregoing list of Dr. Neill's works; and from the biography supplied by Mr. R. I. Holcombe in pages 89-93 of Part II of Andrews' History of St. Paul (1890), which includes many additional details of Dr. Neill's ministerial and educational labors. See also Williams' History of St. Paul (vol. IV, Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1876), page 212, with portrait; and Newson's "Pen Pictures" (1886), pages 120-123.

Dr. Neill died, by sudden heart failure, at his home in St. Paul, September 26th, 1893. His wife survived him nearly three years, dying September 2d, 1896.

WARREN UPHAM.

JOHN FLETCHER WILLIAMS was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 25th, 1834, being the last in a family of eight children. His father, Samuel Williams, born in Carlisle, Pa., Oct. 16th, 1786, removed with his parents to Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1807; served in the War of 1812; was chief clerk in the office of the surveyor general of Ohio from 1815 to 1845; was one of the founders in 1843 of the Wesleyan Female College at Cincinnati, and in 1845 of the Ohio Wesleyan University; and died in Cincinnati Feb. 3d, 1859. His grandfather, William Williams, emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1784, and died at Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1815.

John Williams, the earliest known of his family line, from whom John Fletcher Williams was a descendant in the seventh generation, was born about the year 1600 in Glamorganshire, Wales. On account of his contributing funds to aid

Cromwell in the conquest of Ireland, in 1649, he received a tract of land called "the Groves," in Monaghan county, Ireland, where a branch of the family resided nearly two centuries. This place was visited by Mr. Williams in 1888, in his search for genealogical records of the family, which he published the following year for private distribution.

To the earnest and eminently successful work of Mr. Williams as secretary and librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society, from 1867 to 1893, the present very valuable library and prosperous condition of this society are due in a larger measure than to any other one among its officers and promoters. He brought to this work special qualifications of executive and literary ability, with an increasing love for historical, genealogical, and antiquarian researches; and he gave to the society, and to the upbuilding of its library, during more than a quarter of a century, an ardent and unselfish devotion.

In his boyhood and youth, Fletcher Williams was exceptionally fond of books and made rapid progress in his school studies, attending the Woodward High School of Cincinnati, and graduating from the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio, having taken its scientific course, in 1852. He then learned the art of engraving, and numerous fine steel plates of his work were published in current magazines.

He came to St. Paul in 1855, and entered newspaper work in charge of the department of city news for the *Daily Minnesotian*, remaining with that paper until it was merged with the *Daily Times*. Afterward, during his fourteen years as a city reporter, he was successively engaged with the *Daily Pioneer* and the *Daily Press*, which united to become the present *Pioneer Press;* and he was one of the staff of the *Daily Dispatch* in its earliest years. This experience in journalism gave him acquaintance with all the prominent men of the state, and laid the foundation for his future life work.

In 1864 he was elected a member of the board of education of the city of St. Paul, and held this position during six years. For a few months in 1865 he was private secretary to Governor Miller, but resigned because he found the duties uncongenial to his active mind.

Having acquired much reputation for his newspaper articles on the history of Minnesota and for biographic notices of the early pioneers, Mr. Williams was elected by the Minnesota Historical Society in January, 1867, as its secretary and librarian, in which position he continued until the acceptance of his resignation in September, 1893. His membership and active interest in the society began at the time of the general renewal of its work in 1864, near the close of the Civil War.

During the first year of his secretaryship of the society, Williams was still engaged in the laborious and exacting duties of a city reporter, and had little leisure for the actual work of the society, or opportunity to be in attendance at its rooms. But as an offset to this, his duties led him to visit and converse with many persons daily, and gave him thus an excellent opportunity to press the claims of the society, to increase its membership, to solicit gifts for it, and to keep its objects promiently before the public by frequent mention in the daily journals. All these efforts bore good fruit, and the collections of the society and its roll of active and paying members increased rapidly. In that year the purchase of books for the library began, and has been systematically kept up ever since.

The increase of the needful work for this society, however, very severely taxed Mr. Williams' time, as he was still pursuing his profession as journalist, receiving no compensation from the society. Ultimately these twofold labors became so burdensome that he felt compelled to withdraw from official work for the Historical Society; but the other members were unwilling to permit this and secured from the state legislature, in its session of 1869, an act granting the society two thousand dollars yearly. This was the commencement of the liberal patronage, on the part of the state, which has enabled the society to achieve such splendid success. Mr. Williams accordingly withdrew from journalism in April, 1869, and thenceforword devoted himself entirely to the secretaryship and library of this society.

A narration of the gradual advance of the work thus entrusted to him is given by Mr. Williams in his annual and later biennial reports to the state legislature. More concisely it was reviewed by him, for the twenty-two years of his service up to 1889, in the *Magazine of Western History* for March of

that year, from which a part of the foregoing statements are abridged. In this article the kindly and conciliatory nature of the writer appears conspicuously in his comments on the long and somewhat acrimonious controversy which was inaugurated by Judge Goodrich in the year 1878, concerning the rights of the original incorporators of the society as opposed to those of later members and of the Executive Council. The case was decided by the supreme court of Minnesota against Judge Goodrich and his party. "This decision," wrote Mr. Williams, "was generally acquiesced in and the whole controversy was soon forgotten by both parties. It might be proper to say here that it did not in the least interfere with the work of the society, which went on as successfully as ever, and there was complete cordiality of feeling between the two wings." Yet it cannot be doubted that this trouble, so charitably remembered after ten years, cost Mr. Williams many anxious hours and much otherwise needless effort.

In 1873 Mr. Williams was appointed by President Grant as United States Centennial Commissioner from Minnesota for the Philadelphia Exposition; and he gave much time to the duties which thus came to him during the next three years. He was Corresponding Secretary of the Minnesota Old Settlers' Association, a member of the American Historical Association, and was elected a corresponding or honorary member of thirteen historical and genealogical societies in the United States.

The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1889 contains (in its pages 372-374) a bibliographic list of Mr. Williams' principal published works, as separate books, articles in the Collections of this society, in magazines, cyclopædias, county and state histories, etc. This list contains thirty titles. The earliest is "The Odd Fellows' Minstrel: a collection of Odes for the use of the Fraternity," a little book of 153 pages, of which more than 150,000 copies have been issued in many editions, the first being in Cincinnati in 1864. The most important volume, and a worthy summation of Mr. Williams' historical researches during the previous twenty years, is his "History of the City of Saint Paul and of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota," an octavo book of 475 pages,

which was published by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1876 as the fourth volume of its Collections.

Second only to Mr. Williams' interest and devotion for this Historical Society were his almost equally active and useful services to the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in this state. He became a member of St. Paul Lodge No. 2 on March 14th, 1856; of Minnesota Encampment No. 1 in December of the same year; and of the Grand Lodge in 1858, of which he became Grand Master in 1870, and to which he gave much faithful work, a labor of love, as Grand Scribe during a continuous term of twenty years. The Obituary Committee of the Grand Encampment in February, 1896, concluded their tribute to his memory in these words: "Looking back over the life-work of this brother, it seems to have been nearly perfect. As a husband and father, he was loving and indulgent; as a citizen, he was industrious and painstaking; as a state official, he was conscientious and devoted; as an Odd Fellow, he was a brother in deed and in truth."

In the summer of 1891, while attending the meeting of the American Historical Association at Washington, D. C., Mr. Williams suffered a slight stroke of paralysis, from which he quickly rallied. He might have prolonged his life, had he then laid aside his work. The first attack was followed by two others at intervals. March 23d, 1893, while sitting at the dinner table with his family, the fourth stroke fell, the entire left side being paralyzed. Death seemed to hover over him for an hour or two, but he again rallied with permanent impairment of speech and of locomotion, his physician then predicting softening of the brain, his length of days to be determined by physical tenacity. A few months later he went to California and there spent the winter of 1893-'94, but returned in the spring with health unimproved. The progress of the malady, however, was not rapid, so that it was not until the closing months of 1894 that his condition became much worse. In December he was removed to a sanitarium at Milwaukee, for the purpose of providing him with care and guardianship. There he continued to fail, and was brought back to his home in April, 1895, being thence taken to the asylum in Rochester, Minn., where, a few days later, he died on April 28th, 1895.

The writer of a biographic sketch which appeared two days afterward in the St. Paul *Morning Call* said: "Mr. Williams was a man of simple life, generous and kindly impulses, enduring in friendship, positive in his opinions, but modest in enforcing them upon others. His services, wherever bestowed, were invaluable. He surrendered health and finally life in his devotion to the labors he undertook, many of his tasks being self-imposed. No one ever knew him but to respect him and upon intimate acquaintance to love him. He was in all things the soul of honor and rectitude."

Rev. W. B. Millard, pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church, St. Paul, in his remarks at the funeral, said of him: "Industrious, energetic, forceful, though modest and retiring, Mr. Williams was also devout in spirit, holding strong religious convictions. He trusted in Christ as his Savior, and was from early manhood a member of the Christian Church. He was for many years connected with Plymouth Society and latterly with the Woodland Park Baptist Church."

In July, 1865, Mr. Williams married Miss Catherine Roberts, who, with three children, survives him. A son, Louis Williams, has lived several years in Denver, Colorado, with whom his mother and sister, Susan E. Williams, having left St. Paul in September, 1896, now reside; and an older daughter, Mrs. Kate Ruoff, resides in Oshkosh, Wisconsin.

Two brothers of Mr. Williams are still living, namely, William George Williams, professor of languages in the Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, and Samuel Wesley Williams, of the Methodist Book Concern, Cincinnati, Ohio. One sister is also living, Mrs. Margaret W. Ellsworth, of Springfield, Ohio.

WARREN UPHAM.

WILLIAM RAINEY MARSHALL was a man of unique character. Son of Joseph Marshall and Abigail Black Shaw, he was born near Columbia, Boone county, Missouri, on Oct. 17th, 1825. His grandfather, David Marshall, was born in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, but removed to Bourbon county, Kentucky, about 1785; and thence the family removed to Boone county in Missouri. On his mother's side, Gen. Marshall was of Scotch-Irish descent, his maternal grandfather, Samuel

Wm. R. Marshall

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Shaw, having been born in the north of Ireland, whence he emigrated to America.

In 1830, Gen. Marshall's parents removed to Quincy, Illinois, where his boyhood was spent. In 1841, in company with his elder brother, Joseph, he went to the lead mines of Galena, Ill., where he worked several years. Evidently he spent his leisure time in useful reading and study, and during this period he learned practical surveying.

In 1847, he removed to St. Croix Falls, Wisconsin, where, in the spring of 1848, he was elected to the legislature of Wisconsin; but he lost his seat by a change in the boundary lines of the state and district, soon after the election.

In 1849, he settled at St. Anthony Falls, where he had previously filed a claim. Here he engaged in a general hardware business, with his brother Joseph. He surveyed and platted the town, for Messrs. Bottineau and Steele, and also surveyed a part of the territory on the west side of the river.

In 1851, he removed to St. Paul, and became its pioneer hardware merchant, the large house of Nicols & Dean being the successor of his pioneer store. In 1855, he established a banking business, which did not survive the financial panic of 1857. He then engaged in farming and stock-raising, and introduced into Minnesota its earliest high-bred cattle.

In 1855, Mr. Marshall presided over the convention which organized the Republican party in Minnesota. On January 1st, 1861, having purchased the *St. Paul Daily Times*, and the *Minnesotian*, he consolidated the two newspapers under the name of the *St. Paul Press*, which became the leading Republican paper of the State.

General Marshall took a very active and prominent part in the Sioux Indian War and in the War of the Rebellion. In August, 1862, he was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the Seventh Minnesota Infantry. He assisted in the suppression of the Sioux outbreak in this State, in the autumn of 1862, taking a gallant part in the battles of Birch Coolie and Wood Lake. In 1863 he was in the expedition against the Sioux in North Dakota, under the command of Gen. H. H. Sibley, in which he commanded the Seventh Regiment in the battle of Big Mound.

In November, 1863, while fighting in the South, Marshall was commissioned Colonel of the Seventh Minnesota. During 1864, he led his regiment in many battles, in Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, and Tennessee.

For distinguished bravery and skill, in the battle of Nashville, on December 15th, 1864, Col. Marshall was, on March 13th, 1865, brevetted Brigadier General. He commanded his brigade in the siege of Mobile, and was wounded in the attack upon Spanish Fort, March 25th, 1865. General Marshall was mustered out at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, in August, 1865.

Soon afterward he was nominated as the Republican candidate for governor of Minnesota, and was elected by a large majority. Subsequently he was re-elected for a second term, serving from January 8th, 1866, to January 9th, 1870. While he was governor and largely by his efforts, the word "white" was stricken from the Constitution of Minnesota. In 1869, he vetoed the bill for the removal of the state capital to Kandiyohi. A contemporary said of him: "He was not a showy governor, and made no attempt at a 'record;' but he was one of the best chief magistrates the State has ever had."

From January 6th, 1876, to January 10th, 1882, Gen. Marshall served as Railroad Commissioner.

During his residence in this State, he was always actively interested in the work of the Minnesota Historical Society. In the fall of 1893 he was elected its secretary. But ill health compelled him to resign in 1894, when he went to Pasadena, California, in the hope of restored health. But he was continued as the nominal secretary until March, 1895.

In 1854, Mr. Marshall married Miss Abby Langford, of Utica, New York, a sister of the Hon. Nathaniel P. Langford, and of Mrs. William A. Spencer, and of the late Mrs. James W. Taylor, all of St. Paul.

Their only child, George Langford Marshall, died in 1892, leaving a widow and a little daughter, Alice, who were with Gov. Marshall at Pasadena, California, where he died, January 8th, 1896.

Joseph Marshall, the brother of Governor Marshall, resided in Denver, Colorado; and their sister, Mrs. Alexander H. Cathcart, has long been a well-known resident of St. Paul.

Gov. Marshall was a member of the Minnesota Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, both of his grandfathers, (Lieut. David Marshall and private Samuel Shaw) having been Revolutionary soldiers, in the Pennsylvania troops.

Personally, Governor Marshall was a man of fine physique, robust, and of unusual physical strength. His general manner was mild, but manly and dignified, and yet he had a lively appreciation of clean and harmless humor.

William R. Marshall was a man whom it was easy to love. He was large-hearted, broad-minded and intellectual, generous, sympathetic, genial and considerate, and unusually versatile in his activities. At the time of his death, the press of our State expressed its high estimate of his character, his ability, and his usefulness, as a brave soldier, an able statesman, and a public-spirited citizen. And it is for me, as his pastor for the last twenty-three years of his life, to speak of him as a man; of his loving faith in the Word of God; his steadfast trust in Divine Providence; the purity and beauty of his social life; his unswerving loyalty to every good cause; his tender sympathy with all who suffered; his uncompromising opposition to all forms of meanness; his chivalrous championing of all who were oppressed; his dominant cheerfulness; his freedom from vindictiveness; his generous confidence in the good intentions of others; his patient bearing under severe trials and sufferings. He was an active member of the New Jerusalem (or Swedenborgian) Church, and one of those who united in forming the Society of that Church, in St. Paul, in 1873. He was a good man to live with, and he endeared himself to all who came in close contact with him.

Deeply reverent towards all divine things, and without intolerance, he saw the good in all churches; and he stood ever ready to lend a helping hand to all, and cheerfully to cooperate with every good movement. Personally modest, he was free from the spirit of domineering. There was a magnetism in the man, which drew men towards him, even on first acquaintance. His gentleness covered always a manly strength, which impressed one as reliable.

He had not an ideally perfect mental equipment, for he was human, as we all are, but so generally admirable in character that it would be far better for the world if there were

more men like him. Naturally impulsive, he acquired, from religious principle, a marvelous control over his temper, to the limits of forbearance. His was the sanguine temperament in excess. In fact, his perennial and superabundant hopefulness practically disqualified him for a continuously sucessful commercial career. He lacked the cautious calculation, the habitual attention to petty details, and the cool foresight which always allows for unforeseen contingencies.

Commercially speaking, he left little behind him, of this world's goods; but, speaking from a spiritual standpoint, there are few men who carry more with them to the world beyond. In this sense his life was successful, because he had learned how to live. And when his once powerful physical frame, borne down by insidious disease, yielded to the strain, gently he closed his eyes, and lovingly, cheerfully said good-bye to the world in which he had lived for three score years and ten, "with malice towards none, and with charity for all."

The angel of death is rapidly reaping the golden sheaves among the pioneers of Minnesota. The vigorous young commonwealth was exceptionally fortunate in the character of the men who laid its foundations. And when this galaxy of strong men shall all have been gathered on the further shore, not one of them will be more sincerely missed in the hearts of the people, than William R. Marshall.

EDWARD C. MITCHELL.

JOHN G. RIHELDAFFER. Forty-four years ago, in the fall of the year 1851, in St. Paul, three persons met for the first time at the residence of one of the three; these were the Rev. E. D. Neill, the Rev. J. G. Riheldaffer, newly arrived in the Territory, and the writer.

The house in which they met, the property of the late Mr. W. H. Randall, overlooked a deep ravine, and stood on the site of what is now the Davidson Block, on the corner of Fourth and Jackson streets. A rude but substantial bridge spanned the ravine, and a peculiar looking building, which, later, was called "Moffet's Castle," and which served the purpose of a boarding house or hotel, loomed up from the bottom of the ravine, till by degrees, as story after story was added, it reached a height considerably above the altitude of the bridge.

Since that day a change, difficult to describe in detail, has come over the scene. The house, the bridge, the ravine,—all the material features,—are gone; and, of the three persons then met together, only the writer is living.

The Rev. Mr. Neill had called to introduce a new arrival in the person of Rev. Mr. Riheldaffer, who had come to St. Paul with the view of establishing a mission in connection with the Old School branch of the Presbyterian Church. Of course, his qualifications and position needed no special introduction.

Born in Beaver county, Pennsylvania, on Nov. 13, 1818, in a farming community, he had spent a good part of his boyhood in farm work. Religiously brought up, his religious convictions, coupled with a natural ambition, led him to aspire to the ministerial office. He sought an education; his preparatory studies were pursued with an earnestness which overcame many obstacles, and were often followed amidst the varying pressure of self-support. Naturally self-reliant, he shrank not from the labor which his chosen aim rendered necessary. Of German and Scotch-Irish descent, he united in himself the leading traits of each race, resulting in a steady and immovable integrity.

Becoming a student in Princeton Theological Seminary, he graduated there in 1848. While there, he had formed influential friendships which followed him through the years, amongst others, with the eloquent and distinguished divine, Dr. William M. Paxton, now professor of theology in Princeton. Friends in the seminary, these two, years afterward, spent many hours together in the hunting grounds of Minnesota. After his graduation, Mr. Riheldaffer was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, N. J., and then was ordained by the Presbytery of Fort Wayne, Ind., as pastor of the First Presbyterian church of Fort Wayne, having in the meantime entered into the marriage relation with Miss Ruth E. Gray. It was during the brief period of his pastorate there, almost on the threshold of his ministerial career, that he met with a severe blow in the death of his wife, a blow that for some time gave a tinge of sadness to his life.

On leaving his first brief pastorate Mr. Riheldaffer turned his thoughts to the Farther West, where he believed there

was scope for the exercise of his steady zeal and of his firm, though chastened, Christian perseverance. By his second marriage he found a congenial and devoted helpmeet, when Miss Catherine C. Ogden became his wife. She was a daughter of the late Rev. Benjamin Ogden, and survives her husband after a happy union of more than forty years.

Mr. Riheldaffer now came to St. Paul fully authorized to establish the mission he contemplated. He called on the Rev. Mr. Neill, who had just seen the completion of a substantial church edifice, in connection with the New School Presbyterian Church, on the corner of Third and St. Peter streets,—a part of which is still standing,—and was courteously invited to occupy the pulpit on the following Sabbath, a courtesy which was occasionally repeated.

A little band, whose theological sympathies were with the Old School branch of the church, now rallied around Mr. Riheldaffer, and under his superintendence formed a small but hopeful society. Difficulties seemed to be in the way, but the minister believed in ultimate success, and his faith in the enterprise was largely a factor in the creation of success. Assisted by a few of the residents of the town, and by personal friends in the East, he early planned for building a church edifice. This, after some delay, was finally accomplished. Services in the meantime were held, by favor of the authorities, first in the Baptist church, whose pastor was absent from the town; next, in the court house; and later, as the new building neared completion, in the supreme court room in the capitol. Thus the congregation which Mr. Riheldaffer had gathered looked forward to a future of successful work; the cherished desire of his heart was realized, and the congregation which had slowly but surely gathered was enabled to meet at last in a substantial brick building of their own.

The life of Mr. Riheldaffer from this time on, till the fall of 1864, is substantially a history of the Central Church of this city. His sympathies, his efforts, often very self-denying, seemed bound up in the welfare of that church; but not so much that he was exclusive socially, or as a citizen, for he was fully alive and active to the demands of true citizenship. Public-spirited and naturally benevolent, he was ever ready to acquiesce in all enterprises for the welfare of the people.

His influence in the presbytery of which he was a member was very perceptible, and was unhesitatingly acknowledged. In Presbyterian discussions his opinion carried weight. He understood thoroughly, and was jealous for, the order and the discipline of the "Book." His firm yet conservative estimate on all questions that came up, whether of doctrine or government, was seldom questioned. In addition to this, his intense love and devotion to the church of his childhood, and of his choice, seemed ingrained in his very nature, and was a part of the integrity of his life.

In the autumn of 1864 Mr. Riheldaffer resigned the pastorate of the Central Church, having in the meantime successfully established a female seminary, which, conducted under Presbyterian influences, was for years, after it passed from his control, a recognized educational influence in the city.

A quality of administrative ability which he had manifested now led to his appointment to a very important position, that of superintendent of the State Reform School, a new institution. He was appointed, not from any personal favoritism, nor from expediency, but because of his fitness and his recognized integrity. This position he held and most ably filled for eighteen years, when he resigned, to the great regret of his many friends.

It would have been difficult to find a man equally well fitted by nature and character for the position at that time. In the control of boys and youths who had been placed there, Mr. Riheldaffer succeeded admirably, and, beyond this, he had been able to attract, and keep, the regard and respect of those under his charge after they had left the institution. With the necessary control, there was conveyed a consciousness of moral responsibility, which partially neutralized the sense of conscious restraint and left intact, to a great degree, the quality of self-respect.

In this position, Dr. Riheldaffer did excellent work for the state, and yet he had always retained a lingering love for the work of the Christian ministry. In pursuance of this, his leading wish, he accepted a call from the Presbyterian church of Redwood Falls, Minn., to become its pastor, which he acceptably and successfully filled for five years, till the year 1891. In 1892, present as a delegate to the Presbyterian General As-

sembly held at Portland, Ore., he was chosen moderator for some of its sessions, an honor which set its seal of approval on a career which too soon would close. Years before, the degree of doctor of divinity had been conferred upon him, a recognition of his unswerving adherence to life-long principles.

His health now began to fail, and after a severe and painful illness, supported by the principles which were a part of his life, he entered into rest on the 16th of January, 1893, leaving a widow, one son, and three daughters to mourn his departure.

Looking back on the years of his life, and remembering the sterling integrity with which he met its duties and its changes, one who has known him well is now constrained to exclaim, "The fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live forever?"

Positive in his convictions and outspoken in their defense, few men have been more respected by those who differed from him; and few men have been more beloved by those who were the nearest to him, those of his own household.

Dr. Riheldaffer early became a member of the Minnesota Historical Society, and at the time of his death was a member of its Executive Council. RICHARD MARVIN.

ALFRED JAMES HILL was born in London, England, in the year 1833. His father, a co-worker with Brunel, was a civil and mechanical engineer. After the ordinary boarding-school education, the subject of this memoir entered his father's office and acquired a knowledge of civil engineering, so conspicuously to his advantage in after life.

In 1854 Mr. Hill decided to emigrate to America, and arrived at Red Wing, Minnesota, in the month of August of that year, locating a claim upon government land. Soon afterward he entered the office of Capt. J. H. Simpson at St. Paul as a draftsman for the United States government surveys of military roads which were being constructed in the then new Northwest. In 1858, on account of the admission of Minnesota into the Union as a state, the appropriations for military roads ceased, and he changed his field of labor to the old state capitol building, where he performed various kinds of clerical work and drafting in the executive and other departments of the state government. In this manner he became interested

in historical and geographical researches, contributing to the Collections of the Historical Society, directing the attention of the authorities to the fact that a portion of Minnesota, west of the Lake of the Woods, was omitted from the official maps of that date, and suggesting the names of several of the counties which they now bear.

In the dark days of the War of the Rebellion, when fresh troops were called for, Mr. Hill enlisted as a private in Company E, Sixth Minnesota Infantry, remaining in this State with his company during the Indian uprising of 1862; but on the 20th day of December of that year he was unexpectedly ordered to report at the headquarters of the army at Washington for duty in the office of the Corps of Topographical Engineers. At army headquarters, Mr. Hill often witnessed the plain and unsophisticated ways of Abraham Lincoln and Gen. Halleck. Having rejoined his regiment at Helena, Arkansas, in the summer of 1864, he was honorably discharged at the close of the war. He was clerk of his company during the latter part of the service, and wrote an entire history of this company.

Returning to civil life, Mr. Hill commenced an investigation of the ancient artificial earthworks of Minnesota, which were ascertained to have an uninterrupted connection with those of Wisconsin, Iowa, and the Mississippi valley farther south. He was led to this investigation, perhaps, through his duties as land clerk in the state auditor's office, under Charles McIlrath, during a term of six years. Meanwhile he also occupied the position of treasurer of the Minnesota Historical Society, and was chairman of its Committee on Archæology. For this chosen branch of the Society's researches his collection of descriptions and maps of the aboriginal mounds of Minnesota became, as the years advanced, the most valuable and permanent work of his life.

Variously employed, after the retirement of Mr. McIlrath, the state auditor, with frugal economy he invested his wages successfully in real estate, and the proceeds were largely used in his scientific investigations. For the same purpose he became a student of the languages, mastering the French, Spanish, and Italian, thereby greatly extending the range of his studies in history, geography, archæology, astronomy, phrenol-

ogy, and other sciences, until he became one of the most profound scholars in Minnesota. In these wide fields of research very valuable materials were collected, intended for publication at some future time.

Northwestern archæology, however, constituted the chief field of his labor. Following the issuance of a circular letter dated August 1st, 1873, Mr. Hill persistently and uninterruptedly continued his researches and inquiries concerning prehistoric man and his works in the upper Mississippi basin for nearly twenty-two years, up to the time of his death. During the last twelve years his work was aided by employee service in the field, making surveys of prehistoric mounds north of the Ohio river and west of the Great Lakes, entirely at his own individual cost, amounting to about $25,000, as shown in an examination of his accounts by one of the administrators of his estate. With his own hand he platted probably twelve thousand ancient earthworks, many of which, including a number of effigy mounds, are as yet unknown to archæologic history. From every county in Minnesota, all the information obtainable concerning the earliest primitive occupancy by man has been gathered and preserved for future use, including nearly five hundred written reports from the employee service referred to. The results of these archæological researches and examinations, in their records thus preserved at great expense, constitute not a "day dream," but a practical and valuable reality. These records go with the estate, are in the keeping of the administrators, and it is earnestly hoped that at some future date they will be published to the credit of the persevering geographer who so unselfishly and ably collected them. All honor to his name for this great work!

Not long before his death, he estimated ten years as necessary to complete his archæological labors. He had during many years applied nearly all his spare time to historical and geographical studies, until his information extended to every part of the world. As a writer, nearly all his articles appeared without his name, usually in the American Cyclopædia or some scientific journal, and occasionally in the daily press.

In 1889 Mr. Hill became associated with me in the preparation of volume VII. of this Society's Historical Collections, for

which he exhaustively examined the history of the advent of the Spanish into the basin of the Mississippi. He also prepared numerous notes and articles, with maps, for this society's second, third, and sixth volumes of the Collections, and for other publications, most notably his thorough and painstaking literary labor as an assistant to Dr. Elliott Coues in his editions of Lewis and Clark in 1893, and of Zebulon Montgomery Pike in 1895.

Mr. Hill was also engaged in determining the true line of march of the army led by Hernando de Soto from Florida to the Mississippi river, by the geographic statements in the Spanish records; the location, names and extent of all Northwestern French forts and posts, from the time of Groseilliers and Radisson to the purchase of Louisiana; and the location of the leaden plate deposited by the Chevalier de la Verendrye at the time of his discovery of the Rocky Mountains. He was preparing an exhaustive treatise upon the boundary between the United States and Canada, west from lake Superior, of which a preliminary part, relating to the northern boundary of Minnesota, is given as an appendix (pages 305-352) in volume VII. of this society's Collections.

In February, 1895, Mr. Hill became further associated with the writer in the discovery of prehistoric mounds and village sites at the headwater basin of the Mississippi river; and we each expected to give many years to exploration and publication of the archæology of Minnesota. But he was suddenly taken away, and his work was left unfinished. After a short and severe illness, he died June 15th, 1895, on the day previous to that which had been selected for his marriage.

The records of the aboriginal mounds of Minnesota, in notes and maps from actual surveys, which Mr. Hill had collected, are most important, but they are liable to be distributed under the law, as an asset to heirs, no will having been found. It is hoped, however, that this Historical Society may be made the custodian of these papers, note-books, and maps, until means shall be secured for their being edited and published, as a worthy monument of our friend's unselfish and noble life.

J. V. Brower.

WILLIAM MONROE MCCLUER was born in Franklinville, Cattaraugus county, New York, September 6th, 1831. An accident, which resulted in a long illness and permanent physical disability, changed the tenor of his life and turned him aside from a scholarship at West Point; and when he recovered his health he entered the then famous school of Temple Hill at Geneseo, N. Y. After graduation there, he read law and graduated from the state and national law school at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. He was admitted to the bar in Rochester, N. Y., September 6th, 1853, and at once entered into the practice of his profession in his native town.

In 1855 he came to Stillwater, Minnesota, and began his professional practice in the courts of his adopted state, which continued until his promotion to the bench. He was several times elected county attorney of Washington county, and also district attorney when the law of the state gave a district attorney to each judicial district. He was admitted to the Supreme Court of the United States in Washington, D. C., February, 1876.

In November, 1881, he was appointed a judge of the First Judicial District of Minnesota by Governor Pillsbury. Afterward he was twice elected to the position without any contest, and served as judge until his death. During his term of office much litigation of importance came before him and large interests were involved. A man well known in the state, he gave to Minnesota, as well as to the town which was his home, such loyal and faithful service as it was his nature to give.

Stricken instantly in the full and high enjoyment of his physical and mental powers, he died August 3d, 1890, leaving behind him a fragrant memory among those whom he loved and who honored him. It could be said of him, as he so often said gently to anyone who criticised harshly another's word or deed: "With malice toward none, with charity for all."

He was married to Helen A. Jencks, in Waterford, New York, September 27th, 1858, and was survived by his wife and one son.

CHARLES MONROE MCCLUER was born in Stillwater, Minn., August 5th, 1859. He was the only child of Judge William M. McCluer and Helen A. McCluer. His education was in the public schools of Stillwater, afterward one year at Williston

Seminary, Easthampton, Mass., and was completed at Quincy, Mass., in the Adams Academy, under the care of the late Professor Dimmock.

On his return from school he read law in the law office of his father, and was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1882. He never practiced his profession in the courts, but became engaged in business, which after his father's appointment to the bench, it seemed to be necessary for him to assume.

He was a man of fine intellectual tastes, being interested in a wide range of literature; but during the last year of his life he read chiefly in American history. He was elected a life member of the Minnesota Historical Society, November 14th, 1892.

His fondness for military matters made him active in the National Guard, and one of his last acts was the purchase of a large flag for the armory of Stillwater, the home of Company K, of which he was captain. It was at half mast at his death the first time it was unfurled.

He was a Mason and Knight Templar, and a Son of the American Revolution.

He died October 24th, 1894, leaving his widowed mother to mourn her only child.

Other Deceased Life Members, 1889 to 1898.

William L. Banning (1855)* was born in Wilmington, Delaware, in January, 1814, and received his education in Philadelphia, where he began the practice of law. He removed to St. Paul in 1855, and was engaged in banking until the Civil War, in which he enlisted and served as commissary of the Third Minnesota Volunteers, with rank of captain. After his return to St. Paul, he was president of the St. Paul and Lake Superior railroad company during the construction of its line from this city to Duluth, which was completed in 1870. During many years, Mr. Banning was a director of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, and in 1877 was the Democratic candidate for governor of Minnesota. He married Miss Mary A. Sweeny in 1849, who, with two sons and three daughters, survived his death, which took place November 26th, 1893. (Also see Newson's "Pen Pictures," 1886, pages 505-6.)

*The date thus designated notes the year of election to this society.

JACOB WALES BASS (1849) was born in Braintree, Vt., January 2d, 1815. Leaving the home farm at the age of fourteen years, he was employed in a Boston wholesale house during the next seven years. In 1836 he came west, spending about a year in Chicago, and afterward several years in Wisconsin, at Racine, Platteville, Prairie du Chien, and Chippewa Falls, successively farming, trading, and manufacturing lumber. In August, 1847, Mr. Bass began his permanent residence in the area which is now Minnesota, at St. Paul, where he continued to reside until his death, April 18th, 1889. He was at first proprietor of a log-built hotel, the "St. Paul House." Two years later, in 1849, this house became practically the capitol building of the incipient Minnesota Territory, as Governor Ramsey and Secretary Smith had their offices there. Having sold the hotel that year, Mr. Bass was the postmaster of St. Paul from 1849 to 1853, being then and afterward engaged in commercial and real estate business. In 1842 he married Miss Martha D. Brunson, daughter of the pioneer missionary, Rev. Alfred Brunson. Their sons are Col. Edgar W. Bass, of West Point, N. Y., a corresponding member of this Society, and Frank B. Bass, of St. Paul. (See Andrews' "History of St. Paul," 1890, Part II, pages 52-54, with portrait in Part I, page 84.)

JOHN BALL BRISBIN (1855) was born in Schuylerville, N. Y., January 10th, 1827; graduated from Yale College in 1846; and was admitted to the bar in 1849, beginning practice in his native town. Thence he removed in 1853 to St. Paul, where he resided until his death, March 22d, 1898. He was president of the Territorial Council in 1856-57; and was a member of the State Legislature in 1858, and again in 1863. He was elected mayor of St. Paul, by a unanimous vote, in 1857, this being probably due in part to his successful opposition, with others, to the recent efforts in the Territorial Council for the removal of the capital to St. Peter. Mr. Brisbin ranked high as a lawyer, especially as an eloquent advocate. When he retired from the active practice of the law, he donated his extensive law library to the Ramsey County Bar Association, of which he was one of the founders. (See Newson's "Pen Pictures," 1886, pages 403-6; and "Biographical Dictionary . . . of Chicago, Minnesota Cities . . . etc.," 1892, pages 970-3, with portrait.)

HENRY L. CARVER (1883) was born September 6th, 1830, at Nunda, N. Y.; was educated there and in the Poughkeepsie Law School; was admitted to the bar in 1854; and in the same year came to Minnesota, settling in St. Paul. He was a member of the State Legislature in 1861-62. In August, 1862, he enlisted in Company G, Sixth Minnesota Regiment. He served as first lieutenant and later as captain and assistant quartermaster; and at the close of his term of service was brevetted lieutenant colonel. He was a public-spirited citizen, and the early construction of street railways in St. Paul was due largely to his efforts. He died August 9th, 1893.

GORDON EARL COLE (1870) was born June 18th, 1833, in Cheshire, Mass.; graduated from the Dane Law School, of Harvard University, in 1854; and came to Minnesota in 1856, settling in Faribault. In 1859 he was elected Attorney General of the State, and was twice re-elected, continuing in this office until 1866. His law practice extended throughout Minnesota, and often called him before the higher courts in other parts of the country. He was the attorney who in the winter of 1881-82 secured the payment of the State railway bonds. He died October 4th, 1890, in London, while on his way to Carlsbad in the hope of regaining health there. A more extended biographic sketch is given in the "History of Rice County," 1882, pages 368-9; and in the "U. S. Biographical Dictionary," Minnesota volume, 1879, pages 442-6, with portrait.

ELIAS FRANKLIN DRAKE (1868) was born in Urbana, Ohio, December 21st, 1813. He was reared on a farm; then was clerk several years in a general merchandise store in Lebanon, Ohio; afterward read law and was admitted to the bar in Columbus, Ohio; and from 1837 to 1852 was a bank cashier and lawyer in Xenia, Ohio. During the next ten years he was much engaged in railway building in Ohio and Indiana. Coming to Minnesota in 1861, he constructed during the next year the first railroad in this state, extending ten miles from from St. Paul to St. Anthony. Soon afterward, with associates, he undertook the construction of the railway from St. Paul up the Minnesota Valley and across southwestern Minnesota to Sioux City, completing it in 1872. He was president

of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1873, and was an influential member of the State Senate in 1873-75. He died February 14th, 1892, at Coronado Beach, California. (Also see Andrews' "History of St. Paul," 1890, Part II, pages 45-48, with portrait in Part I, page 78.)

ERASTUS SMITH EDGERTON (1856) was born in Franklin, N. Y., December 9th, 1816. In 1837, because of his father's death, he succeeded to the management of a considerable estate, entering at the age of twenty-one years on his active business life. He came west in 1850, living first in Wisconsin and Illinois. He settled in St. Paul in June, 1853, and was engaged in banking business for five years with the late Charles N. Mackubin, and afterward wholly on his own account. In 1864 he organized the Second National Bank of St. Paul, of which he was president. He died at his early home in Franklin, N. Y., April 15th, 1893. (See Newson's "Pen Pictures," pages 400-403; and Andrews' History, Part II, pages 10-12, with portrait in Part I, page 44.)

HENRY HALE (1867) was born in Chelsea, Vt., June 21st, 1814; graduated from the University of Vermont, at Burlington, in 1840; and studied law with Hon. George P. Marsh, being admitted to the bar in 1843. During several years he was editor of the Burlington *Free Press*. In 1856 he came to St. Paul, where he was engaged in law practice and later in transactions of real estate, taking a prominent part in the development of the city. He died December 7th, 1890. (See Andrews' History, Part II, pages 137-8, with portrait in Part I, p. 338.)

GEORGE AUGUSTUS HAMILTON (1867) was born in Worcester, Mass., March 25th, 1822. After graduation from the grammar school at the age of fourteen years, he was employed successively in surveying, as an accountant, and as express agent, in Worcester; and later was engaged as assistant in the Boston offices of the superintendent and treasurer of the Boston and Worcester railroad. In 1854 he removed to Freeport, Ill., as paymaster of the Illinois Central railroad company. The next year he removed to Galena, Ill., as agent of the Galena, Dunleith and St. Paul Packet Company. In 1864 he began to reside in St. Paul, which was ever afterward his home, and dur-

ing several years was the general freight and ticket agent of the St. Paul and Sioux City railway. Later he was treasurer of this division of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha railway. Mr. Hamilton was fond of reading, and possessed a well selected library; he excelled in sportsmanship; was a Mason and Knight Templar; and in religious faith was an Episcopalian. He served four terms, in all twelve years, on the St. Paul board of education. In 1869 he was president of this Historical Society, and during the last years of his life was chairman of its library committee. He died July 2d, 1889. (See Andrews' History, Part II, pages 71-77, with portrait.)

DANIEL WHILLDIN HAND (1868) was born at Cape May Court House, N. J., in August, 1834; completed his classical education at Lewisburg (Pa.) University; and graduated in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania in 1856. In May, 1857, he located in St. Paul, where he was a very highly esteemed physician, in constant practice, except during his absence in the war, until his death, June 1st, 1889. He served as surgeon of the First Minnesota Infantry, and was present in many severe battles of the Civil War, continuing to its end, and being finally promoted to the rank of colonel in the medical department. Dr. Hand was one of the founders of the Minnesota and the Ramsey County Medical Associations; was professor of surgery in the State University four years; and had been president of the State Board of Health since 1872. (See Andrews' History, Part II, pages 59-61, with portrait.)

P. R. L. HARDENBERGH (1883) was born in New York City, January 23rd, 1834, being a descendant of an honored Dutch family. In 1855 he removed to Chicago, and in 1867 came to St. Paul, establishing what grew to be the largest leather-dealing business in the Northwest. The son of a pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church, he became a Roman Catholic, and was very active in promoting the religious, educational, and charitable institutions of that denomination, besides being generous and public-spirited outside its limits. He died in Baltimore, while absent from home in quest of health, January 31st, 1889. (See Andrews' History, Part II, pages 127-8, with portrait.)

NEHEMIAH HULETT (1867) was born in Hampton, N. Y., January 30th, 1823; came to Minnesota in 1858, and resided in Oneota, and afterward in Duluth; was several years treasurer of St. Louis county; dealt in real estate, aiding much in the development of Duluth; and died July 25th, 1892.

HARWOOD IGLEHART (1855) was born at Annapolis, Md., in 1829; and graduated from the law school of Harvard University in 1852. He came to St. Paul in 1854, and practiced law here, dealing also in real estate. One of the longest streets of the city bears his name. He became a member of the Old Pioneer Guards, and was commissioned a major in the state militia; was one of the first board of trustees of St. Luke's Hospital, and served as its treasurer; and was president of the Mercantile Library Association. From the year 1861 to 1877, and again from 1886 onward, he resided mainly in Maryland, and at last in New York City, where he died February 26th, 1893, the burial being in his native city. (See Newson's "Pen Pictures," pages 485-6.)

DANIEL WESLEY INGERSOLL (1864) was born in Newton, N. J., June 12th, 1812; and entered mercantile business at the age of fourteen years, being so engaged several years in Burlington, Vt., and afterward in New York City until 1854. He first came to Minnesota in 1855, for his health, and the next year established his dry goods house in St. Paul, which became one of the leading firms of the Northwest. He was the first treasurer of the St. Paul and Sioux City railroad company; the first president of the St. Paul Warehouse and Elevator Company; the president of the board of managers of the State Reform School during many years, from its beginning in 1867, giving much time and useful work for its interests; was twelve years a member of the St. Paul school board, serving for some time as its president; was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and during about thirty years a Sunday school superintendent; and was two years president of the State Temperance Society. Nine of his children survived his death, which occurred August 26th, 1894, at Tallapoosa, Ga. (See Williams' "History of St. Paul," 1876, pages 393-5, with portrait; "U. S. Biographical Dictionary," Minnesota volume, 1879, pages 401-3; and Newson's "Pen Pictures," pages 509-10.)

RICHARD W. JOHNSON (1849) was born near Smithland, in Livingston county, Ky., February 7th, 1827. He was educated at West Point, graduating in 1849, and was appointed to a command at Fort Snelling, as second lieutenant. Shortly after the beginning of the Civil War, he was appointed a brigadier general of volunteers, October 10th, 1861; and retired from the army October 12th, 1867, with the brevet rank of major general, conferred for wounds received in the war. A condensed account of his military service is given in the report of the Twenty-seventh Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland, for 1897, pages 134-7. After the war, Gen. Johnson was military professor in the University of Missouri, 1868-69, and in the University of Minnesota, 1869-70. Since 1870 he lived in St. Paul, being engaged chiefly in real estate business. He was the Democratic candidate for governor of Minnesota in 1881. He published a "Memoir of Maj.-Gen. George H. Thomas" (322 pages, 1881), and "A Soldier's Reminiscences in Peace and War" (428 pages, with portrait, 1886); and was also the author of several short papers, including one on the history of Fort Snelling in this volume (pages 427-448). His name stands first in the earliest published list of this Historical Society's members (Annals, 1850, page 8). His eldest son, Capt. Alfred B. Johnson, who was a corresponding member of this society, died March 18th, 1897, at San Antonio, Texas, about one month before Gen. Johnson's death, which was April 21st, 1897, at his home in St. Paul, from a sudden attack of pneumonia. (See Williams' History, pages 225-6, with portrait; and Newson's "Pen Pictures," pages 685-8.)

GEORGE WELLS LAMSON (1884) came to St. Paul about 1875, and engaged in the insurance and real estate business. During his earlier life he was a civil engineer, and was in the United States service for many years under Gen. Meade, partly on the borders of lake Superior and partly in Dakota. He died March 16th, 1890, at the age of fifty-six years.

ROBERT BRUCE LANGDON (1882) was born in New Haven, Vt., November 24th, 1826; was in the common schools, completing his education in an academy, and worked on his father's farm, to the age of twenty years; and then was engaged about

seven years, in association with Mr. Selah Chamberlain, on railroad construction in Vermont, Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin. In 1858 he came to St. Paul, and in 1866 removed to Minneapolis, living there until his death, July 24th, 1895. His business in railway building greatly increased, and included thousands of miles of railways in the northwestern United States and in Manitoba and westward, besides the construction of canals, bridges, and many city blocks and flouring mills in Minneapolis and elsewhere. He served several terms in the state senate, and was a member of the Republican national conventions of 1876, 1884, 1888, and 1892. (See Atwater's "History of Minneapolis," 1893, pages 344-6, with portrait.)

Samuel James Renwick McMillan (1867) was born in Brownsville, Pa., February 22d, 1826; graduated at Duquesne College, Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1846; studied law at Pittsburgh in the office of Edwin M. Stanton, who afterward was Lincoln's secretary of war; and was admitted to the bar in 1849. He came to St. Paul in 1852; lived in Stillwater, 1854 to 1856; then returned to St. Paul, which was his home, except during his absence as United States senator from 1875 to 1887, until his death. He was a District Court judge from 1858 to 1864; a judge of our Supreme Court, 1864 to 1873, and its chief justice in 1874 and 1875. He was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and in 1890 was chosen to be one of the two western members of the committee for revision of its Confession of Faith. He died October 3rd, 1897, leaving a widow, three sons, and three daughters. (See Smalley's "History of the Republican Party. . . . Minnesota," 1896, page 346, with portrait at page 198.)

John F. Meagher (1894) was born April 11th, 1836, in Ireland; emigrated to La Salle county, Illinois, in 1847; and came to Minnesota in 1857, settling at Mankato in June, 1858. He worked as a tinner until 1862; after that time was a hardware merchant until 1888; and later devoted himself entirely to his duties as a bank president. He held many positions of trust and honor in his city and county. He left two sons and three daughters at his death, June 18th, 1897.

JOHN L. MERRIAM (1869) was born in Essex, N. Y., February 6th, 1825; received a common school and academic education; engaged then in manufacturing; and came to Minnesota in 1860, settling in St. Paul. His first enterprise here was in partnership with J. C. Burbank and Capt. Russell Blakeley, in the Minnesota Stage Company and the Northwestern Express Company. He was one of the incorporators of the First National Bank and of the Merchants' National Bank in this city, and was president of the latter during several years. He was president of the construction company which built the Northern Pacific railroad through Minnesota. In 1870 and 1871 he was speaker of the Minnesota House of Representatives. One of his sons, William R. Merriam, also a life member of this Historical Society, was governor of the state in 1889-93. Hon. John L. Merriam died January 12th, 1895. (See Andrews' History, Part II, page 118, with portrait in Part I, page 172.)

DANIEL D. MERRILL (1890) was born at Comstock, Mich., February 16th, 1834; was two years in college at Kalamazoo; then came to St. Paul in 1855, and was engaged in clerical work till 1860, when he started a bookstore, the foundation of the present extensive business of the St. Paul Book and Stationery Company. Mr. Merrill was a member of the city school board from 1865 to 1868. Through his exertions, in 1877, the state became the publisher of its common school text books, effecting a great saving to the people. During the four years of the Civil War he was the unpaid secretary and treasurer of the United States Christian Commission; and he was many years treasurer of the Minnesota Baptist State Convention. He died May 21st, 1896, leaving a widow, three sons, and a daughter. (See "U. S. Biographical Dictionary," Minnesota volume, pages 223-5; and Newson's "Pen Pictures," pages 538-540.)

DORILUS MORRISON (1864) was born in Livermore, Maine, December 27th, 1816. He received a common school education, was three months in Kent's Hill Academy, and became a country school teacher. From 1843 to 1853 he engaged successfully in lumbering in Maine. In 1854 he came to Stillwater, Minn. The following year he settled at St. Anthony, and during many years managed a very large business, cut-

ting pine logs on the upper streams of the Mississippi, and manufacturing lumber in Minneapolis. He took a prominent part in the development of the water power of the falls of St. Anthony, being the treasurer and later the president of the Minneapolis Mill Company. He was the first mayor of Minneapolis in 1867, and served in the same office twice afterward. In 1864 and 1865 he was a member of the state senate; and in 1871-73, and again in 1877-81 he was a member of the city board of education. He was a promoter of the Minneapolis Harvester Works, and of the building of the Northern Pacific railroad. His sons in 1868 succeeded him in lumber manufacturing. He died June 26th, 1897. (See Atwater's "History of Minneapolis," 1893, pages 614-618, with portrait.)

JAMES P. POND (1855) was born in Vermont about the year 1822. He was engaged in hardware trade at Troy, N. Y.; in New York City; and in Detroit and Cincinnati. He came to St. Paul in 1854, and was here also a hardware merchant until 1874, being later engaged in transactions of real estate. He was one of the incorporators of the Mercantile Library Association, and was its president. In his early life he was major in the Fourth Regiment of New York City. He died January 11th, 1891. (See Newson's "Pen Pictures," page 479.)

JOHN STOUGHTENBURG PRINCE (1855) was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, May 7th, 1821. He entered commercial business when a mere lad, and in 1840 became an agent of the American Fur Company. In 1854, as representative of the Chouteau Fur Company, he came to St. Paul, which thenceforward was his home. He was engaged in insurance, real estate, and banking. He was a member of the constitutional convention of Minnesota in 1857; was mayor of St. Paul in 1860-62, rendering patriotic services in raising troops for the war; and was again mayor in 1865 and 1866. Upon the organization of the Savings Bank of St. Paul he became its cashier, and was afterward during many years its president. He died September 4th, 1895. (See Andrews' History, Part II, pages 135-7, with portrait in Part I, page 220; and Newson's "Pen Pictures," pages 444-5.)

EDMUND RICE (1849) was born in Waitsfield, Vt., February 14th, 1819; received a common school education; and in 1838 came west, to Kalamazoo, Mich., where he studied law, being admitted to the bar in 1842. He served as first lieutenant in the Mexican War. In 1849 he came to St. Paul, and ever afterward resided there. In 1857 he became president of the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company, which began the building of the present Great Northern railway system. He was one of the most prominent and useful citizens of Minnesota, serving as a member of the state legislature during eleven sessions; was the Democratic candidate for governor in 1879; was mayor of St. Paul in 1881-83, and again in 1885-87; and in 1887-89 was representative in Congress. He died July 11th, 1889. (See Williams' History, page 255, with portrait; and Andrews' History, Part II, pages 86-89, with portrait in Part I, page 132.)

HENRY M. RICE (1849), an older brother of the preceding, was born in Waitsfield, Vt., November 29th, 1816; attended the Burlington (Vt.) Academy; read law at Richmond, Vt.; and came west, to Detroit, in 1835. Four years later he came to Fort Snelling, and was afterward engaged during many years as agent of the Chouteau Fur Company, becoming thoroughly acquainted with the Lake Superior region and the country westward, and with the Ojibway, Sioux, and Winnebago Indians. He aided in the negotiation of several Indian treaties, by which lands were ceded for white immigration in Minnesota. In 1853-57 he was the territorial delegate in Congress, doing very efficient service for the interests of the territory and the Northwest; and in 1858-63 he was one of the first United States senators from this state. Rice county is named in his honor. He resided in St. Paul since 1849, and was one of its chief founders, building warehouses, business blocks, and hotels, and donating lots for churches and public institutions. He was a charter member of this society, and was its president for the years 1864-66. He died at San Antonio, Texas, while spending the winter months there, January 15th, 1894. (See "U. S. Biographical Dictionary," Minnesota volume, pages 104-6.)

DANIEL A. ROBERTSON (1855) was born in Pictou, N. S., May 13th, 1813; studied law in New York City, and was admitted to practice in 1839; removed to Ohio, and was editor of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, the Mount Vernon *Banner*, and other papers; was United States Marshal for Ohio, 1844-48; and came to St. Paul in 1850, founding the Minnesota *Democrat*. He was appointed a colonel in the state militia in 1858; was a member of the state legislature in 1859 and 1860; was mayor of St. Paul in 1859; was elected sheriff in 1863, and served two terms; and was a member of the city board of education from 1862 to 1869. He was fond of books, and accumulated a large private library, which passed into the possession of the State University. He founded the State Horticultural Society, and organized the first grange of Patrons of Husbandry in the United States. He was also a very active member of this Historical Society. He died March 16th, 1895, leaving a widow, three sons, and three daughters. (See Williams' History, page 283; and Newson's "Pen Pictures," page 217.)

GEORGE O. ROBERTSON (1884) was born in Glasgow, Scotland, March 12th, 1815; was engaged in mercantile business in Glasgow, and afterward in London; emigrated to New York in 1847; and came to Minnesota in 1857, settling as a farmer near Nininger. He removed to St. Paul in 1879, and resided here until his death, April 15th, 1897. He married Mary Hassell in London, March 15th, 1857. Their only child is George C. Robertson, of St. Paul.

LUTHER Z. ROGERS (1883) was born in Maine, in 1837. He removed with his parents to Providence, R. I., and was educated in the high school of that city. He came to Minnesota in 1857, and the same year laid out the town site of Waterville, where he resided continuously as a merchant and manufacturer. He was a member of the legislature in 1865, and of the state senate in 1871; and was deputy grand commander of the Knights Templar of Minnesota. He died April 27th, 1897.

HENRY HASTINGS SIBLEY (1849), born in Detroit, Mich., February 20th, 1811, was a charter member of this society,

and was its president in 1867, and from 1876 until his death, which occurred February 18th, 1891. His biography, in 596 pages, by Nathaniel West, D. D., was published in 1889, and, after his death, a biographic sketch by John Fletcher Williams was presented in volume VI, pages 257-310, of this society's Historical Collections.

HENRY M. SMYTH (1882) was born in Albany, N. Y., in 1819. At the age of nineteen years he went to Texas, and was an assistant in the surveys for laying out the city of Galveston. Subsequently he lived in San Antonio, Texas, and conducted commercial business in Mexico, both before and after the Mexican War. In 1864 he returned to New York, and in 1867 came to St. Paul, being for many years a hardware merchant here, in company with Charles E. Mayo. Later he was engaged in manufacturing, and was president of a printing company. He died January 25th, 1898, leaving a widow and five daughters.

CHARLES DIBBLE STRONG (1867) was born in Somersetshire, England, June 19th, 1808. His parents emigrated in 1819 to Montreal, where he received his school education and his apprenticeship as a bookbinder. From 1828 to 1859, he was a printer, bookbinder, and publisher, in Boston. He came to Minnesota in 1859, seeking improvement of health, which was attained. The next year he purchased a retail hardware store in St. Paul, which business, new to him, he carried on successfully, building up the largest business house in its line in the state. He was a distinguished Odd Fellow; a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and one of the original incorporators of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce. He died January 7th, 1890. (See Andrews' History, Part II, pages 108-111, with portrait in Part I, page 252.)

DANIEL HILLMAN VALENTINE (1871) was born in Cincinnati, February 16th, 1827. He studied in Woodward College one year; taught school in Louisiana; went to California in 1849, where he spent several years; and came to St. Paul in 1859, engaging in grain dealing. He served several years as alderman of this city, and in the Civil War was captain of Com-

pany G in the Sixth Minnesota Infantry. He died in St. Paul, on May 15th, 1890.

CHARLES EDWIN VANDERBURGH (1883) was born at Clifton Park, Saratoga County, N. Y., December 2d, 1829. He spent his boyhood on a farm, attending the district school in winter; graduated at Yale College in 1852; was principal of the academy at Oxford, N. Y.; was admitted to the bar in 1855; and came to Minneapolis the next year, where he ever afterward resided. He was elected judge of the District Court in 1859, and held this position by re-elections during more than twenty years. In 1881 he was elected to the Supreme Court of Minnesota, in which he continued by re-elections until 1894. He was a Presbyterian, and during many years was teacher or superintendent of the Sunday School. He died March 3rd, 1898. (See "U. S. Biographical Dictionary," Minnesota volume, pages 78-80; and Atwater's "History of Minneapolis," pages 431-2, with portrait.)

JOHN ESAIAS WARREN (1853), born in Troy, N. Y., came to St. Paul in 1852; was for a time the United States District Attorney of the territory; and was mayor of St. Paul in 1863. He had traveled extensively, and was the author of books describing his adventures in Spain and Brazil. After leaving this state, he resided in Chicago, where he was a dealer in real estate. He died in Brussels, Belgium, July 6th, 1896.

AMHERST HOLCOMB WILDER (1877) was born in Lewis, N. Y., July 7th, 1828; studied at the West Poultney (Vt.) Academy; was in manufacturing and commercial business with his father, in his native town, from 1848 to 1859; and then came to St. Paul, where he was engaged seven years with the firm of J. C. and H. C. Burbank and Co., in merchandising and in stage and steamboat transportation. Later, in partnership with others, he continued in similar business many years, promoting the building of numerous railways in Minnesota and adjoining states, and running steamboat lines on the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. He died November 11th, 1894. (See "U. S. Biographical Dictionary," Minnesota volume, page 362, with portrait.)

WESTCOTT WILKIN (1877) was born in Goshen, N. Y., January 4th, 1824; graduated from Princeton College in 1843; studied at the Yale Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1846; began practice at Monticello, Sullivan County, N. Y., being soon elected as the county judge; and came to St. Paul in 1856, which was his home from that time. In 1864 he was elected judge of the District Court, in which office he continued by re-elections during twenty-seven years. In the year 1884, in company with his friend, Hon. C. E. Flandrau, he traveled around the world, passing through San Francisco, Japan, China, India, Egypt, and Europe. He died May 12th, 1894. (See Andrews' History, Part II, pages 163-5, with portrait in Part I, page 356; and Newson's "Pen Pictures," page 610.)

MORTON SMITH WILKINSON (1849) was born in Skaneateles, N. Y., January 22d, 1819. He attended the academy of his native town, and afterward taught school; was admitted to the bar at Syracuse in 1842; and removed to Eaton Rapids, Mich., and practiced there till 1847, when he came to what is now Minnesota, settling at Stillwater, as the earliest practicing attorney northwest of Prairie du Chien. In 1849 he was a member of our first territorial legislature. He resided in St. Paul from 1850 to 1857, then removing to Mankato, where he lived many years, afterward removing to Wells. He was appointed by Gov. Ramsey to superintend and publish a revision of the laws of Minnesota Territory, which work he performed in 1851. He was United States Senator in 1859-65; was representative in Congress, 1869-71; and afterward was several years in the state senate. He was a charter member of this Historical Society. He died at the home of his daughter in Wells, Minn., February 4th, 1894. (See Smalley's "History of the Republican Party . . . . Minnesota," 1896, page 286, with portrait.)

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